

Sociology Paper 2

A Complete Solution for UPSC Optional

Indian Society



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UNIT-I

(INTRODUCING INDIAN SOCIETY)

1. PERSPECTIVE OF INDIAN SOCIETY

PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIETY

Sociology as a discipline developed in Europe. Sociological perspectives like functionalism, positivism, conflictism etc. developed out of the experience and observation of European society.

Seeds of sociological thought were sown by voluntary organizations of 18th and 19th century like Asiatic Society of Bengal led by William Jones who translated Manusmriti in English. Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge was formed in 1838. In Madras also, Bethune Society was formed in 1859 which used to have regular discussions on various aspects of social sciences.

As over the period other societies of Asia, America, Africa became the colony of the West, its uniqueness attracted the intellectuals of Europe. Major areas of focus of the discipline in India were – I. Indian Philosophy II. Orientology and Indology III. Ethnic and social survey IV. History

Ghurye was influenced by all the four currents and he made study of Indian caste, tribes, culture, cities, religion and trade.

Indology is known as the science of Indian Society. The Indological perspective claims to understand Indian society through the concepts, theories, frameworks that are closely associated with Indian Civilization. It made a claim that Indian society is unique in structure, function and dynamics and cannot be associated with the European Society.

Structural-Functional approach in the study of

society emerged from the writings of early thinkers like August Comte, Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim during the later part of 19th century and became a predominant trend in sociology, social and cultural anthropology and other social sciences during the first half of 20th century.

Functional approach to the study of phenomena emerged initially in biological sciences and later on adopted in other sciences and social sciences. The key points of the functionalist perspective may be summarized by a comparison drawn from biology.

Desais Marxist sociology used the historical method to give specific meaning to the Marxist notion of structure and the various elements in its constitution in India such as feudalism, capitalism, the relationship between class and nation, peasants and working class, the post – colonial state and the rights of the deprived.

A. INDOLOGY (G S GHURYE)

Indology : Meaning/Definition

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye (1893-1984) is a towering figure in intellectual and academic circles for his unique contribution in the field of Indian sociology & has often been acclaimed as the father of Indian sociology, the doyen of Indian sociologists or the symbol of sociological creativeness.

Ghurye is often accredited as Theoretical Pluralist because he tried to study Indian Society and culture through multiple methods. He relied on both the empirical and textual methods for studying Indian Society. His Indological Approach hovers around the study of Indian Culture and Social Structure drawing its sustenance from sanskritic

literature base.

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.

A central theme of much of Ghurye's writing is the antiquity and integrity of Indian civilization and its connections with the present. Ghurye's civilisational perspective partakes of the diffusionist idea that culture always has a history that needs to be discovered, and that cultures or culture traits have an external rather than autochthonous origin.

Ghurye's interest in the history of civilization appears in several works. In one of his first books, *Culture and Society* (1947), Ghurye considers Culture and Civilization as two facets of the same phenomenon: "Culture is civilization assimilated and made operative in individual minds and practices. The theme of civilization as 'collective endeavor' appears in *Occidental Civilization* (an analysis of western civilization from 1300 to 1925). In this work Ghurye argues that a coherent cultural pattern can be discerned, the product of a 'collective civilization endeavor' with its roots in Graeco-Roman society. Ghurye later returns to the question of civilization in *Cities and Civilization* (1962), in which he criticizes Toynbee's thesis on the relationship between capital cities and civilization by comparing the growth and decline of cities historically in China, Egypt and India.

Ghurye makes four general conclusions with regard to the nature of civilization:

Firstly, as yet, there has been no society, which has been either completely civilized or very highly civilized.

Secondly, Ghurye believes in the law of continuous progress.

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.

Fourthly, every civilization, high or low, possesses some distinctive qualities.

G.S. Ghurye in his book *Caste and Races in India* and *Indian Sadhus* explained that Indian society is a humanitarian and egalitarian society and based on mutual consensus; which was always maligned when foreigners settled down in India. In *Ramayana*, Ram ate Jhoote Ber of Shabri and Hanuman used to always sit around Ram. This shows that originally in Indian society, there was no untouchability and caste segregation. These practices were introduced in India by Aryans who were foreigners.

Western Indologists like Verrier Elwin believes that tribes were always isolated and never were part of mainstream society. He proposed the policy of isolation for Indian tribes. Ghurye believes that tribes are backward Hindus hence it is important for them to be brought back in the Hindu fold. He gave the example of how Vanar Sena helped Ram and Nishad helped Ram in crossing river, which shows that they were always part of Indian society and he proposed policy of assimilation for tribes.

Western Indologists portrayed Indian sadhus as orthodox, suspicious and reason of all evils in Indian society. G.S. Ghurye in his book *Indian Sadhus*, tried to prove that Indian sadhus have always been great contributors in the development of India. He gave the example of Rishi Dadhichi who had sacrificed his backbone to make the bow to kill demons. He said that sadhus have always backed out Indian society in the period of crisis.

Western Indologists / Orientalists believed that the status of women has always been lower due to patriarchy. In *Manusmriti*, women are compared with animals and it is believed that more they are beaten it is better. Ghurye gave example of *Rigveda* in which women have participated in public

domain and the intellectuals like Maitreyi, Ghosha, Apala are some of the main women intellectuals.

Ghurye through his nationalist Indology tried to neutralize western Indologists who were portraying wrong picture of Indian society.

Recently, under the influence of Louis Dumont and Mackim Marriott, culturological writings on India have fruitfully utilized the insight of Indological approaches. All the major sociologists before independence were influenced by Indological approach. Even Srinivas had at times used Indological data to supplement his fieldwork.

Civilisational Unity:- Ghurye's perspective on Indian society was intensely brahminical. For him, Hinduism is at the centre of India's civilisational unity, and at the core of Hinduism are brahminical ideas and values, which are essential for the integration of society. Brahmins are seen historically as the leaders of Indo-Aryan society and as the "standard bearers of Hindu civilization, they were the "moral guides and legislators of the immigrant Aryans.

Ghurye believed that the continuity of Hindu civilization was broken by the Islamic 'invasion', and he adopted uncritically the colonial construction of Indian history and society as a struggle between Hindus and Muslims. In Social Tensions in India, Ghurye states that the "presence of Islamic cultural elements in the basic ancient Indian culture-fabric shows the process of syncretization, not fusion" Hindus and Muslims have remained distinct communities"... though there have been some meeting points across religious boundaries at certain stages of history. Ghurye believed, like some of the British Orientalists, that Hinduism and Islam are fundamentally incompatible religious systems..

Criticism

- M.N. Srinivas criticized Indology by calling it

a text view. He proposed field view to understand Indian society.

- Yogendra Singh believed that though Indologists have taken the examples from the ancient texts but it is based on non-observable and non-empirical evidences. Empirical verification is important for establishment of any theory. - Sociology seeks objectivity which lacks in Indology. It is more subjective interpretation than objective reality.

- As A.R. Desai said the ancient texts are literature that represents Brahminical view and cannot give real account of Indian society. He adds that, studying India from the lens of culture provides us no space to understand the real India that lives within inequality, diversity, dialectic and exploitation.

Conclusion

Indian society is considered as cultural particularistic society which has attracted large number of scholars but Max Muller, Sir William Jones, Louis Dumont and other scholars realized that Indian society cannot be understood from the western perspective. But as Ghurye believed the western scholars have their hidden agenda of making a ground for missionaries, hence it is important to unmask their agenda. He proposed nationalist view which became very popular followed by B.G. Bhandarkar, Thakkar Bapa, etc. A.K. Saran said that though Ghurye's explanation is compromise on the issue of objectivity but he gave befitting reply to the western Indologists.

B. STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM (M N SRINIVAS)

The structural-functional approach in Sociology has its roots in the British social anthropology, pioneered by Radcliff Brown and Malinowski. The British anthropologists based their analysis of society organic analogy.

They in their analysis of society,

(a) emphasized on studying society here and now (synchronic studies) i.e. the empirical structure.

(b) They shifted the focus from macro-approach to micro-approach (study of small-scale society).

(c) The study of societies should be based not on conjectural history rather it should be done using the scientific method of observation, comparison (fieldwork based studies) and arriving at generalization.

The structural-functional approach in Indian sociology for the analysis of Indian society was introduced by M. N. Srinivas initiated the tradition of macro-sociological generalizations on micro-sociological insights and gave a sociological perspective to anthropological investigations of small-scale communities.

He wanted to understand Indian society not on the basis of western concepts or indigenous sacred texts, but from direct observation or field study. According to him the knowledge about the different regions of Indian society can be attained through field work and not from sacred texts.

M. N. Srinivas studied Indian society as a totality, a study which would integrate the various groups in its interrelationship whether peasants, tribes, various cults. Based on his intensive field-work among the Coorgs and in Rampura (South India), he concluded that religion, caste, village and family form the very bases of Indian society. He considers village as the microcosm of Indian society and civilization. The village retains the traditional composition of Indian traditions.

· In his study of Rampura Village, M. N. Srinivas concluded that the village is vertical unity of many castes. The various castes in a village are inter-dependent which was evident in, the wedding of a peasant, in the village. Similarly in his study of Coorgs, he describes the concept of functional unity of castes by

explaining the interaction in ritual context of different castes of Coorgs, mainly Brahmins (priests), Kaniyas (astrologers) and Bannas and Panikas (low castes, during their harvest festival). The structure of caste however exhibited horizontal unity too, which extended beyond the village community. According to M. N. Srinivas however, it is village identity which takes precedence over caste alliances in case of an external danger. He argued that individuals in the village had a sense of identification with their village and an insult to oneself or one's family.

· It was this understanding of the social structure of the village, gathered through his field-study which made M. N. Srinivas contest Louis Dumont's position, that Indian society could be understood only through the social institutions of caste and religion. According to Srinivas, the village as a social entity, was the most important aspect of the Indian social structure.

· Similarly, he concluded that the village was always a part of the wider entity. The members of a village always depended on the services and skills, gathered from different parts of the country. This contrasted the colonial understanding of the structure of village communities as isolated, atomistic and self-sufficient communities in the Indian society.

· Though a structural-functionalist, M. N. Srinivas, also highlighted social change, in rural settings. In the context of Rampura village, he held that agriculture was becoming increasingly commercialized and this had its impact on traditional functionalist inter-dependence of the castes in villages.

· M. N. Srinivas, viewed caste as a segmentary system, where every caste is divided into subcastes. These sub-castes are the; a) unit of endogamy; b) their members follow a common occupation; c) units of social and ritual life; d) their members share a common culture; e) their members are governed by the same authoritative body i.e. the

panchayat. Besides this, other attributes of the caste systems are; a) Hierarchy, which refers to the arrangement of the hereditary groups in a rank order; b) Occupational differences, there being a close relationship between a caste and its occupation; c) Restrictions on commensality, dress, speech, customs; d) Pollution, wherein the distance between castes is maintained by principles of pollution; e) Caste panchayats, where every caste is subject the control of an order maintaining body or panchayat. These attributes of a caste determine the rank of a caste and also the nature of inter-caste relations.

· Though every caste is assigned in the rank order on the basis of the purity and impurity of its attributes, M. N. Srinivas argues that at the empirical level, only the two opposite ends of the hierarchy were relatively fixed, in between and especially in the middle region, there was considerable room for debate regarding mutual position. The uncertainty about mutual rank indicates the fact that mobility is possible in caste. Through his study of Rampura, he gave the conceptual scheme of Sanskritization to indicate the process of mobility, wherein a low Hindu caste or tribal or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently twice born caste.

· M. N. Srinivass concept of dominant caste (**Rampura village**), is also indicative of mobility in the caste. A dominant castes is any caste which has all the three attributes of; a) strength of numbers; b) economic power through ownership of land; c) political power, in a village community. The ritual ranking of a caste no longer is the major basis of its position social hierarchy. Ex. The peasants in Rampura village, despite their low ritual rank, are the dominant castes in the village. Such patterns of mobility are indicative of both change and continuity in the caste structure and rural India.

· In his study of Coorgs, M. N. Srinivas gives an exposition of the complex interrelationship

between ritual and the social order. Relations between castes are invariably expressed in terms of pollution and purity. Certain Hindu theological ideas such as karma, dharma, samaskara are woven into the caste system, but it is not very clear whether the awareness of these concepts is universal or confined to only certain sections of the hierarchy. This depends on the degree to which an area is sanskritized. Sanskritization has been used to refer to describe the process of the penetration of Sanskritic values into the remotest parts of India and also the process of incorporation of non-Hindu communities and cults in the Hindu social order and way of life.

Criticism

M. N. Srinivass micro-level findings through intensive field studies rather than book-view has been a remarkable step in the understanding of the Indian social structure. It reflects sociology of nativity. However, though his work has provided empirically sound categories, concepts and theories, it often becomes difficult to apply or generalized it at the macroscopic level.

M. N. Srinivass through his work refers that Indian traditions are found in caste, village and religion. It therefore makes it appear that Indian social structure is on par with the advocates of Hindutva, or cultural nationalism. According to Doshi any tradition emanating from caste system cannot be nations tradition as the constitution has rejected it.

The Marxists critique M. N. Srinivass understanding of the social structure as conservative and statusquoist. The understanding of the social structure, completely ignores possibility of presence of hidden contradiction in society.

According to Subaltern scholars like, **Gail Omvedt**, Srinivass sociology suffers from Brahminical domination. In his conceptual framework, the traditions of the lower castes and Dalits have no place, nowhere in village

India. His understanding was therefore more elitist and presented the upper caste view.

According to Yogendra Singh, Srinivas in his analysis of social change in the Indian social structure talks only of processes of negotiation and accumulation rather than quantitative changes coming in the traditional structures of Indian society, ex. of caste association functioning as interest groups, in democratic politics.

However M. N. Srinivass understanding of the Indian social structure through the structural functional perspective contributed at two levels of firstly, firmly establishing Indian sociology by providing indigenous concepts and secondly providing a scientific critique to the then dominant colonial understanding of Indian society.

C.MARXIST SOCIOLOGY (A R DESAI)

A.R. Desai applies the Marxist approach to the study of nationalism in India. Being one of the only Indian sociologist who has consistently advocated and applied dialectical-historical model in his sociological studies, he traces the emergence of Indian nationalism from dialectical perspective. His work Social Background of Indian Nationalism is highly regarded not only for its Marxist academic orientation, but also for the way in which it cross-fertilizes sociology with History. Nationalism, opines A. R. Desai like all social phenomena is a historical category. At a certain stage of social, economic and cultural development, nations came into being. From the sixteenth century onward, national communities, in different stages of national consolidation, appeared in the amphitheatre of human history.

Indian nationalism, according to A.R. Desai, is a modern phenomenon. It result of the material conditions created by the British colonialism. The emotion of Indian nationalism did not and could not evolve among the Indian people in the economic environs and cultural climate of pre-British

India.

In this context, Marxist perspective attempts to understand society in following ways –

I. Marxists approach understands society in terms of a process of historical developments in dialectical materialistic terms. Causative factors are the changing material conditions. For example, A R Desai in his book – Social Background of Indian Nationalism, 1946 takes historic materialistic view and understands the process of historical change in Indian society in terms of changing economic activities.

II. The social structure and institutions are seen as rooted in productive relations. The dynamic conception is also based in changing production relations. For example – Kathleen Gough in the context of caste, class nexus uses Marxist perspective for generating an understanding of Marxist perspective.

III. While understanding society, primacy is given to economic infrastructure, culture is seen as rooted in economic infrastructure. This amounts to rejection of pure Indological view and the faulty interpretation it generates.

IV. Society is seen in systemic terms conforming to model of economic interpretation of superstructure. For example – Marxist village studies emphasize more on understanding of socio-political setup on the basis of network relations woven around land.

V. Indian society is studied in terms of conflict and social institutions are seen as exploitative and existing for the benefit of the few. For example – Jajmani system was interpreted as coercive and exploitative institutions by Marxists like Berreman. A R Desai was critical of harmonious and cooperative picture of Indian village. Similarly, various village studies, a number of them compiled in his book Rural Sociology in India, 1959 studied various other social institutions from Marxist point of view.

Extreme social and religious divisions presented a peculiar background to the growth of nationalism in India. The advanced British nation, for its own purpose, radically changed the economic structure of the Indian society, established a centralized state, commoditized land, established a codified and pan-Indian legal system, introduced modern industries, modern education, modern means of communication and other institutions. This resulted in the growth of new social classes and the unleashing of new social forces. These social forces by their very nature came into conflict with British Imperialism and became the basis of and provided the motive power for the rise and development of Indian nationalism.

A unified national economy took place as a result of the destruction of former pre-capitalist forms of production prevailing in India and their substitution by modern capitalist economic forms. Substitution of feudal economy by capitalist economy was accomplished by the capitalist class of Britain and not by any class of indigenous capitalists. Capitalist economic forms, which in various societies brought into existence modern nations, by economically and socially unifying a loose community, also engendered the Indian nation.

The British rule was bound with the decay and even extinction of old land relations and artisans and handicrafts industries and with the emergence of new land relations and modern industries. It led to the destruction of the self sufficient independent village economy and old classes, but unification of Indian economy by development of pan-Indian market relations post-commercialization of Agriculture. Industrialization in India in spite of its insufficient and unbalanced character played almost a revolutionary role in the life of the people. It led to the consolidation of the unified national economy. It also brought about the existence of modern cities which became the center of modern culture and

from which all progressive movements – social, political and cultural emanated.

A. R. Desai, argues that though the transformation of India into a single economic unit by the introduction of capitalistic forms by the British rule were historically progressive, yet the transformation was subjected to the economic requirements of British trading, industrial and banking interests. The Indian nationalist movement was the product of the pressure exerted by the British interests, which subordinated Indian interests by obstructing Indian industrialization, distorting her agricultural production and turning her into a market for British industries.

According to A. R. Desai, though it has been widely claimed by many that Indian nationalism was the product of modern Education introduced by the British, it was however no offspring of modern education. Indian nationalism, was in fact the outcome of the new social material conditions created in India and the new social forces which emerged in Indian society. It was the outcome of the objective conflict of interests, the interests of Britain to keep India politically and economically subjected to her and the interests of the Indian people for a free political, economic, and cultural evolution of Indian society. The Indian national movement arose from the conditions of imperialism and systems of exploitation. The rise of the Indian bourgeoisie and its growing competition against the domination of the British bourgeoisie were inevitable, whatever the system of education. However, modern education, indirectly if not directly gave a democratic direction to Indian nationalism.

The emergence of new social classes was the direct consequence of a new social economy, a new type of state system and state administrative machinery and spread of new

education. They were primarily the offspring of the new capitalist economic structure which developed in India as a result of the British conquest and the impact on her of the British and world economy. Different classes had their specific grievances against Britain.

Criticism

- Except A.R. Desai, economic determinism perspective was not used by any other prominent sociologists because they believed that Indian society was never guided by the economic forces. The factors like caste and religion were the core of Indian society, hence economic determinism view cannot be accepted as a dominant perspective of Indian society.

- Yogendra singh said that though A.R. Desai tried to give proper logic in the favour of his perspective but his perspective was not properly backed up by proper facts.

- M.N. Srinivas rejected this perspective who believed that though the importance of economy cannot be denied but Indian society was always governed by tradition, caste and religion than economy. He questioned Desai that why always Vaishya Varna had control over economy but why not they controlled the religion and caste system.

Conclusion

A.R. Desai is one of the most prominent sociologist who applied Marxist perspective on Indian society. Though this perspective was not very much supported by other eminent sociologists because economic forces have never been dominant force in Indian society but the way A.R. Desai introduced economic perspective in Indian society, it was new of its kind and later influenced many other sociologists and historians like Yogendra Singh, T.K. Oommen, Sumit Sarkar, etc.

relevant framework that can help in comprehending properly the transformation that is taking place in the Indian Society and its various sub-systems. The Marxist approach helps one to

- raise relevant questions to conduct the researches in the right direction,
- enables to formulate adequate hypothesis,
- assists to evolve proper concepts,
- adopt and combine research techniques, and
- can help one to locate central tendencies of transformation with its major implications.

The Marxist approach is to understand any society and change in it. According to Marx Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion, or by anything one likes. Men begin to distinguish themselves when they produce the means of subsistence. Because in producing the means of subsistence they produce the material life. The Marxist approach demands from everyone to understand social reality, to be clear about the nature of means of production, the techno- economic division of labor and social relations of production.

Marxist approach considers property relations as crucial because they shape the purpose, nature, direction and objectives underlying the production.

In Marxist approach History is a shank of all well conducted studies of man and society. It demands that a specific society should be studied as a changing system comprised of contradictory forces some of which sustain and others which change that society.

RELEVANCE OF MARXIST APPROACH

Desai views that Marxist paradigm is the most

II. IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON INDIAN SOCIETY

a. Social background of Indian nationalism

b. Modernization of Indian tradition

c. Protests and movements during the colonial period

d. Social reforms

IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON INDIAN SOCIETY:

The dominant features of socio-political thought in colonial India were liberalism and nationalism. The liberal phase was characterized by attempts to rationalize and democratize the social and religious institutions. The liberals of the 19th century believed that if religious and social reforms were first achieved, they would in due course lead to political and economic freedom.

At the time of independence, 70% land was with landlords and landlessness was at historic high level of 28% at time of independence. Land holdings had fragmented to uneconomical sizes.

British rule also transformed the administrative structure of India. New administrative units were formed in form of provinces and new bureaucratic machinery was put in place. **Rule of law** was established, but it was not true to its spirit and Indians were discriminated by law. Political system was also impacted as ideas of democracy and equality also took roots in India. Formation of **Indian National Congress in 1885** was the first step in this direction. Administrative unity also led to political unity as well and later a pan Indian feeling also gave birth to nationalistic feeling as well.

In cultural sphere, education and missionaries were the big influencing agents. English education on the one hand led to decline of older systems of education, it opened up new avenues on the other hand and Indians were introduced to modern ideas.

A. SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF INDIAN NATIONALISM:

Indian nationalism emerged gradually, and was the prime factor responsible for the independence that Indian achieved. **AR Desai uses Marxist** approach to study Indian nationalism. He argues that the cause of nationalism lies in the economic structure of society i.e change in economy due to British rule leading to emergence of new classes, conflict in interests of these classes, class struggle and thus social change.

He argues that the classes in India can be divided into 2 groups: those who were being benefitted by British rule, and others whose interests lay opposite to that of British.

This state came about due to British policies. Establishment of British rule led to several changes in the economy. Land became a commodity which could be bought and sold; new land tenure systems like zamindari, ryotwari systems emerged. These changes led to emergence of new classes in rural areas like Zamindars, peasants, tenants, landless labourers etc. All these classes except the Zamindars faced exploitation at the hands of British. The tenants for instance witnessed frequent eviction while peasants faced high revenue demands.

With the growth of modern industries the classes of workers and capitalists emerged. The capitalist realised that self-government is important to provide suitable conditions of their growth like protection from imports, cheap capital etc. Also, workers too faced exploitation and realised that only a national government can improve their working conditions. Thus their class interests clashed with that of the British.

Similarly, in with growth of education and modernisation, new professions such as teachers, lawyers, doctors constituting the new middle class emerged. This class too

demanded self-government for their benefit and thus provided leadership to the freedom movement. They helped in developing subjective consciousness of objective reality. This new middle class provided the much needed leadership to the mass movement. Desai argues that all the classes whose interest clashed with that of British, or who were benefitting due to British withdrawal supported the freedom struggle. Whereas, classes (like zamindar) whose interest were being fulfilled by British, and who were benefitting due to their rule opposed the freedom struggle and supported the British. Thus, Indian nationalism was strongly influenced by the social background of the people involved and of the country at large. This utilization of Marxist approach in the Indian freedom struggle is a perfect example of how Marxist ideas can be used to explain Indian society.

Various social factors which played a role in the growth of nationalism are -

- **Reformist and Revivalist Agenda** – Social reform agenda was also clubbed with agenda of unification. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohun Roy, **Dayanand Saraswati** also preached nationalism as well. First war of independence sought to revive the glorious period of Indian history and **Bahadur Shah Jafar** was chosen as a symbol of that.
- **Political Awakening** – First move was made in form of establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. It was realized that way to achievement of nationalistic goal is through political power. Political struggle led to gradual reforms and it also led to mobilization of masses.
- **Role of Charismatic Personalities** – Many **charismatic leaders** like Gandhi, Subhash, Tilak also played a leadership role in mobilizing millions of masses and united them

- **Economic Contradictions** – Contradictions of the British rule were exposed for the first time in the economic field and it was exposed in the writings of many prominent nationalists like **Dadabhai Naroji and R C Dutt**. Unequal control over forces of production and export of surplus was exposed by early nationalists. Images of pre-colonial fabled riches of India were contrasted with the poverty of British India. The **Swadeshi movement** further strengthened the loyalty to the national economy.

- **Impact of Global Events** – Events like **Russian Revolution** aroused the revolutionary spirits in India as well. Defeat of imperial powers like Italy at the hand of Ethiopia also boosted morale of nationalists in colonial countries like India. Communist nationalism also grew in the meanwhile in 1930s both within and outside Congress.

Rise of Indian nationalism can also be studied from many different perspectives –

- i) Historians like **Romila Thapar, K M Panicker and Stevenson** argue that despite invasions, mixing and confrontation a single dominant culture never existed in India and even no culture threatened the other to subjugation. As a result composite culture evolved. In such an environment, nationalism in India evolved not out of a common single cultural heritage, but it developed under same colonial ideology which it fought with.
- ii) Another strand tried to invoke nationalist spirit through re-interpretation of tradition and invoking past glory. **Arya Samaj** belonged to this category. Revival of traditional festivals like **Shivaji Festival, Ganpati Festival** by Tilak was also a part of this strand.
- iii) National leaders like Nehru realized

that to fight colonialism, first regional aspirations have to take backseat and spirit of nationalism need to come at forefront. Thus, to unify divided India and prevent its Balkanization, nationalism was a pre-requisite.

A.R. Desai's understanding of Indian Nationalism:-

Search for Nationalism is not a sociological stereotype, it is a dynamic process driven by various motives , drives , speculations , contradictions & confusions in human history. Nationalists like **NEHRU , MG RANADE , KN PANNIKAR** conceptualize that rise of Indian Nationalism is a product of India's urban educated middle class driven by liberal western values making an attempt to go for the reforms in traditional social institutions – modern education taking away superstitious dogmas from lives of the people & promote territorial integration thereby strengthening India's unity. Nationalists also consider that Congress Movement & Freedom Struggle in India were instrumental for the rise of Indian Nationalism.

The Nationalist viewpoint stands opposite to AR DESAI'S understanding of Indian Nationalism . Being a Marxist he takes into account how economic history located in the base of the society influences to superstructure of politics & political mobilization. He writes that prior to the British rule the concept of nationalism was absent because people of India were living in village communities and were dependent on agriculture. **Jajmani system** , continued to be the socioeconomic history pf preBritish India for which people did not come up together & manifested organized struggles against the Mughal rulers.

With the consolidation of economic interests & development of industrial infrastructure and subsequently the entry of British goods in Indian markets destroyed the traditional fabric of Indian market and society (**jajmani system**) which accelerated the burden on

poor peasants & craftsmen , artisans , etc leading them towards `mass poverty`. Indian peasants suffered debttrap, forced eviction from land , were exploited at the hands of British loyalists zamindars. Thus peasants from different parts of the country supported by their local leaders waged a revolt 1857 Revolt 2nd phase of Indian Nationalism.

According to Desai, Nationalism in India was a bourgeoisie construct for the furtherance of their selfish interests 3rd phase of Indian Nationalism. The Indian industrialists funded the Indian middle class to hold meetings , organize public protests against the British as Indian industries had collapsed absolutely& British monopoly was established in India by **1880s(12 industries owned by Indians)**. 4th phase of Indian Nationalism- began with the **Kisan Sabha Movements**.; which were instigated by the local leaders having socialist orientation to mobilize Indian peasantry against the zamindars by refusing to pay taxes.

Thus Desai holds that Nationalism in India is a bourgeoisie construct for the furtherance of their interests. Nationalism is used as a vehicle for the perpetuation of the dominance of the dominants than making India an all-inclusive society, where poverty is wiped out, illiteracy is history, social discrimination is unfound and unity & equality is vibrant! Amidst this, there was opposition to this process as well, especially from South India and depressed castes. **Periyar** debunked Gandhian idea of nationalism as alien to Dravidians. He saw in it an attempt to foist upon them Brahminic culture. Similarly, **Ambedkar** too rejected Gandhian nationalism and argued that it gives moral justification to caste based inequalities. However, the most serious impediment emerged in form of **'two nation theory'**

B. MODERNIZATION OF INDIAN TRADITION

Modernization in India started mainly with the Western contact, especially through

establishment of the British rule. This contact had a special historicity which brought about many far reaching changes in culture and social structure of the Indian society. Not all of them, however, could be called modernizing. The basic direction of this contact was towards modernization, but in the process a variety of traditional institutions also got reinforcement. Initially, the contact with British led to growth of a modernizing sub-culture or Little tradition of Westernization, especially during the seventeenth century in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, where a small nucleus of interpreters, trader-cum-middlemen emerged who were slowly being socialized to Western ways; subsequently, there also emerged sects which emphasized assimilation of Western cultural norms, and Western modes of learning (e.g. Brahmo samaj, Prarthana Samaj, etc.); these also ran a crusade against obscurantism Hindu traditions.

These movements on one hand led to the consolidation of the British power towards the middle of the nineteenth century on the other finally led to the institution of a modernizing Great tradition. Its components were: a universalistic legal system, expansion of Western form of education, urbanization and industrialization, spread of new means of communication and transport and social reforms.

Along with these modernization norms structural modernization also took place. For instance rational bureaucratic systems of administration and judiciary, army, and industrial bureaucracy, new classes of business elite and entrepreneurs came into being. These were accompanied by emergence of political elite and a nationalist leadership by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Growth of industrial entrepreneurship also contributed to the emergence of industrial working class and trade unions organized on corporate lines as in the West. These

modernizing structures had a uniform character throughout the country. Their development led; therefore, to articulation of nationalist aspirations in the country which itself was a major step in the growth of modernization.

There was, however, one important feature of Indian modernization during the British period. The growth of this process was selective and segmental. It was not integrated with the micro-structures of Indian society, such as family, caste and village community.

For a long time caste and ethnic factors were given recognition in recruitment of officers to army and middle and lower ranks of bureaucracy. Later, in the twentieth century, as the nationalist movement gathered momentum, a communal electorate system was introduced. These historical factors have deeply influenced the process of modernization which followed during the post-colonial period. It increased the contingency of traditional institutions and symbolisms to the Indian process of modernization.

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

Community Development Projects have carried the cultural norms and role-strictures of modernity to each and every village in India, and this, coupled with introduction of land reforms and elective village panchayats, has initiated villagers to a bureaucratic form

of participation in local level management and administration of justice.

But modernization in India has led to both continuity as well as change. Modernization has impacted each and every part of Indian society, but along with modernization, India has also been undergoing the process of traditionalization.

Primordial identities have transformed themselves to suit the present needs of modernization. But they have survived. Caste has in the process undergone radical transformation of roles, developed new functional adaptations and activated aspirations unleashed by democratization of polity and power structure. Now it functions as an important structural network in the process of modernization. The continuance of caste marriage is an example.

Further, political mobilization is along caste lines. Also, positive discrimination has led to strengthening of caste networks across the country, and made caste identities stronger. Secularism, untouchability, non-parochialism are some cultural demands of modernization in contemporary India which its traditional value system continues to resist. The existence of **khap panchayats** and their multiple rulings which enforce caste and patriarchal norms shows the traditional character of Indian society. Political mobilization in India is along caste and religious lines.

In cultural sphere, major changes have been introduced by legislations. These seek to abolish social inequalities and exploitations handed down by tradition and accord democratic rights and constitutional privileges to all members of society. This has led to a trend away from Sanskritization. But these legislations have not been accepted by the people, which have led to a continuance of customs and traditions, example a recent survey shows that untouchability is still practices in urban and rural areas of India.

Patriarchy is still widely practiced in India. Though the government has tried to do away with this evil, but in practice, Indian society is widely patriarchal. Example, sex selective abortion which is widely practiced in certain areas of the country.

Further, modernization has led to more connectedness which has led to reinforcement of traditions. Modern media of communication and transport are increasingly used for spreading ritual order and for rational organization of religious groups and their mode of activities and social participation.

There is a tendency among religious sects to organize themselves on rational bureaucratic model, and the previous fission of each new sect from the parent body has now changed into strong orientation towards fusion.

Inconsistencies are similarly there in structural changes that India has undergone during the post-colonial phase of modernization. Micro-structures like caste, family and village community have retained their traditional character; caste has shown unexpected elasticity and latent potential for adaptation with modern institutions, such as democratic participation, political party organization and trade unionism, and it persists, unabatedly. Joint family loyalties and particularistic norms continue to prevail.

Thus, modernization in India has led to changes in almost all spheres of life, but it has also led to reinforcement of tradition. Thus, Indian modernization is a process of continuity and change.

Social change is the change in established patterns of social relationships, or change in social values, or change in structures and sub structures operating in society. Indian society, has been a 'society in transition', particularly due to influences of British colonialism, and social change in India, both in the colonial and post - Independence India has been analyzed by various scholars using

different perspectives.

According to Yogendra Singh, Indian society being a society of 'great historical depth' and 'plurality of traditions', propositions about social change should be comprehensive and adequate. He has cited various limitations of different traditions of evaluation of social change in India. a) Due to the nationalistic aspirations social change was transformed from a normal social process to being treated as something 'desirable.' Some social scientists treated change synonymously with 'development and progress.' This introduced 'non-scientific elements' in the evaluation of social change in India. b) Studies suffer from 'value bias' and structural realities are ignored. The difference between dialectical and functionalist analysis are exaggerated due to ideological reasons.

Pointing out the limitations of the earlier approaches in the study of social change in India

1. **Evolutionary approach**
2. **Cultural approach**
3. **Ideological approach**
4. **Structural approach, he proposed a 'integrated approach'** to provide a comprehensive perspective on social change in India. The 'integrated approach' provides a new 'paradigm' to observe and describe social change in India, by integrating the underlying similarities in the conceptual categories and theoretical formulations of the above four approaches, to studying social change.

The paradigm has the following features-:

1. **Substantive domain:** It refers to the 'domain of the phenomena' which is undergoing change, i.e. whether it is at the level of 'culture or social structure'.
2. **Context:** It refers to where the change producing processes begin and

materialize. It could begin at the 'micro' or 'macro' levels. Macro-structures consist of role relationships which have a pan-Indian extension of boundaries, e.g. bureaucracy, industry, market. Micro Structures have limited boundaries such as kinship, family, caste, and tribe.

3. **Sources of change:** The causal sources of change can be either 'endogenous' (Orthogenetic) or 'exogenous' (Heterogenetic). Endogenous refer to changes from within the social system and Exogenous refer to diffusion of culture from without the social system.
4. **Direction of change:** It is taken to be as 'evolutionary linear', from traditionalization to modernization. Modernization represents the net balance of changes following from heterogenetic contact.

Applying this paradigm Yogendra Singh, analyzes social change in India. He makes a distinction between social change and modernization, arguing that social change need not always mean modernization. He views modernization in India primarily as and

- i) Evolutionary linear change
- ii) Structural change.

Prior to modernization, the traditions of India were based on various principles of 'hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence'. These were the basic aspects of tradition. Modernization in India commenced only with its contact with the West, which brought about vast changes in the Indian social structure. Islamization (Heterogenetic) and Sanskritization within Hinduism (Orthogenetic) led to 'cultural transformations' in India, both at the level of 'little traditions' (micro) and 'great traditions'(macro). However, these sources of change led only to 'positional changes' and did not lead to any basic structural changes. Whatever structural changes occurred in the pre- contact phase were 'oscillatory' in nature

rather than 'evolutionary' (pre- industrial cities, migration). With the establishment of the British rule in India, modern cultural norms and forms of social structure were introduced. The impact of the West was fundamentally different from that of Islam , although both were heterogenetic and both began with political domination.

In the beginning the contact led to the growth of a 'modernizing sub culture or Little tradition of Westernization, during the seventeenth century in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Subsequently, there also emerged sects which emphasized assimilation of Western cultural norms, e.g. **Brahmo Samaj, Pratharna Samaj**. These movements and the consolidation of the British power, in the middle of the nineteenth century, led to the institution of a 'modernizing Great Tradition'. Its components were 'universalistic legal system, expansion of western form of education, urbanization, industrialization. Along with this structural modernization also took place, in the emergence of rational bureaucratic systems of administration, judiciary, army and industrial bureaucracy, along with a nationalist leadership.

One important feature of Indian modernization during the British period, was it was 'selective and segmental.' It was not integrated with the 'micro - structures of Indian society,' such as family, caste, village community. Some British administrators were wrongly impressed with the 'staticness and autonomy' of these **micro structures** compared with the rest of India. This was especially so about the notion of the village community and the caste system. These historical factors have deeply influenced the process of modernization which followed during the post -colonial period.

Following Independence, modernization process in India has undergone a basic change from its colonial pattern. As an integral part of 'developmental strategy', modernization has been envisaged for all levels of cultural and

structural systems. Discontinuity in modernization between 'macro - structures ' and 'micro -structures' and between Little and Great Traditions, as during the British regime has been consciously abolished. Introduction of adult suffrage and a parliamentary form of political structure have carried politicization to every sector of social organization. Legal reforms in Hindu marriage and inheritance laws have impacted the foundations of traditional Hindu family structure. Rural development Projects carried the cultural norms and role -structures of modernity to each and every village in India coupled with elective village panchayats, introducing the villagers to bureaucratic forms of participation.

As the process of modernization becomes all encompassing, it also generates inter - structural tensions and conflicts between traditions.(past and contemporary). The cultural pre-requisites of a comprehensive modernization necessitates adaptive changes in the system of values, which come in direct confrontation with traditional cultural values and norms. However, according to Yogendra Singh, despite continual tensions and contradictions, the chances of 'structural breakdown' are minimal as democratic values have fairly institutionalized in the political system. Caste has undergone a rational self transformation into associations. Cultural gap which has widened between various levels of elite (political and non - political) does not go far enough to introduce major conflict about the ideology of modernization.

Future course of modernization in India would depend much on the manner in which the tensions are resolved as modernization gathers momentum. The contradictions also symbolize the frictions caused by upward movement of hitherto suppressed aspirations and interests of groups. Protest movements are inevitable in democratic transition to modernization. A major assumption would be that at no stage in the process of development would conciliation as a goal of resolving

contradictions be replaced by a policy of controlled suppression. Though integrated and comprehensive, yet Yogendra Singh's analysis of social change has been subjected to criticisms. Gunnar Myrdal, rejects the evolutionary theory of change and argues that social change could be 'circular.

C. PROTESTS AND MOVEMENTS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD:-

Protests are generally issue based and relatively short lived as compared to movements. Colonial rule saw numerous types of protests and social movements arising out of discontent with colonial rules and structural disparities of Indian society. Colonial rules led to many changes to traditional social structure which was resisted by Indians. Their economic policies, their religious policies, their social policies all led to reactions from Indians. So, causes were both internal as well as external. For example – while peasant movements were largely result of excesses of colonial policies, caste movements were result of internal fault lines in Indian society.

Various social movements were – tribals movements, backward class movements, peasants movements, women movements, religious movements, nationalistic movements, educational movements, industrial or labor movements and so on. Most of them were issue based and concerned minimum needs under an oppressive rule in an unequal society. Leadership was generally from inside, but some enlightened Europeans also lent helping hand. Most of them were driven by interest ideology, but some of them were also integrated with nationalistic ideology.

Main socio religious reform movements were – **Brahmo Samaj, Prarthna Samaj, Arya Samaj, Aligarh Movement** and so on. Similarly tribal movements were – **Rampa rebellion, Khond rebellion, Koya rebellion** and so on. Peasant movements

included – **Champan movement, Kheda Satyagraha, Tebhaga movement.**

The dominant features of socio-political thought in colonial India were liberalism and nationalism. The liberal phase was characterized by attempts to rationalize and democratize the social and religious institutions. The liberals of the 19th century believed that if religious and social reforms were first achieved, they would in due course lead to political and economic freedom.

The social reform movement of the 19th century was partly a response to the Western impact on a traditional society and to come to terms with the colonial challenge posed by the colonial presence. Since the western impact was first felt in Bengal, the western educated Bengalis were the first to raise the banner of reform. At the same time Indian society was also exposed to the activities of missionaries. The missionaries presented Hinduism as a mass of superstitions and cruel practices and projected Christianity as the ideal faith. The missionary activity aroused a new spirit of inquiry among the thoughtful Indians regarding their own faith. It made them to go back to Vedas to find what true Hinduism was.

RELIGIOUS REFORMS:

- **Attack on idolatry and superstitions:** Early social reformers adopted almost an iconoclastic attitude towards idol worship and polytheism. The endeavor of the Brahmo Samaj, for instance was to remove from Hinduism all idolatrous practices. They considered the proliferation of gods and goddesses as later development, unknown to Vedic age.
- **The new theistic ideal:** The 19th century religious reforms not only repudiated polytheism, but more importantly stressed the theistic tendencies in Hinduism. Raja Ram Mohan Roy made common cause with Christian and Muslim Unitarianism. The Brahmo Samaj claimed that only God defines as

the eternal, unsearchable, immutable being who is the author and preserver of the universe can claim the unquantified and enthusiastic worship of all men without distinctions of caste, colour, creed or race.

- **Going back to Vedas:** Religious reinterpretation of Hindu doctrines was sought by new movements such as the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj who attempted to refine the current form of Hinduism to remove the prevalent dogmas.

D. SOCIAL REFORMS:

- **Attack on caste system:** Firstly, it was argued that caste was not part of the pristine and pure religion but a subsequent unhealthy development. Raja Ram Mohan Roy for instance, considered the priests as the main culprits responsible for perpetuating the myth of sacred origins of caste. Secondly, the reformers used rational arguments to show that caste was doing more harm than good and that caste was not promoting the political interest of the Hindus and that it acted as a hindrance to the rise of nationalism.
- **Education and upliftment of women:** It was recognized the women need to be educated to improve their plight. The reformers spoke against the practice of purdah, sati and polygamy. They employed religious scriptures to support their cause. For instance, Raja Ram Mohan Roy cited Manu, Yajnavalkya and other to show Sati was never compulsory
- **Attack on the practice of untouchability:** It was recognized that humans were born equal and that untouchability was a stigma on Indian society. Various reform movements were initiated by Gandhi, Ambedkar, Periyar etc. to eradicate the practice.

Peasant and tribal movements:

Peasants and tribes rebelled against exploitative rulers. During the British rule, the number of famines recorded in India was unprecedented. During the first half of the 19th century, 7 big famines were recorded which led to the death of 15 lakh people. Similarly, in the latter half of the 19th century there were 24 famines causing over 200 lakh deaths. The most devastating was the Bengal Famine of 1943 which killed 3 to 4 million Indians.

Peasants were burdened with taxation and eviction from land; hence their movements were directed against excessive taxation. Also, due to commercialization of agriculture, peasants moved from food crops to cash crops, which led a fall in food grain production leading to famines. Hence, these hungry peasants revolted and protests. Examples are **The Fagir and Sanyasi Rebellions (1770-1820s), Indigo Rebellion (1859-1862), Farazi Movement (1838-1848).**

The aggressive economic policies of the British shattered the traditional agrarian system of India and worsened the condition of peasants. The peasant revolts taking place in various parts of the country were mainly directed at these policies. Though these revolts were not aimed at uprooting the British rule from India, they created awareness among the Indians.

Tribals:

British policies proved harmful to the tribal society. This destroyed their relatively self-sufficient economy and communities. The tribal groups of different regions revolted against the Britishers. Their movements were anti-colonial in nature because they were directed against the colonial administration. The tribals used traditional weapons, mainly bows and arrows and often turned violent. The Britishers dealt severely with them. They were declared criminals and anti-social. Their property was confiscated. They were

imprisoned and many of them were hanged. **The tribal movement in India remained confined to some regions only. Examples are Santhal Rebellion (1855-57), Munda Rebellion (1899-1900), Jaintia and Garo Rebellion (1860-1870s), Uprising of the Bhils (1818-1831), Kol Uprising (1831-1832),**

Workers: Whereas the trade union movements (formation of All India Trade Union Congress in 1920) wanted the rights of workers being respected, an increase in wage, reduction in working hours and improvement in working conditions, which were pathetic.

Political Liberalism:

- Freedom, Law and Reason: Most of the reformers were influenced by western learning. Western philosophers like Kant and Mill particularly influenced them. Demands were raised for more rights and privileges for self-determination and freedom.
- Feeling of nationalism: Ideas of French and American Revolution along with stories of new independent nations charged up the atmosphere with ideas of nationalism. Ideals of democracy and universal franchise started gaining grounds with more interaction with the west through education and flow of ideas.

The socio-religious movements argued for radical transformation of Indian society by adapting to liberal and rational principles. These movements appealed to the masses, asking them to do away with irrational practices. These movements sought British help to bring about legislations to bring about these social changes. They contributed in spreading liberal principles among the masses. Many of these educated youth went on to lead the freedom struggle movement, which eventually led to freedom for India.

The movements caused due to economic reasons were opposed to British rule and wanted radical transformation of their present

status. Peasants wanted to establish the old structure of India society, whereas the traders demanded more rights and better wages. Many of these movements failed, but they helped in creating awareness in the society about the exploitation caused by the British rule. Further, the support provided to these movements by the nationalists and freedom fighters led to the belief that 'India should be ruled by Indians'.

Thus, each social group had its own reasons to raise its voice against the colonial powers. Many of the movements failed, many succeeded. But all these movements were immensely important in engaging the masses and creating awareness among them about the ill motives and ill effects of British in India. This gradually led to the development of anti-British attitude among Indians, leading to an increase in participation of more and more people in the freedom struggle.

Protests and movements during colonial rules are also seen with skepticism by some as many of them, especially reform movements, saw only elite participation and they could never become mass movements to bring any significant structural change. So, they were often called as 'denationalized and westernized' movements. Secondly, they were also narrow in their approach and most of the time were localized and often excluded the part of India which fell under the princely states.

Movements during colonial rule in a way laid down the foundation of social change in India as ideas behind many of the movements were also affected by Western ideas of equality and liberty for all. They also, in a way checked the decadence of Indian society and led to national awakening. Protests and movements during colonial period also bred nationalistic sentiments and many of them worked in tandem with national freedom struggle and helped in achieving independence.

D. SOCIAL REFORMS:

Social reforms are gradual changes in the social aspects of society, which generally involve the improvement in position of the marginalized parts of society. Social reforms movements seek to change the social and political views of the marginalized groups and of the society at large.

Social reforms during colonial rule came as a result of both orthogenetic and heterogenetic changes and were pursued by many enlightened legends in ancient period, **Gautam Buddha and Lord Mahavira** have tried to reform the society against Brahminical ritualism, sacrifice, orthodoxy, etc.

During medieval period, famous saints **like Kabir, Nanak, Ravidas, Dadu**, etc, opposed the caste system and propagated humanitarianism so that an egalitarian society can be established. But before British rule, the reforms were very partial, limited and the ideological background for reforms were mainly religious. Hence, they were more religious than social.

But during British rule. Indian society came in contact with some modern values like equality, justice, rule of law, IPC, democracy, freedom etc. which helped to understand Indian social practices in the reference of these modern values which helped to identify the evil practices customs, rituals practiced in Indian society.

Britishers like **William Bentick, Metcalfe, Ripon** etc, by many other Western social activists like Madam Annie Besant, many Western educated Indians like **Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Justice Ranade** etc, by many local social reformers like **Mahatma Gandhi, Jyotiba Phule, Narayan Guru** etc, by many indigenous social organizations like **Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj**, by Women's organizations like **Sarda Sadan, All India Women's Conference** etc, by various social legislations and institutional mechanisms.

Reform Movements in India took place due to

the modern western values which led to identify. - Those social practices which were not good for the society. - Those practices and traditions which were inhumanitarian in nature like sati, untouchability, sacrifices, etc.

- The requirement of introduction of some modern values like women education, anti caste social system, English education etc. In India, social reforms started during the early decades of the 19th century, which is referred to as the Indian renaissance.

The impact of these movements were:

- **Impact on Women:**

- ✓ Due to the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, **Sati** was abolished. Hence, women were saved from this age-old social evil.

- ✓ Widow remarriage started to gain approval due to the efforts of the social reformers. Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. o Women's education started to become a key area of focus. The main efforts in this area were that of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, who started several schools to promote women's education.

- ✓ **Bengal Regulations (1795 and 1804) declared infanticide illegal.**

- **Impact on Children:**

- ✓ Child marriage was widely practiced across the country. Due to these movements, the British government gradually increased the minimum age of marriage for both boys and girls. The Sarda Act of 1930 is an example.

- ✓ Decrease in child marriage led to improvement in status of women.

- **Education:**

- ✓ Ram Mohan Roy was one of the earliest propagators of modern Western education. Brahmo Samaj was a major organization in this. o Modern education gradually

replaced religious education. Also, education became exoteric from esoteric (in the Vedic times)

- **Caste:**

- ✓ Caste system had become very rigid and exploitative, especially for the Harijan community. The reform movements argued for equality and to put an end to untouchability.
- ✓ The same things were reiterated by Gandhi in his campaign for Harijans.
- ✓ Self-respect movement and Temple Entry movement were remarkable in putting forward the demands of the lower castes, and helped the lower castes to improve their status in society.

- **Religious superstitions** were replaced by logic and reasoning. Secularism became accepted as a very important value, which was a major reason for India adopting a secular Constitution after independence.

Thus, the social reform movements during the pre-independence period led to widespread changes in the social structure of the country. It helped to make the entire social structure more equality-oriented, and helped to remove social evils like sati, child marriage etc.

These movements helped in bringing about awareness about these social evils, and about the exploitative parts of the social system in India. Also, these reform movements helped define the trajectory that India took after independence, the primary aspects of these are the provision of equality, secularism and freedom in the Constitution.

Reasons:

Society was illiterate, unaware and orthodox which could not understand the Social Reforms based on modern principles.

- Indian society was dominated by religion and tradition which was strongly passing

from generation to generation, hence the number of anti-reforms or reactionary forces were much more higher than the reformists.

- The Reform movements were largely urban centric and could not reach to the rural side.

But it cannot be concluded that the Reform movements were unproductive and futile. Though during that period these efforts could not bear visible fruits but it led to the foundation of modern India and all their efforts reflected in laws, programmes, policies of the state after the independence. What the reformers wanted, we are trying to make it a reality.

UNIT-II

(SOCIAL STRUCTURE)

1. Rural and Agrarian Social Structure

IDEA OF INDIAN VILLAGE

Village occupies an important place in the social and cultural landscape of contemporary India. Notwithstanding India's significant industrialisation over the last seven decades, and a considerable increase in the urban population, a large majority of Indians continue to live in its more than six lakh villages and remain dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly. According to 2011 census, rural India accounted for nearly 69% of India's total population.

Most of the British scholars were looking at Indian villages from colonial view thinking that village communities are not subject to change, pessimistic therefore village communities are "**Little Republics**", self-perpetuating in character, stereotype and self-governed. The definition is more romantic than authentic. They glorified Indian villages as proof of continuity and stability of Indian civilization.

Gandhiji said that '**India lives in villages**'. He mentioned that one cannot imagine freedom movement in India without the participation of the village community and so he instituted **Gram Sena**. He believed that if India lives in villages, developmental programs should start from there only.

In Ramayana three words are used for village i.e. Gram, Nagar, Puri. When one talks about villages it is assumed that it is a place where Commoners live. In Kautilya's Arthshastra it has been mentioned that it is the duty of the

King to ensure how new villages are to be

created, how much tax people should pay and the extent of their linkage with the social world. Therefore, a number of villages have emerged throughout the history of India.

When the Mughals came to India they made villages as the smallest administrative unit, Mazumdars, Zamindari was introduced in India. When British came to India there existed autonomous and semi-autonomous villages controlling a huge quarter of fertile and wasteland. Different commissions were instituted from 1772 onwards to make the best use of village lands like Zamindari system, Ryotwari, Mahalwari System and taxes were collected through these units. British treated villages as an economic unit whereas villages in India have several other characteristics, a cultural unit (traditionally), political unit (in modern and contemporary India).

Apart from it being an important demographic and structural reality, characterizing contemporary Indian, village has also been an important ideological category; a category through which India has often been imagined in modern times. The village has been seen as an ultimate signifier of the authentic native value, a place where one could see or observe the real India and develop an understanding of the way local people organize their social relationships and belief systems.

Village study emerged as a critique to Indology. As Indologists studied India from text view and considered textual information and historical texts, they presented only a restricted picture by believing that whatever has been written in these texts must be true and that it must have happened.

Village is a basic unit of social structure; through village we try to understand the

sociology of India. When historians look at a village from an economic point of view political scientist looks at it from the criteria of functions of village headman, caste panchayats etc. Village is not just a structure, within a village, it consists of multiple structures e.g. caste social structure, class social structure, power social structure as observed by **Andre Beteille**. Different aspects of village social life has been an important subject matter for sociologists to study village, its continuity and compared these village structures to find out similarities and differences among them. These village studies greatly reflect the diversity present in India.

Indian society was very different from British society and that aroused curiosity. The focus of study was village communities because the village communities demonstrated the life of natives in its authentic forms. Village was the repository of Indian tradition. **Andre Beteille** says "village was not merely a place where people lived, it had a design in which were reflected the basic values of Indian civilization. This is how an outsider, in order to understand the world in which villagers lived, gave an explanation.

According to **Dumont**, 'a village is far more than a locale, more than just a collection of houses and fields'. It was not as isolated as the British had projected.

It is expressed in the words of **Charles Metcalf** as, "Indian village communities were little republics having nearly everything they wanted within themselves and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasted. Dynasty after dynasty tumbled down. Revolutions succeeded in revolution, but the village communities remained the same."

A more realistic picture was presented after the numerous field studies that were done right after independence in 1950s and colonial notions of village as a closed, isolated and unchanging entity. Book view gave way for field work for more realistic assessment of

villages. Villages were also studied in terms of their economic basis. Cropping patterns were studied and agrarian structures were analyzed. Evils prevailing in Indian villages were also realistically assessed and a holistic account of not only economic condition, but social and cultural situation was also taken.

VILLAGE STUDIES IN INDIA

The rise of Indian sociology cannot be truly studied through Indological method. Its growth and maturity cannot be understood without explaining the influence of village studies. Village study is not an ideology and neither a methodology rather it is an intellectual attempt to study Indian society when it is evident to look into the vastness of its population, diversity of its culture, variability in people's response to change.

If the village studies during the colonial times were made for consolidating the British Raj, in the post-independent era these were conducted for basically two reasons, namely, village development or reconstruction and Panchayati Raj. Village studies, thus, became an urgent task for nation-building.

W H R River's study of The Todas in 1906 was based on intensive field work and was the first monograph on the people of India in the modern anthropological tradition. Some other well-known village studies of colonial times include – '**Behind Mud Walls, 1930**', was written by **William and Charlotte Wiser**, a missionary couple who lived for five years in a village in United Provinces, studies by Robert Redfield, Munro, Metcalfe, Reed, etc.

It is too difficult to develop scientific understanding of India. Colonial rulers, administrators were holding romantic opinions about village India indicating that village is the heart of India which is quite static, self-governed, self-sufficient, politically autonomous and culturally unique, and the linkage between village and larger society is purposive and specific. This

imagination evolved the thesis of self-sufficient character of village communities in India. These theories were rejected by **MN Srinivas** and **A M Shah** in their famous article "**Myth of Self-Sufficiency**" of village communities in India. Collecting empirical data from different villages they indicated that village communities are not self-sufficient because people belonging to one village were practicing exogamy thus marrying women belonging to other villages.

The incidence of foreign trade is well-documented in Indian history indicating that exposure of the village to the outside world. They further indicated that in traditional Indian villages there was presence of specialized market (cattle market, vegetable market, and textile market) and people belonging to different villages were visiting these markets extending the network of economic relationships from one village to the larger society.

Villages had a strong political network with the outside world but British scholars failed to understand caste councils, a local council which involved people belonging to different villages took part in the decision-making process. Hence conceptualizing a village as self-governing unit is a Colonial bias towards India.

They concluded by saying that British notice the presence of no permanent market in village India. They further noticed that India's villages are not well connected through urban centers and most of the disputes are resolved within the village than litigants coming through the purview of legal code. Thus the colonial scholars jumped into conclusion that village communities are self-sufficient and self-governing units that they are potentially not.

Milton Singer and Mc Kim Marriott also offered a strong rejection of the idea village self-sufficiency. In their study they found out

that some villages doesn't have graveyard within them, one fourth of the credits come from outside, barbers, Brahmins from adjoining villages regularly come to offer their service to the people of the village therefore economic and social dependency of the village with other adjoining villages were highly pronounced and so village self-sufficiency is an intellectual imagination and not a matter of fact.

Marriott introduced concepts like universalization and parochialization to explain the cultural communication between village and larger society. For example during the green revolution peasant political party emerged into the national level and its impact is not restricted to village level only.

The year 1955 was of immense significance for Indian anthropology and sociology (also rural sociology). That year, for the first time, four books and several papers on Indian villages were published. These studies were made by Indian as well as American and British social scientists. **Dube's Indian Village, Majumdar's Rural Profiles, Marriott's Village India, and Srinivas' India's Villages** were the major publications of the year.

The same year a conference was also held under the chairmanship of Dr. **Irawati Karve** at Madras in which Prof. Robert Redfield also participated. They discussed the concept of **Sanskritisation proposed by Srinivas in Religion and Society in Coorg**, reiterated by him who thought the discussion had reinforced his belief in its validity.

The proceedings of the conference have been published in a book entitled Society in India. Later, Twice Born (Carstairs, 1957), Indian Changing Villages (Dube, 1958), Caste and Communication in an Indian Village (Majumdar, 1958), Caste and the Economic Frontier (Bailey, 1957) and Village Life in Northern India (Lewis, 1958) were added to the library of Indian rural studies.

After Independence, the major agenda was to study villages to find out the socio-economic makeup so that realistic policies may be formulated by the government. Economic surveys were done along with anthropological studies. While economists used quantitative techniques and their method was 'more scientific', the anthropological approach had its own advantages. Anthropological studies provided qualitative analysis. Village studies now included all the dimensions of study – structure, culture and change.

S.C. Dube's (1955) Indian Village is a traditional account of **Shamirpeth**. Shamirpeth is located in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. Dube brings out details about the village and informs that despite there being more than a dozen castes, the village displays integration.

The methodology employed in this study is interdisciplinary. Experts from different development departments have contributed towards the completion of study. It is a classic example of structural-functional method. The nature of study is holistic.

M.N. Srinivas' (1955) edited work **India's Villages** contains 17 village studies conducted by Indian, British and US anthropologists. Among the contributors are included M.N. Srinivas, David Mandelbaum, Eric J. Miller, Kathleen Gough, McKim Marriott, S.C. Dube and others. These studies have taken into consideration the totality of the village life. However, some issues are raised in some of the studies. Some of the contributors have come out with certain conceptual constructs.

The unity of the village, it is found, is based on the solidarity of caste. Caste is a strong unifying factor. The concept of 'dominant caste' has for the first time appeared in this edited book. It has been proposed by M.N. Srinivas in his study of **Rampura**. The methodology employed by the contributors has been structural-functional.

F. G. Bailey's (1957) study of two villages in Orissa brings out the problem of caste and class formation. He argues that at the local level economic formulations run across the caste ranking. Bailey employs structural-functional methods and analyses the rural life in the context of changing agrarian structure.

MS Rao in a study of Yadavpur, finds out how economic affluence has given a self-confidence to Yadav's who now are active in politics and evolving into dominant caste as against traditional dominant Jats. Likewise the dynamic nature of caste, inter-caste conflict, intra-caste conflict are analyzed in the writings of several scholars who point out at the constant adjustment that Indian villages are going to in space and time.

D.N. Majumdar (1958), in the study of **Mohana**, a village in Uttar Pradesh, considers village as a concept, a way of life. He follows Redfield's concept of 'little community' and applies four specific characters of Redfield's little community.

Rural Sociology in India (1969) by A.R. Desai is a very interesting and refreshing work in the field of rural sociology. Desai has provided an interesting introduction to rural sociology in India in its first part. The remaining 16 parts contain village studies done by different anthropologists and sociologists.

Andre Beteille in his study '**Siripuram: A Village in Tanjore District, 1962**' stated that – 'At least as far back in time as living memory goes, there was no reason to believe that village was fully self-sufficient even in economic sphere'.

Yogendra Singh finds that there are several village institutions which have their network spread over to a number of villages. The inter-caste relations are characterized by reciprocity. For instance, the jajmani system

unites a single village to a number of villages. The recent studies which we have in social anthropology show that the village unity today has become a fiction. Jajmani system is replaced by cash payment.

In fact, in all regions of Indian villages are changing in respect to economic institutions, power structure, and inter-caste relations. "A major source of economic change is land reform which has created great sociological impact on village social structure.

However, village studies were also constrained by a number of factors. They were limited in their focus and didn't develop any new theoretical perspective which could be applied in other villages as well. The method of participant observation that was the main strength of these studies also imposed certain limitations on the fieldworkers. It also limited their access to the dominant groups in the local society. They chose to avoid asking all those questions or approaching those subordinate groups, which they thought, could offend the dominant interests in the village. The anxiety of the researchers to get accepted by the village community made their work conservative in outlook. Further, different sections of village had a different picture of village based on their social position. This made the choice of researchers difficult to arrive at a single narrative.

2. CASTE SYSTEM

Perspectives on the study of caste systems:
G.S. Ghurye, M.N. Srinivas, Louis Dumont,
Andre Beteille

CASTE SYSTEM

The word, "caste" is of Spanish and Portuguese origin. The term "caste" originated from the Spanish word "casta" meaning "lineage" or "race" or "a group having hereditary quality". It is derived from the Latin word "Custus", which means pure. The Spaniards were the first to use it, but its Indian application is from the Portuguese, who had so applied it in the middle of the fifteenth century. The current spelling of the word is after the French word "Caste", which appears in 1740 in the academies, and is hardly found before 1800. Before that time it was spelt as "cast". In the sense of race or breed of man it was used as early as 1555 AD. The Spanish word "Casta" was applied to the mixed breed between Europeans, Indians (American) and Negroes. But "caste" was not used in its Indian sense till the 17th century. The Indian use is the leading one now, and it has influenced all other uses.

Herbert Risley has defined caste as a collection of families or group of families, bearing name; claiming of common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competing to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community.

According to **George Lundberg**, caste is merely a rigid social class into which members are born and from which they can withdraw escape only with extreme difficulty. It is the type of stratification system which is most rigid in mobility and status.

According to **Anderson and Parker**, caste is that extreme form of social class organization

in which the position of individuals in the status hierarchy is determined by descent and birth. Whereas **William** says that caste is a system in which an individual's rank and its accompanying rights and obligations are ascribed on the basis of birth into a particular group.

Various theories which have been put forward to the study of caste in India like Varna theory, occupational theory, race theory, ritual theory, Commensality theory.

Varna theory: it derives data from Hindu texts. It says that Varna and caste are complementary to each other which a person inherits right from his birth. The term Varna means colour. In religious texts, the concept of Varna is used for grading people. These Varnas are Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudras.

Occupation theory: it has two types, the first one says that people get their names in terms of their occupation e.g. Lohar, sonar whereas in the second group people get their names not according to their caste or occupation (neutral identity) e.g. Jats as they go for diversified occupation.

Race theory: it says that there were two types of races i.e. Aryans and Dasus. The indigenous group of Dasus was defeated by the Aryans. Aryans being a superior race was not willing to give equal status to Dasus. But later on intermarriages took place which led to creation of different colour groups and this gave rise to different identity groups. Now they are different racial categories e.g. difference based on colour, difference based on occupation difference based on temperament.

Ritual theory: In a Theosophical, moralist, ritualistic society people go for different rituals for different purposes and out of which they gained their identity. E.g. Kshatriya performs the ritual at warfront. Rituals for common

welfare of people were performed by people belonging to superior status e.g. Brahmins.

Commensality theory: people living in a particular area develop interaction with their kiths and kins. They go for a specific kind of occupation and food and they worship their common great ancestors correspondingly. They carry their names and the names that they carry in one area are not taken by other people belonging to different areas e.g. Reddys, Bhumis, Caste is a product of commensality.

When British were studying Indian society they were trying to differentiate between caste systems in terms of race. Caste in India is nothing but the application of the concept of race in the West.

G.S. GHURYE

Professor G. S. Ghurye (1893-1983) is justifiably considered the doyen of Indian Sociology. On his return from Cambridge, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation under W.H.R. Rivers and later A.C. Haddon, Ghurye succeeded Sir Patric Geddes as Head of Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay in 1924.

He continued to head the Department until his retirement in 1959. After retirement, he was designated the first Emeritus Professor in the University of Bombay. Ghurye tried to understand the origin and characteristics of the Caste System on the basis of ancient text. In his book '**Caste and Races in India**,' he presented his perspective regarding the Caste System.

According to him, Vedic period starts from Rig-Veda and ends at about 600 B.C. Actually Aryans migrated around 5000 B.C. from the Caucasus region and inhabited areas of Iran and Afghanistan. They entered India around 2500 B.C. Aryan society and its people were divided into three categories. They can be more appropriately called classes rather than

caste at that time.

In this period, neither the word Jati mentioned, nor was it used in the sense it is being used today. In the case of 'Varna' that it was mentioned but not used in today's sense.

The three categories were Brahman / Kshatriya or Rajanya and Vysy. At that time, Brahman meant the poetry that was composed to propitiate the forces of nature. Aryans worshipped forces of nature. This poetry was called Brahman. Those who excelled in composing poetry were called brahman. Those who were entrusted with responsibility governing and defending the realm were called Rajanya. Vysy were the commoners who excelled in none of the two.

Ghurye played a key role in the professionalization of sociology by founding the Indian Sociological Society and its journal Sociological Bulletin. In addition, he encouraged and trained a large number of talented students who, in turn, advanced the frontiers of sociological and anthropological research in the country. With his own voluminous output and through the research of his able students Ghurye embarked on an ambitious project of mapping out the ethnographic landscape of India.

According to **G.S. Ghurye**, there are six main characteristics of caste system, which are briefly given below.

1. Segmental division of society:

The caste system divides the whole society into various segments or sections. Each of these castes is a well-developed social group, the membership of which is fixed by birth. So change from one caste to another caste is not possible.

2. Hierarchy:

The caste system is characterized by hierarchical order. Dumont believes that the hierarchical order of caste system is based on the concept of purity and pollution. At the top

of this hierarchy are the Brahmins and at the bottom is the Shudras.

3. Restriction on feeding and social inter-course:

In the caste system there are several restrictions which are related to food, drink and social inter-course. The members of the upper caste cannot take food or water from the lower caste members, even not interact with the members of the other castes but the vice-versa is permissible.

4. Civil and religious disabilities:

In the caste system, there is an unequal distribution of privileges and restrictions among its members. Generally, the higher caste people enjoy all the privileges and the lower caste people are put to all kinds of restrictions.

5. Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation:

Under caste system, each caste has its own traditional occupation. Occupation is fixed at the time of birth and the members of a caste are forced to follow the occupation of that caste.

6. Restriction on marriage:

In the caste system the principles of endogamy are strictly followed. That means, marriage within their own caste or sub-caste is purely followed.

Ghurye's definition helped to make the study of caste more systematic. He has also analyzed the changing pattern of caste system and has opined that it will diminish with the rise of modern education, but at the same time also admits that as caste based social and political organizations are developing, it is difficult to eliminate it. Scramble for benefits will destroy the unity of Indian society according to him.

He has, however, tried to glorify the culture of India in general and Hindus in particular. He also depicted caste as an integrative force in

society in the past, but also acknowledges its disharmonious present role. He proposes a revival of culture to infuse the spirit of fraternity to get rid of current evils from the caste system.

Criticism

- ✓ Occupational theory (Nesfield), Political Theory (Abbe Dubois), and Religious theory (Hocart and Senart) - do not agree with the Racial theory of the Caste System supported by Ghurye.
- ✓ **M.N. Srinivas** rejected the perspective of Ghurye by calling it a 'Text View' and questioned the validity of this research/perspective.
- ✓ **Verrier Elwin** and **Haimendorf** do not agree with the perspective of Ghurye that tribes belong to Hindu fold.
- ✓ Louis Dumont and others believe that caste is a cultural particularistic phenomenon which was not accepted by Ghurye.

M.N. SRINIVAS

Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas (1916-1999) was a world-renowned Indian sociologist. He is mostly known for his work on caste and caste systems, social stratification and Sanskritization in southern India. Srinivas' contribution to the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology and to public life in India was unique. M.N. Srinivas is the representative sociologist of India who belongs to Structural Functionalist perspective. He applied for A.R. **Radcliffe Brown's** Structural Functionalist perspective and **W.H. River's** diffusionist perspective in study of Caste System.

As may be expected, the sociological imagination of Srinivas, his methodology and theoretical perspective, loomed large in the early discussions. Srinivas is renowned to have effected a paradigm change in Indian Sociology in two respects. First, rejecting what he called the "**book-view**" of society as promoted by indologists, orientalist and

others (thus anticipating the later critique of orientalism, etc) he pioneered a **"field-view"**, one that was to be obtained by intense field-work in local communities, most prominently in the **Indian village**. The result was the rejection of essentialism and static view of Indian society as a rigid and inflexible, chaturvarna system, governed by unchanging religious beliefs and laws, a view adopted even by **Henry Maine and Karl Marx**.

In his book **"Caste and other Essays"** he presented his perspective regarding caste. He came to adopt a **structural functional approach**. Structural-functional approach is also one of the approaches within positivism. He wanted to study the Caste system through 'field work'. He rejected the Varna scheme about caste as mere 'textual view' and said that it no longer describes contemporary reality of caste. Utmost, it served only as a comparative frame of reference. He suggests **field work/contextual view** as the method for acquiring knowledge about caste system.

At the empirical level, caste existed as Jati. In every village or locality there existed a number of mutually exclusive castes, each of these castes being hereditary endogamous groups. These castes constitute a local hierarchy and that this hierarchy had two dimensions: **(a) Ritual (b) Secular**. The ritual dimension of Caste is based on mutual opposition of purity and pollution, while secular hierarchy is based on ownership of land, access to political power, numerical strength and education.

On the basis of his study of **Rampura village in Mysore**, he found that secular hierarchy may not always overlap with ritual hierarchy, so he introduced the concept of 'dominant caste'. Dominant Caste is the one which is placed high in secular hierarchy though it may be low in ritual hierarchy. He referred to **Vokkaliga castes of Karnataka**. It was a middle rung caste based on ritual hierarchy, but at the top of secular hierarchy. So,

Vokkaligas constituted the dominant caste in that area.

Each caste existed with occupational stability and that gave rise to interdependence of castes. It is this interdependence of castes, which was the basis for solidarity in village communities.

He used a multidimensional approach and focused on not just tradition, but he understood it in terms of status, wealth and power. He rejected the **mono-causal approach of Dumont** in understanding the caste in terms of purity and pollution. Srinivas didn't profess himself as a structure functionalist, but considered Indological and Marxist approaches as too ambitious for study of Indian society as they claim an absolute understanding of Indian society.

He had a **segmentary view** of caste. According to him, castes have numerous sub-divisions in form of sub-caste and study of all of them under an all-encompassing theory is doing an injustice to study of caste. He made a clear distinction between Varna and Jati. According to Srinivas, **'Varna is a macro theoretical schema, whereas caste or Jati is an all India phenomenon defining reality'**. He views caste system as dynamic and rejected the 'Varna view' which considers caste system as a rigid hierarchical system. Srinivas insists that the social reality of the caste system is not Varna – the ideological categorization – but Jati – the sub-caste that is the actually the interacting group. Concentration on Srinivas's field view showed a dynamic social system (village and caste) that is fluid, resilient and adaptive to changing social forces; his concepts such as of **Sanskritization and dominant caste** were central to this new understanding.

Sanskritization followed when a caste improves its secular status either by gaining land/wealth/political power. This in turn was

followed by adoption of culture and rituals of locally dominant castes. Sanskritic lifestyle was adopted to claim a high social success. The sanskritization depended on group acceptance which would be the village communities including Brahmins. However, he is often criticized for taking view of the dominant section of the society. He is accused of giving Sanskritization undue importance and ignoring the culture of lower castes. Others argue that Sanskritization was also not a new concept and just a cosmetic makeover of the universal process of reference groups.

On the other hand, Westernization was mobility outside the Caste System. It was an attempt to gain high secular status and not high ritual status, by adopting modern education, western lifestyle. **Westernization** was more common to **Dwija Castes**—Sanskritization was more common in middle rung castes. According to him caste system is not rigid as depicted by historians. For example – Kayasth of Bengal during Mughal times started to come close to ruling elite and eventually declared themselves as rajputs. Similar is the example of rise of Jats in North India and Lingayats in Karnataka as dominant castes. Thus, he views caste in many dynamic terms and secular mobility as a pre-condition for ritual mobility. Further, caste mobility is essentially group mobility.

He also mentions the concept of '**Dominant caste**' to illustrate the fluidity of caste system. According to him castes even ritually lower in hierarchy can have dominant position by virtue of their numbers and land resources. For long, he believed that caste will remain an important dimension of Indian society, but in a public speech titled '**Obituary on Caste System**' in 1999 he acknowledged that caste will ultimately fade away.

He also effected a paradigm change in another respect by aiming to transcend the dichotomy of two different yet similar social sciences, Sociology and Anthropology. The former was developed by western scholars to study

"their" on society, and the latter to study "Other" societies (in effect what they saw as (the now colonized) primitive, homogenous and undifferentiated societies devoid of history), Srinivas collapsed the two into one, adding his own innovations, in order to create "**a sociology we want**" for India.

Criticism

1. M.N. Srinivas rejected the cultural perspective of caste, especially propounded by Louis Dumont but many sociologists believe that caste is a cultural particularistic phenomena but M.N. Srinivas did not accept this
2. M.N. Srinivas presents only the harmonious and interdependent aspect of the caste system whereas caste is a competitive and phenomena of dominance over each other (William Rowe, Owen Lynch, R.E. Schermerhorn, F.G. Bailey etc.)
3. His caste perspective presents the caste system as a very static and functional system and somehow he tries to justify this phenomenon.
4. M.N. Srinivas neglects the political factor behind the dominance of one caste over the other.
5. His theory/perspective cannot be applied to other parts of India because of its inherent diversity.

LOUIS DUMONT

Louis Dumont, a French sociologist, came to India in 1968 with the objective of studying caste. He wrote the book "**Homo Hierarchies**". Dumont was influenced by the structural theory of **Levy Strauss** wherein he said that Western theoretical model was not applicable to India. When Western scholars came to India they had preconceived orientation and ideology though intensity differs from one society to another. To understand this continuous, prominent structure of inequality he came to India. He said that Indologists study caste from textual orientation where a structural functionalist

studies it from contextual perspective (MN Srinivas) but as a matter of fact text and context cannot be separated. **Text – what people must do; context says what people are doing.**

Dumont believed that values are not absolutely changing as they are the cemented property of culture and that values are held in differential content by the individuals. He believed that one should have sociology for India coming out of people themselves. Caste is a universal phenomenon in the case of India and caste should be studied from Indian perspective. He believed that caste is a synthesis between text and context. Louis Dumont alleged that the structuralists do not study the whole reality and keep their focus of study on specific reality. He takes into consideration the writings of French and German scholars e.g. Emily Durkheim, Hegel, Immanuel Kant and Marcel Mauss. He said that caste is all pervasive institution present in Indian society since historic times and he talks about;

1. Occupational specialisation (DoL),
2. Exclusivity of Brahminic position,
3. Social differences among different caste.

Occupational Specialisation: caste cannot change occupation because of the fact that they are committed to cultural tradition. Values do not permit them to go for any other type of occupation. Division of labour in case of caste is driven by cultural prescription rather than by economic logic. If they look at caste, every caste is maintaining social difference from the other caste. How this social distance is appropriated between two castes is subject to evaluation.

Dumont claimed that every caste is evolving its position in the hierarchical system in relation to proximity/distance from the position of Brahmins i.e. Brahmins have become a reference group. He talks about Hindu ideology and writes that things, beings, phenomena are part of two world i.e. **Purity**

and Pollution e.g. things – Ganga water; being – people and animals; phenomena – Sanskrit knowledge as a symbol of purity. Therefore according to him purity and pollution are the ideas which guide People's action in India.

Dumont further elaborates the Hindu notions of purity and pollution. According to him, menstruating women don't enter the kitchen/are not allowed inside the temples, because as long as blood is inside the body, it is pure, but as blood comes out it becomes impure. So, it is believed that women become impure during menstruation and thus not allowed. Same is the case with bathing. For a Hindu, bathing is a purificatory ritual and death is the most impure thing. So, people who bury dead bodies are considered to be impure. A Brahmin is considered to be pure because he is associated with those things which don't make him impure. But a barber has to cut hair and separate nails. Hair and Nails when separated from the body are considered polluting. So, a barber belongs to a low caste. So, social superiority of hierarchy is based on relative purity or impurity levels.

Caste System is a result of notions of purity and impurity. Dumont also says that, unlike western societies, there is a distinction between status and power in Indian society. In western society, status is based on political and economic power. In India, Kshatriya is politically powerful, Vysya is economically powerful, but still, they are inferior to Brahmin. Here, power is subordinated to status based on purity.

Dumont also says that India is a special example where power came to be secularized rather early. In the west and even in Africa (pharaohs), kings had power over both state and religion. They used to say that the king is Divine. But in India, religious authority was the monopoly of Brahmins. And the political power of kings was temporary due to this variation. So, politics and religion were

separate and thus political authority was secular.

According to him, caste plays an integrative role in Indian society and is distinctive of India and he sees caste system in terms of '**ideas and values**' i.e. caste system is an ideology. Ideology of Indian society is in binary opposition with Western ideology – modern against tradition, holism against individualism, hierarchy against equality, purity against pollution and status against power. Dumont emphasized on ideology as it is reflected through ancient texts.

According to Dumont, **caste hierarchy** is a peculiar feature of Indian society and there cannot be any cross cultural comparisons of caste system. He further says that hierarchy is of status and hence is independent of power. According to him even kings were subordinate to priests. This hierarchy, and hence separation of pure and impure, is evident in other fields of Hindu life as well. Jajmani as an economic system is also dominated by hierarchy and not principles of economics. Similarly, aspects of civil life such as marriage, eating, socialization are governed by hierarchy.

He also analyzed caste in changing times and according to him, overall framework has not changed. 'There is a change in society and not of society'. One significant change that has taken place is that traditional interdependence has been replaced by competing interests which he termed as '**substantialization of caste**'.

In conclusion, it can be advocated that Dumont's theory of caste may not be acceptable because it sounds to greatly Brahminic, culture bound and textual. But despite these limitations it is Dumont's whose study introduced an intellectual revolution in the field of sociology. Stereotype understanding of caste went into the state of oblivion. Ethno-sociological matter was introduced into Indian sociology and Dumont

offered ready-made answers to persistence of caste telling his readers that caste is a product of consciousness. It is a child of Hindu ideology hence it will never change through the introduction of new public policy therefore to kill caste system in India one has to get away from its bondage with Hindu cultural consciousness.

Criticism of Louis Dumont

Empirical evidence suggests that in many parts of the country Rajas were instrumental in promoting lower caste into the position of higher castes. Brahmins in ancient times were living under the patronage of the kings who were given political protection and revenue free lands; unfortunately Louis Dumont's sociology never pays any attention to the politics of caste as it was over committed to the cultural aspect of caste.

Louis Dumont's theory has been considered as stereotype, stiff and culture bound. He speaks in the tone Brahmins therefore his book "**New Manusmriti**" is engaged in celebrating Brahminic exclusivity. **Purity– pollution dichotomy** is a book view glorified by Louis Dumont that does not exist in a big way in empirical India. Caste is not a system of ideology but a form of hierarchical practice driven by the principles of domination and subordination, privileges and discrimination, security and anxiety and it's not a product of dichotomy between pollution and purity identically understood by every section of the society therefore Dumont's views on caste is said to be speculative, imaginative and culturally loaded and hence unacceptable.

Jonathan Perry indicates that ritualistic and moral standards of individual can be determined by both hereditary and achievement. Dumont's sociology is more committed to ritual merits of Brahmin procured through their birth, however there are Saints, Sadhus who command more respect than Brahmins which Dumont fails to understand. Therefore in India multiple ritual

hierarchies are present indicating that Indian society is more dynamic that cannot be studied by Brahminic centric structure theory of caste glorified by Dumont. Dumont offered an ideal view of caste identical to Manu Smriti because it never explains what Indian society ought to be.

ANDRE BETEILLE

Andre Beteille in his study finds out that different caste groups of Brahmins put clothes differently, in different measures, use symbols differently, worship different deities and they are also engaged interpersonal conflict with each other. Therefore imagining Brahmin as a unified group living in the world of purity and commanding respect from everybody is nice to hear but difficult to witness in empirical context.

Dipankar Gupta finds out non-Brahminic reaction is not driven by respect e.g. Jats of Western Uttar Pradesh consider Brahmins as greedy and their very presence in the village is considered inauspicious. This is contradictory to Dumont's theory of caste where Brahmins are looked upon by the lower caste people because they command respect and also because people they are guided by Hindu values. Many sociologists doing empirical study have come with the fact that in many situations lower caste people do not accept the cultural superiority of Brahmin and that Sanskritisation among them is not out of respect for Brahmin but is a form of protest for their victimization since historical times.

G.S. Ghurye criticized Louis Dumont interpreting Indian text for a hidden colonial agenda. According to him, Dumont tried to say that Indian have always been a non-egalitarian and unequal community, whereas Westerners are equal and egalitarian.

T.N. Madan believed that merely pollution and purity is not the basis of hierarchy in Caste System because except few Brahmins (Nambudiri, Saryupari,

Kanyakubj) all the Brahmins are non-vegetarian whereas many Vaishya Castes are vegetarians still Brahmins are ranked top and Vaishyas down the order.

Dumont ignored the political perspective which largely determines the hierarchy of the caste system. For example, those castes that are politically powerful (dominant castes) are better ranked at one place but where they are not powerful they are ranked lower down the order.

Andre Beteille's View on Caste

Andre Beteille is known as Indian Max Weber who applied the Trinitarian model of Max Weber on Indian Caste System. In his book '**Caste, Class and Power**,' he studied **Sripuram village** of south India and tried to understand the relation of caste with class and power and their changing relations. Caste, class and power relate in different ways to the broader phenomenon of social stratification.

In Sripuram, there were following three relations of Stratification before the British rule:

1. Brahmins were the landlords and dominant class also.
2. Non-Brahmins were peasants and less powerful than Brahmins.
3. Adi-Dravids were landless farmers or sharecroppers and powerless also.

His concern was that Ghurye, DP Mukherjee and Srinivas studied social inequality in India from caste perspective indicating that other forms of inequalities are produced and reproduced only by caste.

Beteille writes that in case of **Bhadrolok in Bengal**, in case of **Bangerposhi in Bihar**, in case **Asrafin in Gujrat**, are highly respectable people not coming from any particular caste rather they are considered gentleman with excellence, endowed with knowledge, judicial attributes, and thus highly respected by people at large.

He considers that in Indian society multiple

hierarchies were present in traditional context driven by caste, personal attributes, status, power, education and so on. He indicated that Indian sociology must have to liberate itself from caste biasness. Sociology must have to pay attention to social change to examine how different forms of hierarchical gradations are encountering different socio-cultural and economic processes (socio – social movements; economic – development policies, industrialization and modernity) and witnessing a series of transformation.

He makes a distinction between the book view of India and field view of India indicating that field view is highly mechanical and book view highly stereotypical therefore Indian sociology must have to strike a balance between the both. Beteille's understanding of caste can be broadly explained under four distinctive head:

- Microscopic understanding of caste;
- Understanding of changing nature of caste;
- Reaction to Louis Dumont's understanding of caste;
- Contemporary observation of caste in relation to class, race and power, and a reaffirmation of caste in public sphere of India (social reproduction and cultural production of caste).

Microscopic understanding of caste:

Beteille writes that his first encounter with the caste started with his exposure to maternal grandmother's behaviour that was purely Brahminic, Sanskritic. His exposure to caste was realised through his field experience at Siripuram village in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu. In his book "Caste, Class and Power" indicates that:

1. Weberian theory of multiple dimensions to stratification can be applicable to village India.
2. In Siripuram village he finds out multiple hierarchies present and each hierarchy is influencing another archaic and gets influenced by them as well. When caste hierarchy is determined by birth, class hierarchy is determined by

people's access to unequal wealth because of differential control over agricultural land, modern trade and employment opportunities.

3. Differential position in political structure is explained in terms of one's network of political relationship that is now extended from the village to the capital of India.

While studying caste it indicates that people of the village are largely divided into three distinctive divisions such as Brahmins, non-Brahmins and Adi-Brahmins (ancient inhabitants/untouchables). These three major caste group consists of 50 to 20 caste units who have now come together to distinguish themselves from others. This compartmentalization can largely be attributed to the rise of backward class movement, consolidation of non-Brahmins as against Brahmins and residual groups are identified as Adi Dravidians.

Brahmins in relation to non-Brahmins manifest inequality visible in terms of residence, occupation, dress, language, rituals, speech, personal conduct, rules of marriage and so on. However within a particular caste cleavage one finds out that there are a large number of sub caste and sub sub caste present. These divisions manifest difference from each other in a very distinctive manner. Taking the case of Brahmins Beteille finds out that these segments and sub segments are distinguished from each other in terms of sacred symbols they carry. Number of threads they carry in their sacred read, kind of clothes and size of clothes they put on and doctrinal affinity. These differences are so holistic and comprehensive that a particular caste group will always search for spouse from that particular caste group and not from any of its sub caste groups or sub sub caste groups. Therefore intra-caste differences are also exclusive and hence persist even within caste and so in Indian villages both intra-caste and inter-caste conflicts are significantly visible.

Beteille looks into the impact of **modernization on caste system** indicating that modern trade, employment opportunities have injected class differences within caste and sub caste. As a result relationship between caste and sub caste has become highly dynamic. So when a person is going for marriage he takes into consideration both caste and class identity and sub sub sub caste identity. If the spouse is not available in the sub sub sub caste than he goes for sub sub caste alliance or sub caste alliance or caste alliance. Therefore caste is increasing in India but the basic structure of caste is highly undiluted. Hence caste is experiencing change in continuity rather than being subjected to complete breakdown as concluded by modernization theory of Yogendra Singh and Marxist theory of DP Mukherjee.

However, caste dimension still remains and India has gone for only '**selective modernization**' and not complete modernization as explained by Yogendra Singh neither has it remained totally traditional as Dumont has put it. Andre Beteille observes that power has shifted from one dominant caste to another and it is shifted from the caste structure itself, and come to be located in more differentiated structures such as panchayats and political parties.

In his book "**Caste Old and New**" Beteille makes an attempt to examine the changing nature of caste. He considers that between different caste groups there is present proportional inequality and among various sub caste groups there is present distributive inequality. **Distributive inequality** compartmentalizes the sub caste groups wherein each group goes in search of economic and political domination which is becoming quite common in Indian society. In the past different groups of Brahmin forgetting the interpersonal difference had control over land, political power and social status but since 1920s the non-Brahmins of South India have gone for mobilization leading to backward class movement,

formation of Dravidian party and consolidation of non-Brahmins in political economic structure.

As a result **Brahmins of Tanjore** have become urban bound, taking modern occupation, participating in modern trade and some of them have slowly sold their land to non-Brahmins. Therefore imagining India without respecting social change is highly injudicious. Hence among Brahmins class-distinction, power distinction, educational distinction and personal distinction has clearly surfaced therefore difference within the caste is becoming much more visible and wider. Thus this inequality is entering into intra-caste relationship.

Beteille considers **inducement of class element into caste and sub caste is making caste system highly complex**. Man in India is driven by multiple identities of which caste and class are highly pronounced. However, one still can notice that social change in India is restrictive because people go for occupational choices on the basis of caste and cultural considerations. Therefore Brahmins who were priests in temples are teaching in village schools and we find out their children are becoming university professors likewise non-Brahmins are going for civil administration, politics, trade and military services indicating how caste old is replaced by caste new rather on caste in India being completely uprooted by the elements of class. Therefore Beteille indicates the traditional Indian society was relatively closed and largely static but slowly they are evolving into a dynamic society and the factors responsible for this change can be explained in terms of:

1. Change in the nature of hierarchical gradation,
2. Change in the vertical relationship between individuals and families and
3. Change in the hierarchical system of values.

Thus one may conclude that Beteille's sociology is sociology of protest against caste

focused society. He suggests young sociologists to liberate themselves from Indology and Marxian theory to develop a dynamic understanding about social changes and social inequality.

Criticism

1. He studied a perspective that sounds more relevant in South Indian societies where lower castes acquired social mobility in comparison to other parts of India but in North India still lower castes are lower class and powerless also, hence this perspective cannot be applied on every caste in all parts of the country.
2. Still Marxist analysis or perspective of economic determinism sounds relevant in feudalistic rural society of north India where those who control the economic power controls other aspects of life also.
3. The dominance of caste are determined by rituals in many parts of the society, hence it cannot be said that the three-dimensions i.e. caste, class and power of Indian Society can be studied independently.

B) FEATURES OF CASTE SYSTEM **C) UNTOUCHABILITY – FORMS & PERSPECTIVE**

FEATURES OF CASTE SYSTEM

C.H. Cooley defined caste as “a closed class” whereas for **G.S. Ghurye** “when class becomes somewhat hereditary, it becomes caste”.

The characters of the Caste System are discussed by many sociologists like G.S. Ghurye, T.S. Madan, and Louis Dumont and on its basis following character can be identified:

Religious Sanctions: The emergence of Caste System can be traced from the Varna system which is mentioned in Purushsukta hymn in Tenth Mandal of Rigveda in which it is

said that the Varna system has emerged from the Hindu god Brahma and from his different parts of the body – mouth, shoulder, thigh and feet i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vashya, and Sudra respectively.

Ascribed Status: The position in the Caste System is fixed by birth and it cannot be changed in one’s life line, though occasional social mobility was observed but usually one born and dies in the same caste.

Hereditary Occupation: **Nesfield** believes that caste is an occupational group in which every caste has an occupation. He believes that to maintain their occupational monopoly, the Caste System emerged in India.

Commensal Restrictions: In Caste System, there are elaborated rules of inter-dining relations. There are two types of foods – Kachchah (boiled food) and Pakka (fried food). The Kachchah food is accepted of one’s own caste and the upper caste, whereas the rules of Pakka food are liberal and can be accepted from lower caste also.

Endogamy: Caste is an endogamous group in which an individual is supposed to marry within the caste. Within the caste, there are elaborate rules of sub-caste and other factors. Strict endogamy is the character of the caste system though certain amount of relaxation is permitted in terms of hypergamy. Sometimes this rule of caste endogamy is applied also to sub castes.

Jajmani System: It is an economic contract between different castes, through which they exchange their goods and services. Those who take the services are known as ‘jajmans’ and those who give are known as ‘Kaminhs.’ **William Wiser** called it a “functional institution” whereas for **Oscar Lewis** it is an ‘exploitative system.

Civil and religious disabilities: There were separate wells and schools. Permission from upper castes was necessary to construct even a pucca house. Religious disabilities included

restrictions on temple entry, performance of ritual etc. Such disabilities are also prohibited by the government, but many of these are still practiced in a subversive manner.

Social mobility: Caste is generally considered a closed system, but avenues of mobility were there according to scholars like Srinivas who demonstrate it through the concept of Sanskritization. Royal patronage, conversions and census operations were other avenues of mobility.

Segmental organization: Castes also involve sub-divisions within themselves, i.e., castes almost always have sub-castes and sometimes sub-castes may also have sub-sub-castes.

Common name and common descent: Sub-castes and castes often trace their origin to a common mythological personality.

UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability is a practice in which some lower caste people are kept at a distance, denied social equality and made to suffer from some disabilities for their touch, is considered to be contaminating or polluting the higher caste people.

The word "**untouchable**" applies to the despised and degraded section of the Hindu Population. The untouchables occupy the bottom most place in the society and have been subjected to various social, cultural and other kinds of disabilities and exploitation for their very touch by the higher caste people.

This practice was there in all groups. A caste like Iraward had to maintain a distance of 36 yards and a caste like Nair had to maintain a distance of 12 yards from a Brahmin. So, there were restrictions on water, food, intermarriages among all castes. All castes/Jatis had mutual exclusion.

However in case of certain Jatis this process acquired a very extensive form. These castes were referred to as exterior/out/depressed castes. They are presently called Dalits. They lived on the outer periphery of villages, denied access to main streets of villages, water tanks, place of worship, and membership of panchayat, membership and access to community hall. This represented an extreme form of disability.

In southern India, it was too harsh. Dalits were not allowed to wear chappals. Women were not allowed to cover the upper part of the body, not allowed to carry umbrellas, the basis for untouchability was the notion of permanent pollution due to occupations that they were associated with. So, untouchability as a popular term for socio-cultural deprivation imposed on certain Jatis because they were associated with those occupations which were considered highly polluted.

Death was considered to be the most polluting state. So, those who deposed dead cattle remove the skin and produce leather were considered untouchables.

Similarly, bodily excretions and emissions were considered polluting. So, scavengers who cleared night soil were considered polluted. In post-Buddhist period, drinking liquor and eating meat was also considered polluting. But before the Buddha period all Brahmins ate meat and drank liquor. All Yajnas in Rig-Veda involved slaughtering cattle. So, the priest ate what was burnt. Megasthenes accounts that meat eating was practiced by all sections of society. But by Harsha's time notions changed. It was considered polluting and butchers were treated as untouchable.

Common forms of untouchability that exist –

I. **Habitation Segregation** – Segregation of Dalits is seen almost everywhere in Tamil Nadu's villages.

II. Occupational Segregation and Manual Scavenging

– 98% Manual scavengers are from lower castes. Even after 65 years Manual Scavenging is still going on and the government has failed to curb this form of inhumane untouchability despite repeat SC orders. Irony is that the government is the biggest culprit in promoting it as most of the 13 Lakh manual scavengers in India are employed by railway and municipal corporations.

III. Civic Segregation

– In villages there are still prohibitions on commensality, social mixing, using common wells, separate dwelling and so on. The Puruda Varnar of Tamil Nadu is the most striking example of this segregation. They are a sub-caste which is given the duty of washing clothes and providing other services to untouchables. They were untouchables even by the 'untouchables' themselves. They had a nocturnal sub-human existence and worked only during night as creatures of extreme abhorrence.

IV. Ritual Segregation

– scriptures and holy texts were disallowed for the untouchables. Certain rites like Upanayana ceremony are preserved for twice born castes. Deities worshipped by different castes are different. Hindu temples were forbidden for lower castes and such practices still continue. In September 2014, Bihar Chief Minister Jitan Ram Manjhi visited a temple in Bihar's Madhubani district and the shrine was purified after his visit. In Karnataka, temple entry restrictions are as high as 94%.

V. Inter Caste Marriages

– especially in villages of North India – Haryana, Western UP and Punjab –Khap Panchayats still disallow inter-caste marriages.

VI. Other Incidents that have been noted

- a. Postmen don't deliver letters to Dalit homes
- b. Teachers in government schools call the

caste Hindus by their caste names. In a survey undertaken by National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights in 565 villages in 11 cities revealed that in 38% of government schools, children are made to sit separately while taking Mid-Day Meal.

- c. Even at PDS shops, days of ration for Dalits have been fixed separately.

Thinkers and scholars have different views on untouchables, no unified view is present. Textual understanding of untouchables is different from the reforms leaders' reference to untouchables. Conceptualizing untouchables in the horizon of Indian history is a sociological challenge. Untouchables and their presence in India is primarily mentioned in classical Dharma Shastra like Rig Veda. It is mentioned in Rig Veda that there was a class of people present who were known as 'Achuts' and identified as Chandals. Social discrimination associated with them is legitimised in Manusmriti, Mahabharata, and Ramayana. The famous incidents of Eklavya, Karana and there's dislinkage from mainstream life talks about culturally prescriptive forms of inequality present in India.

Untouchability is an age-old practice in India. According to **Mahatma Gandhi**, "**it is the hate fullest expression of caste**". According to **Dr. D.N. Majumdar**, "the untouchable castes are those who suffer from various social and political disabilities, many of which are traditionally prescribed and socially enforced by higher castes". In fact, Mujumdar has used the term scheduled castes to refer mainly to the untouchable castes.

Time Period	Name
Vedic Period	Chandalas
Medienal Period	Achhutas
British Period	Exterior caste or Depressed Castes
Contemporary Period	Scheduled Castes

Manuscript writes that if Chandals commit a crime it is natural and instinctive but if Brahmins commit a crime then it's a lapse. It further suggests that Chandals being violators of ethics, they should stay away from mainstream life and they were subjected to capital punishment. Different Sanskrit texts have justified the fact of practice of untouchability. Hence how untouchability persists throughout Indian history is described in detail by **PN Prabhu** in his book "**Hindu social organization**" and by **GS Ghurye** in his book "**caste and race in India**". The concepts of '**Purushartha**' and '**Samakhya**' philosophies speak about the difference among the people in terms of attributes driven by birth.

The Hindu culture justifies its dislocation in Hindu society and legitimizes its exploitation and disprivileges. Such disprivileges are exhaustive and Ghurye explains them in terms of civil and religious disabilities, restriction on food, drinks and social commensality, racial separation and restrictive occupational choice and endogamous marriages. Endogamy was designed for the reproduction of caste and legitimization to caste-based inequality in India.

UNTOUCHABILITY FROM REFORMIST PERSPECTIVE

The early social reformists made a distinction between caste and religion. They believed that untouchability is a pathological product of caste system that divides people into distinctive groups thereby destroying the unitary character of Hinduism. Therefore they wanted reforms in caste systems and abolition of untouchability. This program was initiated by **Dayanand Saraswati** and subsequently glorified by Brahma Samaj and also by other nationalist leaders of India. The Indian nationalist starting from Vivekananda to **Bankim Chandra** always said that the caste "and unity among the Hindus must be glorified to evolve nationalistic consciousness".

Aurobindo Ghosh, Bankim Chandra, Gandhiji started rebellion against caste protecting Hinduism. Gandhiji in his articles "**my heart bleeds**", "**caste must go**" and "**untouchability – a crime against God**" exhibited fundamental attack against caste practices. He believed that caste is a perversion of Varna. Varna system was giving importance to division of labour on the basis of individuals, it never prohibited anybody from taking any occupation on the basis of his birth therefore Varna system was holistic, inclusive and egalitarian. He cites the examples of several monks and Rishis who originated from humble backgrounds and ultimately obtained supra- Brahminic status.

Class Approach to Untouchability

Gandhiji upheld the "**Varna Ashrama Dharma**" he said that Varna is not the glorification of caste and religion in India, rather it is a search for an egalitarian, inclusive, pluralistic society where social positions are attributed to the people on the basis of their capabilities and merit. Thus Gandhiji's distinction between Varna, and caste and race and support to Varna system is an indication to his desire for the abolition of untouchability and the rise of humanistic society driven by fraternity and merit. Gandhiji believed that untouchability is a result of utilitarian interest of upper caste. He said that caste is a pathological element introduced in Indian society by the upper caste for materialistic pleasures.

When Gandhiji was taking the lead in Indian National Congress session in 1920, removal of untouchability was incorporated as one among many constructive programs. He founded the "**Harijan Sevak Sangh**" and underwent 21 days fast as a form of protest against the closing of temples to the untouchables.

Gandhiji and Ambedkar were involved in Long Debates over Caste. Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891 – 1956) was a Dalit who assumed the role of social, political and

spiritual leader first for the balance and subsequently for the whole nation. He gave the country a democratic Constitution; as a spiritual leader he revived the legacy of Buddha. On the other hand Ram Manohar Lohia – a socialist by ideology championed the cause of the disadvantaged sections of India including minorities and women. They both identified that caste system has degenerated Indian society and wanted to annihilate it.

Ambedkar recognized that the existence of four Varna is in the Hindu social order is primarily based on the class and not on individuals. He conceded that in the Hindu social order there is no room for individual merit and no consideration of individual justice. If a person has a privilege it is not because it is due to him/her as an individual but the privilege comes with the class, and if he/she is found to enjoy it, it is because he/she belongs to that class. Conversely an individual suffers not because he/she deserves it by virtue of his/her conduct; rather it is because s/he belongs to that caste. We analyzed the impact of the division of society into Varnas on the Hindu social order. He argued that because of this division the Hindu social order has failed to uphold liberty, equality and fraternity – the three essentials of a free social order.

He had a radical view of the caste system and called for the annihilation **of the caste** system. He considered Gandhian view as utopian where castes should voluntarily come forward to bridge their differences and Varnisation of caste system will only make it stronger. So, legislative measures and political empowerment are the only way to get rid of untouchability. Gandhiji suggested that untouchables should get out of the occupation which promote or carry stigma or pollution. He also encouraged inter-caste marriages. Ambedkar said that untouchability is the question of power and domination and it has nothing to do with birth. Gandhiji said that untouchability is a product of mistakes whereas Ambedkar says that it is

a result of dominant castes materialistic needs. Ambedkar said that no exploitation would have been taking place if there was no appropriate ideological support to this idea and he believed that this ideological support came from Samakhya philosophy, Manusmriti etc.

Gandhiji said that people from one Varna can move to another Varna on the basis of merit whereas Ambedkar said that Varna system talks about graded inequality which cannot be questioned and is persistent in all-time. Samakhya philosophy explained that people are born with qualities which are 'Sattvic' and 'Tamasic'. Shudras were always associated with Tamasic qualities. For example if somebody committed crime then it was assumed that it must be a Shudra therefore without committing a crime one is admitting it. Ambedkar wanted untouchables to go for individualism, complete freedom to pursue their own choice of occupation.

Gandhiji wanted stability through unity while Ambedkar said stability is not that important as equality. Ambedkar said that Dalits in case of India are culturally different, they are subclass or underclass. Dalit man cannot raise his head; he is speechless, non articulative and is always suffering with self- doubt. Therefore to protect the interest of the Dalits, compensation and reforms are not enough.

3. TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS, GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF TRIBES, COLONIAL POLICIES AND TRIBES, ISSUES OF INTEGRATION AND AUTONOMY

India is a land of multitudinous culture and people. Every state of India has its own culture and tradition. The different forms of people found here outnumber any country. Due to the presence of these tribes India has received various flavors and the tribal people are the real treasures of our countries. The Majority population of the tribe is found in Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and North East "The Seven Sister States of India". The tribal people of India are also known as "Adivasis". The specific meaning of Adivasis is the original inhabitants of a given region. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are also the home for various tribes like The Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese.

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL PEOPLE OF INDIA

Tribals, black aborigines similar to those found in New Guinea and Australia, are believed to be the original inhabitants of much of southern India. DNA evidence from the Negrito tribes of the Andaman Islands spans back 70,000 years and suggests they originated from people from Africa who migrated to India, Southeast Asia and Indonesia. DNA evidence also indicates that they are direct descendants of the first modern humans to leave Africa but lack a distinctive feature of Australian aborigines, another early group to leave Africa.

The Onge from the Andaman Islands carry some of the oldest genetic markers found outside Africa. The tribes of the Andaman Islands are believed to be related to the Negritos of Southeast Asia and the Philippines. Some scholars theorize that they arrived in the Andaman Islands from Burma or

Malaysia at some time in the distant past by sea, or perhaps arrived from Sumatra by way of the Nicobar Islands. However there is no firm evidence to back this up and is regarded mostly as speculation.

The Bhil tribe is regarded by some as "the oldest of the aboriginal tribes comprising India's original inhabitants. They are regarded as the original inhabitants of the forest of central India and were driven into their current homelands by Muslim invaders. Their name is believed to be derived from word in Dravidian languages for "bow," which until fairly recent times they always were seen carrying."

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS

Academics have been making efforts to define tribes. Tribes have been defined as a group of indigenous people with shallow history, having common name, language and territory, tied by strong kinship bonds, practicing endogamy, having distinct customs, rituals and beliefs, simple social rank and political organization, common ownership of resources and technology. Such definitions are not very helpful because when the situation of tribes is examined carefully not only do we find a lot of variations in their lifestyles but also many of these features are shared by the caste people. This raises the problem as to how to distinguish them from castes.

According to the Imperial **Gazetteer of India** a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay defines a tribe as a social group usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization. It can include several sub-groups.

There have been other conceptual attempts to define tribes. They have been considered as a stage in the social and cultural evolution. Some others have considered that the

production and consumption among the tribes is household based and unlike peasants they are not part of a wider economic, political and social network.

T.B Naik has given the following features of tribes in Indian context:

- A tribe should have least functional interdependence within the community.
- It should be economically backward (i.e. primitive means of exploiting natural resources, tribal economy should be at an underdeveloped stage and it should have multifarious economic pursuits).
- There should be a comparative geographical isolation of its people.
- They should have a common dialect.
- Tribes should be politically organized and community panchayats should be influential.
- A tribe should have customary laws.

In India, tribes cannot be identified in a fixed definition or situation because of their highly diverse nature. **Andre Beteille** correctly said that there is a basic problem in the definition of tribe that it is very tough to differentiate between peasants and tribe.

D.N. Majumdar defined tribes as "a group of families who have common names, commands and control over a piece of land politically and economically, have common dialect and endogamous can be called as tribes".

Guha considers that they belong to the three racial groups – The **Proto-Australoids, The Mongoloids and The Negrito.**

W.J. Perry defined tribes as a group of families who speak a common dialect and live in a particular geographical boundary can be called a 'tribe.'

Bailey (1960) has suggested that the only solution to the problem of definition of tribes in India is to conceive of a continuum of which at one end are tribes and at the other are

castes. The tribes have a segmentary, egalitarian system and are not mutually interdependent, as are castes in a system of organic solidarity. They have direct access to land and no intermediary is involved between them and land.

Sinha (1965) too thinks of tribe and caste in terms of a continuum but his ideas are more elaborate and he brings in the concept of civilization. For him, the tribe is ideally defined in terms of its isolation from the networks of social relations and cultural communications of the centers of civilization. In their isolation the tribal societies are sustained by relatively primitive subsistence technology such as shifting cultivation and hunting and gathering, and maintain an egalitarian social system guided entirely by non-literate ethnic tradition.

It has been suggested that wherever civilizations exist, tribes can be described, defined and analyzed only in contrast to that civilization which it may fight, serve, mimic or adopt but cannot ignore.

In India, there are numerous examples of tribes transforming themselves into the larger entity of the caste system; others have become Christian or Muslim. They also join the ranks of peasantry and in modern times become wage-laborers' in plantations, mining and other industries. Thus, in our concept of tribe we should not overlook these changing aspects.

While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life at one of the spectrum, there are 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) back in 17 states and union territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, who are characterized by:

1. Pre-agricultural level of technology,
2. Stagnant or declining population,
3. Extremely low literacy and
4. Subsistence level of economy.

S C Dube provided a fivefold classification of Indian tribes to highlight the diversity that lies among them.

1. Aboriginals living in seclusion
2. Tribal groups having an association with the neighboring non-tribal society, but maintaining their distinctiveness
3. Tribals living in villages along with caste groups, sects and religious groups and maintaining their identity
4. Tribals who have been degraded to the status of untouchables
5. Tribals who enjoy high economic, social and political status

Tribal-Caste Continuum

Anthropologists have differed on the question relating to tribe and caste. According to **Ghurye** tribal people are backward Hindus differing only in degrees from the other segments of Hindu society. **Elwin** argued for the recognition of separate social and cultural identity of tribal people. The Government of India gives tacit recognition to this identity of keeping alive under constitution sanction their lists of Scheduled Tribe.

According to **Andre Beteille** there are certain commonly observed differences between tribes and castes. The tribes are relatively isolated as to the castes. They are the world within themselves having few externalities. Tribes speak a variety of dialects which separates them from non tribes. They follow their own religion and practices which are not common in Hinduism. Language is a criterion of difference as tribes speak their local dialect for example Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur speak different dialects but Bhumij have lost their tribal dialect and speak dominant language of the area.

According to **N.K Bose** there are many similarities in customs between tribes and castes and they are interdependent. Marriage within the clan is forbidden both in the tribe as well as in the caste. Both generally don't encourage marriage outside the group.

According to **Herbert Risley** the convention of endogamy is not rigidly enforced in the tribe where as such is the case in a caste. But this view is not acceptable since the law of endogamy is enforced with extreme rigidity in

some tribes.

Max Weber writes in Social Structure that when an Indian tribe loses its territorial significance it assumes the form of an Indian caste. In this way the tribe is a local group whereas caste is a social group.

According to **D.N Majumdar** the tribe looks upon Hindu ritualism as foreign and extra-religious even though indulging in it and the in the worship of God and Goddess where as in the caste these are necessary part of the religion.

In caste individuals generally pursue their own definite occupations because functions are divided under the caste system. In the tribe individuals can indulge in whatever profession they prefer as there is no fixed relation between them and occupation.

According to **Bailey** tribe and caste should be viewed as continuum. He seeks to make distinction not in terms of totality of behavior but in a more limited way in relation to the political economic system. Briefly Bailey's argument is that a caste society is hierarchical while a tribal society is segmentary and egalitarian. But in contemporary India both caste and tribe are being merged into a different system which is neither one nor the other.

The tribes in India have been influenced by certain traditions of the communities around them. Major neighboring community in all the areas has always been Hindus. As a result from the very period there have been several points of contact between the Hindus of the area and tribal communities living within it. The nature and extent of contact the pattern of mutual participation and characteristics of revitalization movements have been different in different parts of India.

The ethnographic records establish that the contacts varied from semi-isolation to complete assimilation. The numerous castes among Hindus have emerged out of the tribal stratum. The recent studies of tribes of Himalayan western and middle India have left no doubt that some of the tribes are Hinduized to the extent that they have been assimilated with the different castes at different levels in

the caste system.

The study of two major Central Himalayan tribes Tharu and Khasa reveal that though they have a tribal matrix and continue to practice certain distinctive tribal customs they have been accepted as Kshatriya. Their culture has been modeled on the ways of living of the Rajputs and Brahmins of the neighboring plain areas with their fast adoption of the Hindu names and establishment of social connections with the Rajputs and Brahmins of the plains.

There are numerous other tribes which have undergone selective acculturation and have added selected traits or features of the regional Hindus to their respective traditional cultures. In this practice of acculturation most of them failed to occupy any rank in the castes hierarchy while few of them were integrated into the lower strata of the Hindu social system.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF TRIBES

Tribal in India originate from five language families, i.e. Andamanese, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burman. It is also important to point out that those tribes who belong to different language families live in distinct geographic settings. For example, in South Orissa there are languages that originate from the Central Dravidian family, Austro-Asiatic (Munda) family and the Indo-Aryan. In the Jharkhand area, languages are from the Indo-Aryan, North Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic. Tribal in India live in the following five territories.

The Himalayan belt: (Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, hills of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh)

Central India: Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh. 55% of the total tribal population of India lives in this belt.

Western India: Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The Dravidian region: Karnataka, Andhra

Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Andaman & Nicobar and Lakshadweep island group.

Some of the tribes with their geographical location are mentioned below

Santhals are the third largest tribe in India. They are mostly found in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand and Assam. They belong to the pre- Aryan period and have been the great fighters from the time of Britishers.

Munda tribe mainly inhabit the region of Jharkhand, although they are well spread in the states of West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Bihar. Munda generally means headman of the village. Hunting is the main occupation of the Mundas tribe.

Khasi tribe is mainly found in the Khasi Jaintia hills in Meghalaya and in the states of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Manipur, West Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir. They form the large part of the population in the state of Meghalaya.

The Angami tribe belongs to the extreme north eastern part of the country, in the state of Nagaland. The total population of the Angamis is around 12 million. They are quite popular for their woodcraft and artwork. Sekrenyi is the main festival celebrated among the Angamis in Nagaland.

Bhils are popularly known as the bow men of Rajasthan. They are the most widely distributed tribal groups in India. They form the largest tribe of the whole South Asia. Bhils are mainly divided into two main groups: the central or pure bills and eastern or Rajput Bhils.

Bhutia tribes are of the Tibetan origin. They migrated to Sikkim around the 16th century. In the northern part of the Sikkim they are known as the Lachenpas and Lachungpas. Bhutias forms 14% of the total population of

Sikkim.

Chenchu inhabits the Nallamalai hills, which have been part of the Nagarjuna Sagar Tiger Sanctuary for centuries in Andhra Pradesh India. They are mainly found in the districts of Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Praksham, Guntur, and Kurnool.

The **Gonds** are the tribal community mostly found in the Gond forests of central India. They are one of the largest tribal groups in the world. Gonds have been largely influenced by the Hindus and for a long time have been practicing the Hindu culture and traditions.

Great Andamanese is the negrito tribe inhabitant in the Andaman group of Islands. They form the largest population among the other tribes found in these islands. According to the census the population of Great Andamanese is now limited to few individuals.

Classification based on Language

Another classification is based on the language spoken which is assigned to various language groups.

1. Austric Language Group: The tribes speaking languages from this group include Kol, Munda, Khasi, Nikobari, Korku, Santals, and Gadaba etc.

2. Tibeto-Chinese Language Group: For example, the Naga, Khasi, Kuki, Mismi, Mizo etc.

3. The Dravidian Language Group: The Gond, Toda, Koya, Pradhan, Uraon etc.

4. The Indo-European Language Group: The Bhils, Warlis, Thakurs, Koli etc.

COLONIAL POLICIES AND TRIBES AND ISSUES OF INTEGRATION AND AUTONOMY

AR Desai indicates that colonial tribal policy was a systematic form of economic exploitation of the forest area and massive

mineral deposit that were exploited through the use of tribal labour. Contractors and money lenders were permitted by the colonial rule to exploit these resources located within tribal pockets for economic gains. Any tribal protest was ruthlessly suppressed and many tribes in different parts of the country who refused to cooperate with the colonial policies were labeled as criminal tribes e.g. Mina Tribes. He considers that colonial tribal policy is largely responsible for **detrimental and depeasantization**.

The tribes were labeled as criminals just for asking for justice and freedom. The criminal tribes are not criminals because of the fact that they go for crime by force and not by choice. Their habitat is altered, their livelihood is taken away from them and their self-respect is undermined. Labeling them as criminal tribes, the state got legitimacy to imprison and even kill innocent tribesmen to generate fear in the mass mind for the accomplishment of their economic goals.

Mahatma Gandhi reflecting on the limitation of colonial tribal policy, indicated that rise of Hindu militancy is a reaction to the conversion policy accelerated by Christian missionaries in tribal pockets under the patronage of British administration. Whereas another view considers that Christian missionaries took tribal away from the world of darkness to the world of enlightenment, spreading education, and health care and glorified the unity among the tribes.

The British policy towards the tribals had two major elements. Firstly, it favored isolation of the tribal areas from the mainstream. Their political interests also prevented integration of tribes in mainstream as they saw their union with larger population as a threat to their empire. Secondly, at the level of reform, the British administration was interested in 'civilizing' these people. Colonial rulers followed a similar policy of exploitation and alienation with tribes that they followed in the rest of India. To maximize their earnings, various attempts were made to bring tribes

into the fold of revenue administration. During 1871 the Government of India act was introduced which was further provided tooth by the act of 1891. These acts laid down provision for the creation of '**Partially Secluded Areas**' (tribal population at least 50%) and '**Fully Secluded Areas**' (tribal population more than 80%). Without official permission outsiders were not allowed to enter into these areas, developmental activities in these areas can only be initiated through the endorsement of state, the governor will be in charge of these areas. Therefore these areas were converted into tribal islands completely controlled by the state. This colonial policy led to the distinction between caste society and tribal society. The tribal in these areas realized caste society as their prime exploiters and identified them as "**Dikus**" (Dacoits).

Initial attempts of the British to interfere with the tribal areas led to a large number of **tribal revolts** like Chaur Uprising, 1832, Kol and Ho Uprising, Chota Nagpur, 1832, Satara Revolt, 1840, Santhal Rebellion, 1856 and so on. Due to this, during the late 19th century a policy of administrative segregation emerged.

Colonial rule permitted traders, forest contractors to commercially exploit the resources and that subsequently led to the hostility between caste and tribe. Colonial tribal policy was extremely divisive because it created a body of hostile militant tribal leaders who considered caste groups as their perpetual enemies. Tribe – caste divide has resulted into secessionist movement in different pockets of tribal India which can be traced back to the faulty colonial policy. British rule led to an increase in suffering of the tribals as the whole economic base was eroded. Tribals were forced to give up their traditional occupations. They were pushed into poverty and often into bonded labor. Many tea and coffee plantations had bonded tribal labor. Over-exploitation led to many uprisings as well. According to **Buddhadeb** in his book – 'Tribal Transformation in India,

1992', expansion of railways broke down their historical isolation and initiated a process of unchecked and indiscriminate assimilation leading to '**detrribalisation**' of tribes. **M S A Rao** writes that during colonial rule mining and construction activities reduced tribe people as casual low paid labor. According to **Guha & Gadgil**, colonial rule also led to '**ecological imperialism**' and tribals were invariably forced to move into commercial agriculture from hunting gathering nomadic activities. Some tribals were even termed as criminal tribes by **Criminal Tribes Act 1871**. During colonial period tribal staged protest against taxation policy, right over land and political autonomy. After India's independence tribals are reduced into submerged humanity. They have been the worst victims of land alienation, deforestation, powerlessness and marginalization, therefore in contemporary times instead of integration despite such a diverse regional distribution, almost all **Indian Tribes share similar characteristic features which include:**

- Well-demarcated geographical territory people live within a definite topography and this forms the basic foundation for their existence. Because in the absence of a common abode, the tribal might lose contact with one another which would cause a difference in the way of living.

- The practice of endogamy happens within the tribe and can serve as a form of Self-segregation, and the community uses it to resist integrating and completely merging with surrounding populations.

- **Amalgamation: Because** Tribes are usually cut out from the rest of the state, there is unity and consensus on thoughts and opinions of people which is why a tribe or clan is headed by a chief.

- Common dialects usually speak their own tribal language. Like the Chakma language which is an Indo-European language is spoken by the Manipuri, Assamese, and Bengali; and Mizo people of Mizoram speaking the Mizo

language Common culture produces a life of homogeneity among the tribals which includes common language, food habits and dressing style like all Khasi (Meghalay tribe) males wear Jymphong or sarong and females wear Jainsem along with crowns of silver or gold.

- **Kinship**-It forms the basis of tribal social organization. Most Tribes are divided into exogamous clans and lineages. It includes people related by both descents of them like social relations happen with the development and also by marriage.

- **Animism** (a rudimentary type of religion)-It is the worldview that non-human entities possess a spiritual essence and is used in the anthropology of religion and a term for the belief system of some indigenous people like Sarnaism, an animistic religion followed by the Tribes of Jharkhand.

- Egalitarian societies tribal are not a part of the caste system however many scholars argue upon this tribal belief saying that it's a larger political agenda. • Power of authority of the Tribes is headed usually by the tribal chief, which is the single political authority to prevent people from intrusion and infiltration. The chief is then aided by a tribal committee.

- Economic structure and occupation most tribes are concentrated heavily in forest areas within nature and this determines their economic activity which consists of hunting and agriculture.

Veerrier Elwin suggested an isolation approach to tribal development. He indicated that tribes must be kept away from their progressive counterparts because if they are exposed to market economy and modern culture without adequate preparation, they would simply die out suffering from cultural shock. This approach was termed as '**Museumology**' approach by his critics.

GS Ghurye rejecting this approach indicated that tribal development does not mean we should go for national parks. He indicated that social evolution should take place in phases

i.e. first from tribe to caste and ultimately to class. Therefore tribes must be exposed to caste, live in caste villages and take up caste occupation so that tribe-caste differences can be minimized and both can enter into modern society eventually contributing to the nation building process.

LP Vidyarthi was the chief architect of the Tribal **Development Program** in India. On the basis of his suggestions multiple tribal development projects were introduced in India since the fourth plan period. He mooted the idea of developing Tribal Development Areas on the lines of Community Development Areas where schools, hospitals, irrigation, vocational training centre, agriculture facilities should be extended to the tribal communities. Abandoning their traditional mode of livelihood, tribes can participate in a new system of production and tribal economy can be linked up with the national economy efficiently. He further suggested special rehabilitation schemes for tribal communities displaced by industrialisation and development projects. Therefore these tribal groups instead of becoming victims of development must be benefiting from development programs. It will also lead to their integration with the larger economy and society.

He also said that tribes who are on the verge of extinction must be identified, segregated and taken care of by the government and once their life is secured they can be trained to integrate with the larger society. He concluded that the problem of integration of tribes with larger society can be effectively addressed through a viable, people centric tribal development policy and its successful implementation. After India's independence **Jawahar Lal Nehru** introduced **Panchsheel policy** for tribal development which talked about:

1. Tribal development should take place respecting its own genius.
2. Tribal development should be evaluated not in terms of amount of money spent but in

terms of how many national characters have been developed.

3. Tribal should not be kept in a state of isolation.

4. Many developmental projects should not be introduced in tribal areas to accelerate the process of development.

5. Tribal development should take place on the basis of potential needs of the tribal people.

Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006 is a step to assuage their condition and address the long standing demand of forest rights. Other initiatives include – Tribal Sub Plan since 1974, National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, TRIFED for tribal goods marketing, reservation of seats for ST in Lok Sabha and Assemblies – Article 164, 330, 332, appointment of Minister in charge of Tribal welfare, Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) and so on which aim to address problems of integration, development and autonomy in a multi-dimensional manner.

However, unfortunately today, volumes are written by various sociologists indicating how the worst victims of development programs have been the tribal people. During colonial period tribal staged protest against taxation policy, right over land and political autonomy. After India's independence, tribes are reduced into submerged humanity. They have been the worst victims of land alienation, deforestation, powerlessness and marginalization, therefore in contemporary times instead of integration with larger society, tribes are asking for political and economic space that they genuinely deserve but systematically denied to them.

Due to these reasons tribal resentment is manifested in the form of protest in search of statehood status (Bodo Movement) and at times cultural protection movement (Manipuri Movement), sometimes protest against the excesses of the state (Narmada Bachao Andolan). As mainstream population intruded

into tribal areas and exploited tribes as well as their traditional resources question of tribal autonomy became even more important. Mainstream development agenda also posed threat to tribal autonomy. According to **Walter Fernandes**, in his '**Power and Powerlessness: Development Projects and Displacement of Tribals, 1991**', around 3 crore people have been displaced by developmental activities in the past 50 years and 42% of them were tribal. Number of tribal laborers has also increased substantially during this period. Poverty among tribes is around 50% much more than the country average. There are also higher incidence of maternal mortality, anemia and child mortality among tribes.

According to **Xaxa** tribal integration in post-independence period has been a constitutional prescription and not an empirical reality. Despite lofty plans like as suggested by Elwin that there be special blocks in the first Five Year Plan (FYP) for tribal development, consequent adoption of '**Tribal Sub Plan**' since 5th FYP and '**Diversified Approach**' since 9th FYP have all proved inadequate. Instead, inconsiderate developmental process has posed a threat to their identity and it has not been for tribes, but at the cost of tribes and they are reduced to second class citizens. While linguistic factions are successful in carving out their own states, tribals are still struggling for meaningful autonomy. However, some concessions are made in form of Schedule 5th and 6th to tribals and recent progress like **Darjeeling Hill Council** being given as more autonomy in 2012 are some signs of state doing its extra bit towards tribal autonomy.

Thus it will be premature to conclude that tribes of India are effectively integrated with the larger society, glorifying the intervention policy of the state in terms of reservation, creation of tribal states. Tribes of India are confused, shattered, disillusioned and at the same time volatile and going for protest and movement with different intensity in various parts of the country. These rebellions may be considered as the manifestation of cultural



myopia of the tribes but many consider such reaction as a tribal search for the appropriate space in the social life which has been historically denied to them. Even in these modern Days, the lifestyle of tribal society is primitive and it totally depends on characteristic ways of non-monetary transacted life. It's astonishing and fascinating to know what a synthesized country India is, highly encapsulating macrocosm and microcosm.

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4.SOCIAL CLASSES IN INDIA

AGRARIAN CLASS STRUCTURE; MIDDLE CLASSES IN INDIA; INDUSTRIAL CLASS STRUCTURE

Class as a sociological concept was first explained by Karl Marx. The Marxian approach to the study of class does not give enough scope to explain all types of conflict as it only refers to economic structure. Social and cultural perspectives are equally important to give a holistic picture of class structure. The concept of class is purposively taken by sociologists to study it from its origin and to understand it from grass root level. In Europe class conflicts were concentrated on industry and feudal Lords which is not the case in India because here a whole lot of other aspects like wealth, power, caste, occupation and education become important to determine an individual's class position and hence there are not two but several classes present in Indian society.

AGRARIAN CLASS STRUCTURE

The British in order to facilitate the economic management to suit their own system introduced changes in agrarian system in India. The Zamindari, the Ryotwari and the Mahalwari system were introduced by the British for revenues assessment of land. The Zamindari system had the Zamindars, tenants and agricultural laborers as the main agrarian classes. The Ryotwari system consisted of two types of segmentation i.e. the landlord and the peasants.

Western authors and Indian sociologists studied the Indian agrarian social structure by adopting different theoretical orientations. AR Desai, Daniel Thorner have used Marxian approach while studying agrarian relations whereas Louis Dumont used attribution approach. Daniel Thorner argues that even though there has been land reform measures, the peasants continue to suffer the most and the 'Maliks' continue to enjoy their dominant

position. This relationship to land corresponds to social relationships as well. The lower caste works as landless labourers for the land owning caste groups who belong to the upper caste. **PC Joshi** highlighted three trends in agrarian class structure and the relationship among them:

1. The declining feudalistic and customary tenancy.
2. Increasing importance of commercial tenancy based on the rich and middle state of peasantry.

3. Decline of feudal landlords and the rise of commercially oriented landlords.

4. The socio-economic consequences of these commercial peasants. That, it increased the efficiency and productivity of agriculture but conflict between the poor peasantry and agricultural laborers has been on the rise

TK Oommen lists five categories of classes in rural agrarian India:

1. Landlords
2. Rich farmers
3. Middle peasants
4. Poor peasants
5. Landless agricultural workers.

Agrarian class structure can be studied from three perspectives i.e. liberals, Marxist, Neo Marxist. **Andre Beteille** who is considered to present the liberal point of view with regard to agrarian class structure has put forward the criteria towards the study of agrarian class structure. These criteria are:

1. Ownership.
2. Control.
3. Use of land.

Marxist sociologists divided peasants into two types i.e. **Conservative and Radical**. Conservative peasants are not practical, non-reflexive, and non-adoptive to major changes whereas radical peasants go for self-mobilization posing a challenge to big landlords. They say that only a revolution can bring about change in the social structure

which can be brought about only when there is a majority of radical peasants.

A R Desai classified the agrarian class structure into three segments i.e. Upper-Class, Middle-Class, Lower Class. **Utsa Pathnaik** studied Punjab and Haryana and classified agrarian class structure as big landlords, rich farmers, middle peasants, small peasants, agricultural laborers. Big landlords are those who have control over 50 acres or more of land in the green revolution belt. There were additional sources of income from industry and trade and they have derived all the institutionalized benefits extended to them by the state. The big landlords use mechanical devices to accelerate agricultural production and they are highly organized and politically active.

Daniel Thorner points out that one should understand class structure keeping in mind three factors:

1. What one receives from land
2. The entitlements attached to land
3. Application of labour

The **Neo Marxist** scholars considered that agrarian class structure cannot be studied in isolation to the non-agrarian class structure. They found out those moneylenders, merchants and traders living in urban centres do have linkages with big landlords of the village. Through these big landlords they lend money to the marginalized and small farmers during the harvest period. When the harvest is gathered they procure from small and medium peasants at a cheaper rate and the profit is shared between them and village landlord. Therefore the upper class is getting consolidated leading to the exploitation of rural poor who are unorganized, voiceless and therefore they either accept exploitation and in some cases when they find out that the exploitation has become too much for them to bear they either go for migration or suicide.

Anand Chakravarty holding the same viewpoint considers that rural poor and landless laborers are '**under class**' who cannot resist the hegemonistic domination of the landlord, police and state and legal courts.

Therefore they mostly accept inequality or they start a rebellion against it.

Marxist sociologists who advocate that in agrarian India class inequality has been glorified which is making inequality more prominent thereby creating a distinction between rural rich and rural poor.

The Liberal sociologists consider that elements of feudalism, semi-feudalism, part capitalism, full capitalism, nexus between caste and class. The nexus between agrarian and non-agrarian class is making agrarian class structure highly complex therefore different voice, different concerns and anxieties are articulated by multiple agrarian classes in rural India therefore we should develop an agrarian policy keeping in mind the divergent needs and exploitation of agrarian class than enforcing uniform stereotype agrarian program for the people in the form of land reform system, green revolution and of late Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Factors leading to changing class or social structure in agrarian economy

- Technological changes and modernization of
- Commercialization of agriculture
- Land reforms
- Green revolution
- Migration
- Marketization of land
- State interventions
- Politicization and democratization
- Education and employment
- Processes of industrialization
- Communication and
- Globalization and liberalization

Yogendra Singh has referred to several trends in agrarian class structure after independence

1. There is a wide gap between land-reform ideology projected during the freedom struggle and even thereafter and the actual measures introduced for land reforms.

2. This gap is the result of the class character of politicians and administrative elite.
3. The economic prosperity of the rich peasantry has increased but the economic condition of the small peasants has deteriorated.
4. The feudalistic type of tenancy has been replaced by the capitalistic type of lease-labour or wage labour agrarian system.
5. The inequalities between the top and the bottom levels of classes have increased rather than decreased.
6. Agricultural workers have not received the benefits of land reforms.
7. The sociological process dominant in the current class transformations in the villages involves 'embourgeoisement' of some and 'proletarianisation' of many social strata.

In 1970s-80s, Marxist scholars like Bardhan and Rudra, Kathleen Gough, Utsa Patnaik provided another perspective on agrarian class structure. **Utsa Patnaik used Leninist classification – Kulak, Strednik and Bednik** – in Indian context in her study of post green revolution Punjab and adjacent areas. She concludes that large landholders and rich farmers have now controlled mode of production and have used dividends from agriculture to diversify their activities and hence further supplementing their agrarian incomes thus further consolidating their position in agrarian class structure. **Kathleen Gough** too reaches similar conclusions in her study of Tamil Nadu village.

Lindsberg goes a step further and analyzes the nexus between agrarian and urban class structure. According to him, the elite and urban merchant class exploit situation of distress sales and usurious lending.

Contemporary scholars like **K L Sharma** offer a diffusive view about agrarian class structure. And he divides agrarian classes into two broad groups with further sub classes.

Feminist sociologists like **Bina Majumdar** views agrarian class structure from feminist perspective and she argues that with economic growth, gender based exploitation

gets institutionalized and agrarian social structure should also be studied with a gender perspective. According to her in agrarian structure women assume the role of homemaker and men as breadwinner curtailing economic freedom of women.

The agrarian social structure is marked by wide diversities. As pointed out by **Dhanagare** in his '**Peasant Movements in India, 1983**', 'the relations among classes and social composition of groups that occupy specific class position in relation to land-control and land-use in India are so diverse and complex that it is difficult to incorporate them all in a general schema'.

According to **Joan Mencher**, in different regions, agrarian classes are termed differently by different scholars. For example, in Bengal they are named as – Zamindars, Jotedars, Bargadars, Khet Mazdoors. In Bihar, they are known as Ahraf, Bakal, Pawania and Jotiya. In Tamil Nadu they are known as Mirsadas, Payakari and Padiyals. So, agrarian class structure also shows regional variations. Thus, both Beteille and Mencher conclude that given the complexity, agrarian classes needed to be studied as particular types based on spatial, interest criteria.

Finally, **Vibha Saxena** in her article '**Globalization and Depeasantisation**' puts agrarian class structure in light of globalization. Transnational corporations are promoting use of land for cash crops in partnership of large farmers and also acquiring agricultural land. As a result subsistence farmers are further marginalized or depeasantized.

MIDDLE CLASSES IN INDIA

The middle classes emerged for the first time in Western Europe with the development of industrial and urban economy. We have also seen that the term middle class was initially used to describe the newly emerging class of bourgeoisie / industrial class. And later on the term was used for social groups placed in-between the industrialist bourgeoisie on the one side and the working class on the

other i.e. the skilled professional. The historical context of the development of middle classes in Indian is quite different from that of the West. It was in the nineteenth century, under the patronage of the British colonial rule that the middle classes began to emerge in India. Though they emerged under the patronage of the British rulers, the middle classes played an important role in India's struggle for independence from the colonial rule. During the post-independence period also, the middle classes have been instrumental in shaping the policies of economic development and social change being pursued by the Indian State, Hence the need to understand the middle classes, their history, their social composition and their politics.

The concept of middle class explains the debate between Karl Marx and Max Weber. When **Marx** considered that middle class is transitory in nature and that it highlights the possibility of addressable inequality; to its contrast **Weber** considered that the rise of middle class is a victory of modernity. In his theory of stratification Weber considered that there has been proliferation of middle class strata. As a result the possibility of class conflict is substantially minimized in modern society. The rise of the middle class in modern industrial society is also discussed in detail by **Talcott Parson** in his analysis of meritocratic society. Various sociologists speak about acceleration middle-class competition with regard to upward and downward mobility in caste and class structure.

In this dichotomous model of class structure, the position of the middle class is only transitional. The middle classes for Marx were the self-employed peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. They were so described because they continued to own the means of production they worked with, without employing wage labour. Marx predicted that these middle classes were destined to disappear as the capitalist system of production developed. Only the two major

classes, proletariat or the working class and the bourgeoisie or the capitalist class were significant in the Marxian framework of class relations. The other theorists of class have assigned much more significance to the 'middle classes'. Foremost of these have been sociologists like **Max Weber, Dahrendorf and Lockwood**.

Max Weber though agrees with Marx that classes are essentially defined in economic terms, his overall treatment of the concept is quite different from that of Marx. Unlike Marx, he argues that classes develop only in the market economies in which individuals compete for economic gains. He defines classes as groups of people who share similar positions in a market economy and by virtue of this fact receive similar economic rewards. Thus, class status of a person, in Weber's terminology, is his "market situation" or, in other words, his purchasing power. The class status of a person also determines his "life chances". Their economic position or "class situation" determines how many of the things considered desirable in their society they can buy.

Modernist, pluralist, liberals used the concept of middle class to celebrate modern industrial society where class relationship is competitive and dynamic and class inequalities are not prominent, polarized and hierarchical. Ordinarily speaking middle class can be identified as a body of people who are exposed to modern education, Carry rational and competitive value, who are more or less secularized in their approach aspiring for mobility, they are a body of consumerist class who consider that they carry the capacity for social change.

Dahrendorf views middle class occupations as structurally differentiated from the erstwhile ruling class occupations and put forwards many views. In one view, he views the middle class as an extension of the capitalist class. In second view, the middle class is seen as an extension of the working class. A third position is that there is no such

thing as the middle class but instead there are two different groupings with opposed interests, bureaucrats with ruling class authority and white collar workers with a proletarian class situation. Finally, according to the likes of **Lockwood**, there is a position where it is maintained that the middle class is in a 'structurally ambivalent situation'.

Anthony Giddens identifies the middle class as one of the social classes in his three-fold classification of advanced capitalist society. One is upper class based on the 'ownership of property in the means of production', a middle class based on the 'possession of educational and technical qualifications' and a lower or working class based on the 'possession of manual labor power'. These classes, in Giddens's opinion, are distinguished by their differing relationships to the forces of production and by their particular strategies for obtaining economic reward in a capitalist economy.

Rise of Middle Classes

The British colonial rule in India was fundamentally different from all the earlier political systems and empires that existed in the sub-continent. The British not only established their rule over most parts of the sub-continent they also transformed the economy and polity of the region. Apart from changing the land revenue systems, they introduced modern industrial economy in the region. They reorganized the political and administrative structures and introduced Western ideas and cultural values to the Indian people. As pointed out by the well-known historian of the Indian middle class, **B.B. Mishra**, the peculiar feature that distinguishes the Indian middle classes from their counterparts in the West is the context of their origin. 'In the West', the middle classes emerged basically as a result of economic and technological change; they were for the most part engaged in trade and industry.

In India, on the contrary, they emerged more in consequence of changes in the system of law and public administration than in

economic development, and they mainly belonged to the learned profession. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonial rulers had been able to bring a large proportion of Indian Territory under their rule. It was around this time that, after the success of the Industrial revolution, industrial products from Britain began to flow into India and the volume of trade between Britain and India expanded. They also introduced railways and other modern servicing sectors such as the press and postal departments. A large number of educated individuals were required to staff these administrative institutions. It was not possible to get all of them from Britain. So, in order to fulfill this need, the British opened schools and colleges in different parts of India, particularly in big cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

A R Desai is the first Indian sociologist to speak about Indian middle class and their role in the rise of Indian nationalism. He writes that the platform for the rise of Indian middle class evolved from out of the caste structure. A large body of non-ritualised, power and wealth conscious middle- caste group in India offered a direction to the rise of Indian middle class. Subsequently Indian middle class played a key role in bringing reforms in culture and religion. He considers that social religious reform movements are middle-class movements in India that question and challenge the upper class, Sanskrit and ritualistic values.

Desai considers that British played a significant role in the expansion of the size of Indian middle class. More significantly British introduced printing press, bureaucracy, new kind of land tenure system, trade, commerce and industry, regular Army, policing systems and educational institutions that offered employment opportunities to a large body of Indians. These people got exposure to the rational ideas, democratic values of the Western world and started writing articles in newspapers, developed a political cause and a political organization, made a presentation to

British administration for different kinds of concessions and benefits. As a result Indian middle class offered a solid foundation to the rise of nationalist movement in India.

He further believed that the members belonging to middle-class came from different regions and various castes. Thus, middle-class dissolved regional disparities and inter-caste bringing unity among people of India therefore he concluded that class integrates and caste divides the people of India.

DL Seth in his article **middle-class in modern India** indicates that Indian middle class may be the product of British colonial policy but after India's independence the base of Indian middle class has been constantly expanding. In the case of southern and western India, a large chunk of middle class evolved from social protests and cultural mobilization. Self-respect movement in Tamil Nadu, Satya Shodak Samaj movement in Maharashtra and SNDP movement in Kerala gave way to the emergence of middle class movements which were articulated, non-traditional, anti-Brahmin and demanding for equity and control over the power structure. Unlike the West, Indian middle class has grown out of soil. Therefore middle class in Europe and middle-class in India differ in terms of their origin and approach. He further considers that green revolution in different pockets of the country along with cooperative movements gave rise to the origin of Indian middle class who refuse to detach themselves from traditional caste, kinship and culture but still intended to extract the benefits from modern institutions. Therefore Indian middle class is keeping one step on tradition and the other on modernity and trying to extract benefits from both.

Andre Beteille in the study of Indian middle class questioned the very genesis of Indian middle class. He considers that the middle class in India draws support from different sources at different points of time therefore

Indian middle class is not homogenous like middle-class in the West. He points out that in the case of India many people are technically joining middle-class because agriculture, trade, commerce has offered economic dividend to the masses in India. Hence the habit of reading newspapers, going for family vacation, spending money on non-consumption items are constantly increasing but interrelationship between a factory worker, a small trader and a junior police officer always takes place in a hierarchical sphere. Therefore Indian middle class has expanded but people still carry hierarchical ideas that largely influence their interpersonal relationship. Hence modernity in India unlike in the West has not created a self-assertive middle-class who can bring in a complete social change. This view is in contrast to **Yogendra Singh's** who considers that modernity has replaced caste by class.

Indian middle class should be studied in a time frame from 1950 to 1980s. Industrialisation, bureaucratization, modern education, green revolution, modern trade led to massive employment report unity in nonagricultural sectors leading to the expansion of middle-class.

Gurusharan Das in his book **"India Unbound"**, **Amartya Sen** in his book **"Argumentative Indians"** and **Abdul Kalam** in his book **"India 2020"** consider that during post liberalization period the human resource potential of India is mostly being exported leading to Indian scientist, researchers, industrialist achieving miracles and receiving global recognition thereby bringing India into the domain of world community as a rich nation with enough human resource potentials.

According to **Gurusharan Das** globalization has offered an unbound limit for self-expression, mobility, prosperity and happiness. **Amartya Sen** indicated that India's success in the field of literacy campaign is an attempt to convert the ideal

man's power into progressive working population which is the foundation to the creation of knowledge society. He considers that education is a prerequisite for the rise of knowledge society and India unlike China is a leader in this Frontier. He expects Indian economy to grow to be sustainable because it stands on a solid knowledge base.

The Institute of Applied Economic and Research in its report indicated that during India's independence the total percentage of middle class was 12% that increased to 20% during 1951 which reached the figure of 58% in 2001 and it is expected to reach a target of around 70% by the end of 2020. These presumptions drive the point back that India is going to evolve into a society where the middle class is expanded, lower class is squeezed and upper class is not hegemonistic. This will make India a more inclusive, highly dynamic and growth oriented society.

But sociologists are skeptical whether India can evolve into such an inclusive society without any caste-class disparity or any other form of inequality. The gender inequality persist in India both in public and private sphere, hegemonistic domination in rural India, hijacking of modern benefits by dominant class, distinction between literacy and functional literacy, women exploitation, environmental degradation etc. are stumbling blocks in the way of building an affluent India dominated by Indian middle class carrying modern and secular values. This paradox in India is a contest between the pervasive natures of tradition engaged in dialectics with the emergent nature of modernity. As a result social change in India is becoming more restrictive than being absolute.

A crucial distinction is made in the sociological literature between the "**old**" middle classes and the "**new**" middle classes. The term "old" middle class is used in the sense in which Marx had used the term "**petty-bourgeoisie**" i.e. those who work with their own means of production such as traders, independent

professionals and farmers. The term "new" middle class is broadly used to describe the skilled or white-collared workers/ salaried employees and the self-employed professionals. Even though they do not own the means of production they work with, they are distinguished from the unskilled blue-collar workers. Their incomes being much higher than that of the blue-collar workers, they can lead a lifestyle that is very different from that of the working class.

Scholars also differentiated between rural and urban middle class. Some thinkers like **Yogendra Singh** assert that both are similar at one ideological level, but antagonistic at another as they have different interests. For example – rural middle class has its interests in agriculture which has seen decline post Green Revolution and many farmers have witnessed downward mobility, while urban middle class is growing. Similarly, **Ananda Kumar** in his 'Indian Middle Class' argues that 'while urban middle class is 'market' bound, rural middle class is 'power' bound'.

Andre Beteille contends that the idea of middle class is often highly romanticized as an outcome of liberal democracy, a vibrant capitalist economy and individual freedom, but middle in itself has subclasses which fight for scarce resources in a country like India and this struggle can be unhealthy at times.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS STRUCTURE

Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim associated a number of social features with industry, such as urbanization, the loss of face-to-face relationships that were found in rural areas where people worked on their own farms or for a landlord they knew and their substitution by anonymous professional relationships in modern factories and workplaces. Industrialisation involves a detailed division of labour. People often do not see the end result of their work because they are producing only one small part of a product. The work is often repetitive and

exhausting. Yet, even this is better than having no work at all, i.e., being unemployed. Marx called this situation alienation, when people do not enjoy work, and see it as something they have to do only in order to survive, and even that survival depends on whether the technology has room for any human labour.

Industrialisation leads to greater equality, at least in some spheres. For example, caste distinctions do not matter anymore on trains, buses or in cyber cafes. On the other hand, older forms of discrimination may persist even in new factory or workplace settings. And even as social inequalities are reducing, economic or income inequality is growing in the world. Often social inequality and income inequality overlap, for example, in the domination of upper caste men in well-paying professions like medicine, law or journalism. Women often get paid less than men for similar work. While the early sociologists saw industrialisation as both positive and negative, by the mid-20th century, under the influence of modernization theory, industrialisation came to be seen as inevitable and positive. Modernization theory argues that societies are at different stages on the road to modernization, but they are all heading in the same direction. Modern society, for these theorists, is represented by the West.

Industrialisation in the Early Years of Indian Independence

Under the British rule, production in India became production for the market. As a result of this, the internal market expanded and the class of traders got engaged in internal trading. Simultaneously, India was also linked up with the world market. This led to the growth of class of merchants engaged in export- import business. Thus there came into being an industrial/commercial middle-class in India.

With the establishment of Railways, the accumulation of savings on part of rich commercial middle-class largest investment

took place in modern industries. Subsequently they also diversified the sphere of their industrial activity and thus both economically and socially this class turned out to be the strongest class in India.

With the attainment of independence, emphasis was laid on rapid industrialization of the country. In response to that state was to play a very active role. It evolved economic and industrial policies, which clearly indicated the role of commercial and industrial class as a catalyst of administration in India. It also actively assists classes towards augmentation of production.

The first modern industries in India were cotton, jute, coal mines and railways. After independence, the government took over the 'commanding heights of the economy.' This involved defence, transport and communication, power, mining and other projects which only the government had the power to do, and which was also necessary for private industry to flourish. In India's mixed economy policy, some sectors were reserved for the government, while others were open to the private sector. But within that, the government tried to ensure, through its licensing policy, that industries were spread over different regions. Before independence, industries were located mainly in the port cities like Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. But since then, we see that places like Baroda, Coimbatore, Bangalore, Pune, Faridabad and Rajkot have become important industrial centers. The government also tried to encourage the small-scale sector through special incentives and assistance. Many items like paper and wood products, stationery, glass and ceramics were reserved for the small-scale sector. In 1991, large-scale industry employed only 28 per cent of the total workforce engaged in manufacture, while the small-scale and traditional industry employed 72 per cent.

Globalization, Liberalization and Changes in Indian Industry

Since the 1990s, however, the government

has followed a policy of liberalization. Private companies, especially foreign firms, are encouraged to invest in sectors earlier reserved for the government, including telecom, civil aviation, power etc. Licenses are no longer required to open industries. Foreign products are now easily available in Indian shops. As a result of liberalization, many Indian companies have been bought over by multinationals. At the same time some Indian companies are becoming multinational companies.

Industrialisation leads to greater equality, at least in some spheres. For example, caste distinctions do not matter anymore on trains, buses or in cyber cafes. On the other hand, older forms of discrimination may persist even in new factory or workplace settings. And even as social inequalities are reducing, economic or income inequality is growing in the world. Often social inequality and income inequality overlap, for example, in the domination of upper caste men in well-paying professions like medicine, law or journalism. Women often get paid less than men for similar work.

Government's policy of import substitution and quantitative controls on the other hand led to the growth of capitalist class also. As industrialization gained pace, differentiation in industrial class structure also accompanied. With the growth of the working class, their social spread also diversified leading to introduction of various cleavages in terms of caste, gender, age etc. Each of these sections had their own problems and posed a challenge in their mobilization.

The effects of industrialisation have been

- (1) The percentage of workers engaged in agriculture has come down while that of workers engaged in individual activities has gone up.
- (2) The process of social mobility has accelerated.
- (3) Trade unions have organized industrial workers to fight for their rights.

(4) Since industrial workers maintain continued and close relationships with their kin-groups and castes, caste stratification has not affected class character.

(5) The traditional and charismatic elite have been replaced by the professional elite.

Morris D. Morris has referred to two viewpoints regarding the behavior pattern of the industrial labour. One view is that labour being short in industry, employers had to scramble for their work force and make all sorts of concessions which weakened their hold on the workers. The workers frequently returned to their villages to which they were very much attached.

The other view talks of surplus labour available in villages for urban employment. Because of easy availability, the employers abused workers unmercifully. Since working conditions in the factories were intolerable, the labour was forced to go back to their villages. Thus, in both views, it was held that workers retained their rural links which limited the supply of labour for industrial development. As a consequence, proletarian type of behavior did not develop. It also resulted in high rates of absenteeism and labour turnover and the slow growth of trade unions.

Analysing the 'working class', **Holmstrom** has said that all workers do not share all interests; rather they share a few interests only. He has also said that it is necessary to draw a class line between the organized and the unorganized sector workers. **Joshi (1976)** also has said that organized and unorganized sector industrial workers are two classes with different and conflicting interests. This can be explained on the basis of difference in four factors: wages, working conditions, security, and social worlds.

To summarize, India is still largely an agricultural country. The service sector shops, banks, the IT industry, hotels and other services are employing more people and the urban middle class is growing, along with



urban middle class values like those we see in television serials and films. But we also see that very few people in India have access to secure jobs, with even the small number in regular salaried employment becoming more insecure due to the rise in contract labour. So far, employment by the government was a major avenue for increasing the well-being of the population, but now even that is coming down. Some economists debate this, but liberalization and privatization worldwide appear to be associated with rising income inequality. You will be reading more about this in the next chapter on globalization.

ONLYIAS

5. SYSTEM OF KINSHIP IN INDIA

Lineage and descent, Types of Kinship, Family, Household Dimension of Family, Patriarchy, Entitlements and Sexual Division of Labour, Marriage

LINEAGE AND DESCENT IN INDIA

Lineage and descent are the two important concepts that help us to understand the social structure of a given society.

A **lineage** may be described as a consanguineous unilineal descent group whose members trace themselves from a known common ancestor. A lineage is based on more precise and specific genealogy than a clan, of which it may be a sub-group. In other words, a lineage consists of persons who can indicate, by stating all the intermediate links, common descent from a shared ancestor. Thus lineages are generally historically shallower, and as a consequence, smaller groups than clans.

Descent, in kinship terminology, implies a person's family origins. Descent concerns the tracing of relationships through succeeding generations, i.e., who has descended from whom. When social recognition is given to the biological descent, it gives rise to descent groups, for example, lineage, clan, etc. In a given society, lineage can either be traced unilineally or otherwise. Unilineal descent implies that descent is determined exclusively by either the father's line (patrilineal) or by mother's line (matrilineal).

1. Unilineal systems: a system of determining descent groups in which one belongs to one's father's or mother's lineage. Both patrilineality and matrilineality are types of unilineal descent.

- Patrilineal: inheriting or determining descent through the male line.
- Matrilineal: inheriting or determining descent through the female line.

2. Non-unilineal descent groups are grouped as cognatic descent, which are of following types:

1) Bilineal (Double Unilineal) descent

a) Both lines (father's as well as mother's lines are recognized but not symmetrically)

b) Some resources are transmitted from the father's lineage, others through the mother's lineage

c) The two lineages are kept separate. For example, **Yako of Nigeria**

2) Bilateral descent

a) Both lines are recognized equally and symmetrically

b) It is a predominant feature of modern industrial societies

c) Both parents transmit to their child

3) Ambilineal descent

a) In this case, the individual has a choice to decide which line he/she wants to identify with.

b) for example, Samoan Islands in Pacific (studied by Margaret Mead)

4) Parallel descent

a) men transmit to their sons and women to their daughters

b) for example, Saha tribe of Brazil (studied by James Safer)

5) Crossing/ alternating descent

a) Men transmit to their daughters, women transmit to their sons Lineage is considered as the heart and soul of Indian social life. Despite India's exposure to technological and industrial modernity, descent plays a significant role in the life of people.

GS Ghurye writes in detail about various descent groups living together in different regions of the country carrying different names and identities. These different lineage groups bring together a multicivilisation

thereby making India a land of pluralism. However, all these descent groups imbibe common rules of marriage, common food behavior, common cultural, religious ideology radiating from Hinduism and that made Indian society a land of diversity.

Indologists look into the role of descent in defining marriage, family and kinship in India. In Northern India an individual is not allowed to marry in his father's group or mother's group, father's brother's group, mother's mother group, own group (in one's own village) driven by rules of extended kinship.

Ghurye indicated that 'Gotra' brings unity among people who are geographically dispersed and these two groups are exogamous groups. Regional variation in kinship offering different prescriptions for rules of marriage are discussed in detail why various sociologists who consider marriage in case of India is not a matter of preference, rather it is driven by rules of descent and kinship.

Kinship or descent are foundation to caste is the argument forwarded by **Gail Omvedt** wherein she considers that people belonging to similar descent group are located in a given region where they worship to their common ancestors, follow common way of life and when the size of descent group expands, they migrate to different areas but still carry their identity. Therefore caste is nothing but an expanded descent system that maintains its boundary, distinguishing itself from the other caste.

Andre Beteille indicates association of man and kinship is so strong in India that voting behavior is driven by kinship rather than on the basis of merit. In all the political parties of India kinship is the primary source of political recruitment. Thus democratic polity in India is engaged in social and cultural reproduction.

Krishna Kumar points out that the influence of kinship on the life of man is so intensive

that "behind any corrupt man there is present an ambitious family". He goes on to say that industrial recruitment greatly takes place on the basis of kinship rather than on the basis of merit.

According to **Coomarswamy** rule of marriage are greatly determined by the doctrine of kula and gotra. One is not supposed to marry 5 generations on mother's side and 7 generations on father's side confirming principles of sapinda exogamy and caste endogamy. Thus, lineage and kinship define the identity of an individual in India.

T N Madan in his study of Kashmiri Pandits, 'Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir, 1965' indicates that the entire community gets related to each other on the basis of primary, secondary, tertiary kinship. Feminist scholars like **Uma Chakravorty** on the other hand see lineage and descent as perpetuating unpaid labor and patriarchy in Indian society. It deprives women of inheritance rights and reproductive role is attached to women and productive to men.

Lineage and descent also play a role in other fields. For example – according to **Paul Brass**, while caste is an important component of Indian politics, kinship is another important.

In the case of India, family/kinship offers ideological, economic, and infrastructural support to individuals to determine the nature of occupation. In conclusion it can be said that the role of descent and kinship not only determines the private sphere of an individual's life like marriage, family, household, gender role, rituals but also has great influence over his public life like occupational selection, political participation and identity formation. Therefore the role of descent and kinship has changed very little under the influence of modernity in India and so while studying social transformation one cannot afford to ignore the same.

Significance of lineage and descent in kinship and family

1. **Reproduction of society (incest taboo, endogamy, exogamy)**

All human societies prohibit sexual relations between persons who are classified as closed blood kin, which includes at least the father-child, mother-child and siblings relationships. This does not of course mean that such relations do not occur, but rather that there is a norm prohibiting it. This universal rule is often spoken of as the incest taboo. Please note that the extension of incest taboos differ from society to society, and from religion to religion. Some anthropologists have pointed out the social advantages of the rule, including the expansion of the group through the inclusion of new members and the forging of alliances across kin boundaries. While others have pointed out that widespread incest would lead to biological degeneration through the transmission of inheritable disease.

Further all societies have prescriptions and proscriptions regarding who may or may not marry whom. In some societies, these restrictions are subtle while in others individuals who can or cannot be married are more explicitly and specifically defined. Forms of marriage based on rules governing eligibility/ineligibility of mates is classified as endogamy and exogamy. Endogamy requires an individual to marry within a culturally defined group of which he is already a member, as for example caste, religion or tribe, etc.

Caste and religious endogamy are the most pervasive forms of endogamy. Most religious groups do not permit or like their members to marry individuals of other faiths. Endogamy is also a very important characteristic of the Indian caste system. Exogamy, on the other hand, requires the individual to marry outside of his own group. Exogamy refers to the rules of avoidance in marital relationships. Every

community prohibits its members from having marital relationships with certain persons. The exogamy in one form or the other is practiced in every community. Under this rule, marriage among close relatives especially kins and within the same clan is prohibited. For example, in China, the individuals who bear the same surname may not inter-marry. In Hindu marriage, gotra and sapinda are such exogamous groups.

2. **Group membership**

Kinship concerns much more than the reproduction of society and the transmission of cultural values and knowledge between the generations, although these aspects are certainly important. Kinship also facilitates group formation. Thus, marriage assigns each mother a husband, and makes her children his children, thereby creating a special group of father, mother and children, which we call "family".

3. **Political function**

Kinship can also be important in politics and in the management of everyday affairs. In many societies, a man needs support from both consanguine kin (blood kin) and from affine (in-laws) in order to follow a successful political career. In societies, especially stateless ones, the kin group usually forms, along with locality, the basis for political stability and for the promotion of political interests.

4. **Economic function**

In many societies, family members join forces in economic investments. Among the Hindus of Mauritius, for example, it is common for groups of brothers and cousins to set up a joint business. Although there may be no formal rule to the effect that one has to be related to run a business together, kinship can give a practical advantage. One can usually trust one's relatives, since they are tied to one self through webs of strong normative

obligations.

5. Social stability and social control

Inside the kin group, norms specify roughly how one is to behave towards different categories of kin. In other words, kinship usages also govern the role relationships between kin: that is, how one kinsman should behave in a particular kinsman's presence, or what one kinsman owes to another. Kinship assigns guidelines for interaction between persons. It defines proper acceptable role relationship between father and daughter, between brother and sister, between son-in-law and mother-in-law, between fellow lineage members and clansmen. Kinship thus acts as a regularizer of social life and maintains the solidarity of the social system. These norms prevent the dissolution of the group and ensure that people carry out their duties. The entire division of labour may thus be organized on kinship principle.

6. Inheritance and succession

Group membership, politics, reproduction and social stability have been mentioned as important aspects of kinship. A further important dimension of the kinship institution is its connection with inheritance and succession. Both institutions are to do with the transmission of the resources from one generation to the next. Inheritance concerns the transmission of property, while succession refers to 'the transmission of office', transmission of specified rights and duties as ascribed statuses.

All societies have rules regulating who is to inherit what when someone dies, although these rules are often contested or interpreted in varying ways. There is no universal link between kinship systems and rules of inheritance in societies. There are patrilineal systems of descent where men and women are equals in terms of inheritance, and there are systems which give priority to one of the genders, usually the male. In some societies

the eldest son receives a larger part of the inheritance than his siblings (primogeniture); others follow the opposite principle and give priority to the youngest son (ultimogeniture). Whereas the corporate principle functions in an integrating way, inheritance is a source of potential disruption, since it reveals conflict of interests among the relatives. Rules of succession are often closely linked with the principle of descent. In patrilineal systems, a son (or a younger brother) will frequently take over the commitments of the deceased; in matrilineal systems, a man commonly succeeds his mother's brother.

Kinship serves two important and related purposes. Firstly, it serves to establish and maintain effective social groups and secondly, it provides a way of transmitting status and property from one generation to the next. In most societies where kinship connections are important, the rules of descent affiliate individuals with different sets of kin. Descent concerns the tracing of relationships through succeeding generations, i.e., who has descended from whom. Different societies follow different-different rules of descent and inheritance. Some of the important ones are mentioned in the following section in brief.

TYPES OF KINSHIP SYSTEMS

In most societies a child is regarded as the offspring of both parents, and so has relationships of kinship traced through both. Those kin traced through the father are termed **paternal** or **patrilateral**; those traced through the mother, **maternal** or **matrilateral**. The totality of matrilineal and patrilateral kin recognized by a person within a certain degree is sometimes termed his **kindred**. It is also usual to distinguish lineal from collateral kin. **Lineal** kin are the direct ancestors and direct descendants of an individual: his parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., and his children, grandchildren, etc. **Collaterals** are the other descendants of one's lineal kin (parents' siblings, cousins, etc.). Some writers consider

a person's siblings and their descendants as lineal, others as collateral kin. Yet another distinction is made between primary, secondary and tertiary kin. **Primary kin** are one's parents, one's siblings and one's own offspring (father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter). **Secondary kin** are the primary kin of these (father's father, mother's brother, brother's daughter, etc.). **Tertiary kin** are the primary kin of secondary kin, and so on. The classic way of defining consanguinity is in terms of common descent from ancestors. All the descendants of a common ancestor may be termed as **stock**. Thus an individual is a member of as many stocks as he recognizes ultimate lineal ancestors. Through his parents, he is a member of two stocks, through his grandparents of four etc. A person is said to be a **cognate** of, or related cognatically to, all those people with whom he shares a common ancestor.

For some purposes, however, the descent criterion may be restricted to males, and only those descendants of a common ancestor in the male line will be recognized as kin. These are known as **agnatic** or **patrilineal** kin. If descent is traced through female exclusively for some purposes, then the descendants would be called **uterine** or **matrilineal** kin. These two modes of tracing descent are called unilineal: that is, they select one 'line' only, either the male or the female. These principles are not necessarily mutually exclusive within a society. It is possible, for example, for an individual to recognize all cognates as kin for some purposes, but to restrict recognition to agnates for some other purposes. Indeed, almost all kinship systems recognize bilateral relationship, i.e. relationship to both Kinship is a relationship between any entities that share a genealogical origin (related to family, lineage, history), through either biological, cultural, or historical descent. Various types of kinship are studied by sociologists taking into consideration:

- Kinship terminology;
- Kinship behavior;
- Forms of marriage;

- Patterns of residence.

All the considerations mentioned above vary in different parts of the country.

Murdock mentions two types of kinship terms to explain kinship behavior and analyze kinship interrelations – 'terms of address' and 'terms of reference'. Term of address refers to the culturally patterned relationships among individuals. Terms of reference on the other hand indicate the linguistic symbols involved in the relationships. There can be a gap between the two due to the application of a single classificatory term to a variety of different relatives. In south India, 'Anna' refers to both an elder brother and a father. Similarly, 'Uncle' is used to refer to a host of relations like – maternal uncle, paternal uncle – including Taau and Chacha, Phoofa, Mause and so on.

The first sociologist to study kinship systems in India is **Irawati Karve**, she divided India into four different kinship zones such as:

- North Indian kinship systems
- South Indian kinship systems
- Central Indian kinship systems
- Eastern Indian kinship systems

North Indian kinship systems

This kinship system is present in Hindi speaking belt and also in areas where Aryan culture influence is substantive. It includes West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. In the case of North India kinship system, the terminology used for father's brother is not used for mother's brother; therefore Patrikins are distinguished from Matrikins. Within the Patrilineal system father's brother are distinguished from father's sister therefore differential terminologies are used. Father's brothers are also distinguished in terms of age and so deferential respect is attributing to them.

In North India kinship systems, the rules of marriage are highly exhaustive because a large body of people is excluded from alliance relationship. One is not supposed to receive a

woman from a group to which women are offered within 5 to 7 generations. In addition to that one cannot receive women from his mother's group or mother's mother group, father's mother group and from within his own village. Hence exogamy is quite exhaustive and marriage involves not intra-family ties but inter-village ties. Residential system is very Virilocal (bride lives with husband's father's group) type and marriage involves a series of presentational obligations.

In North Indian kinship father-son relationship precedes over husband-wife relationship. Elaborating on this **Veena Das** in an analysis of Punjabi kinship system indicates that natural sexual relationship between husband and wife are subdued to social established relationship between father and son thereby glorifying the values of patriarchy (system of kinship where authority rests with male).

South Indian kinship systems

This type of relationship system is largely present in all southern states and some of its influence is also largely noticed in pockets of Maharashtra and Orissa. In southern India kinship systems, no distinction is made between patrilineal or matrilineal, therefore father's brother is equated with mother's sister's husband and both their children being parallel cousins so no marriage is allowed between them. To contrast father's sister's group is equated with mother's brother's group, hence mother's brother is equivalent to father's sister's husband. Thus in South India specific patrilineal kins are equated with specific matrilineal Kins.

In South India father is equated with elder brother, mother is equated with elder sister, daughter is equated with younger sister and son is equated with younger brother and subsequently/correspondingly terminologies are adjusted. These terminologies speak about love for younger, respect for elders cutting across generational principles. In the case of South India cross cousins

marriage takes place and so exogamy is not exhaustive like in North India. The relationship between husband and wife is not subdued to father-son relationship as in the case of North India. Hostility of relationship between the in laws driven by suspicion is also weak in South India.

Central Indian kinship systems

This system is practiced in the case of Gujarat, Maharashtra, MP which is a mixture of elements of North and South India. In the case of Rajputs marriage is greatly determined on the basis of the family status of a girl. Rajputs are permitted to marry any girl on the basis of their choice rather than simply follow the rules of caste.

Marathas are divided into 32 clans which are put into primary, secondary and tertiary divisions and so the rules of marriage are determined accordingly between various divisions. In the case of "Kumbi" of Gujarat one is not supposed to marry women belonging to first-generation from father's side and three generations from mother's side. In case of Rajasthan on the auspicious day of Akshaya Tritiya massive marriages take place involving people belonging to different age groups and their rules of marriage are sufficiently relaxed.

Eastern India kinship systems

It largely includes kinship patterns followed by different tribal groups like Munda of Orissa, Manipuri of Manipur, Nagas, Kukis and Khasi. These kinship systems don't follow specific patterns e.g. in case of Munda, people are divided into six different classes associating themselves with lizard, teak, bamboo, crocodiles etc and each class is divided into many lineage groups. A daughter carries the name of patrilineal grandmother and son carries the name of patrilineal grandfather, divorce is common among them. In the case of Khasi, the youngest daughter inherits property from her mother. The status of man in Khasi society is similar to the status of women in North Indian kinship system.

In conclusion these regional variations in kinship largely speaks about differential residential patterns, entitlement on the basis of gender, social status of men, women and children bringing the point back home that Indian culture is largely pluralistic in character. Therefore unity in India should not be seen as destruction of the process of diversity but rather it should respect the process of diversity.

FAMILY IN INDIA

The Study of family in India centers on the debate of joint family vs nuclear family. The first authentic study on family comes from the writings of **Sir Henry Maine**, who was law adviser to the colonial government of India. He developed intellectual interest in family studies and thus established the comparison between Indian joint family with Roman and Greek joint family. His understanding of family depends upon textual material. He indicated that joint family is characterized by:

- Common property holding.
- Absolute authority of 'Karta'.

He considered that joint family is a corporate unit where people make contribution differently but share rewards on the basis of their needs. He said that joint family sustains in India because it is considered as a moral institution with the members are obliged to perform rituals for common dead ancestors. This analysis is taking its foundation to Indological understanding of family wherein **GS Ghurye** considered that joint family is a product of Indian culture that glorified classical values. There is universal presence of joint family cutting across caste, religion which promoted unity among people in Indian society.

PN Prabhu in his analysis of family and kinship in India considers that individual's association with joint family is driven by moralism, therefore when moralism is replaced by individualism (when tradition is

replaced by modernity) then joint family is transformed into a nuclear family.

During the 1960s two groups of sociologists took considerable interest in the field of family studies. One group conforming to modern theory looked into complete integration of joint family system whereas the other group went for empirical studies to examine regional variations in family transformation under the various processes of modernity. These two theories cannot be on the question of the degree of changes in family.

Yogendra Singh in his book "**Modernisation of Indian Tradition**" writes that, how in the case of urban India, inter-caste marriages, love marriages, nuclear family is making an appearance. He emphasizes guilt free sexuality during premarital and post-marital life. He believes that industry, occupational mobility, and women empowerment has led to the rise of modern family and so it has contributed to a structural breakdown of the joint family system in India.

M N Srinivas, SC Dube found out that there is a strong linkage between caste and joint family. Empirical study indicates that higher castes go for joint family system and lower castes go for nuclear family. Therefore joint family is driven by economic logic rather than cultural moralism. It is also noticed that joint family is not breaking down completely under the influence of urban living.

K M Kapadia in his study 'Rural Family Patterns, 1956' defines joint family in terms of generational depth, common kitchen, and authority of Karta etc. It is important to note that property was an important factor behind the jointness. Kapadia also found that though most families are nuclear, they are actually 'joint' in operation.

Alan Rose in a study of Bangalore finds out that around 70% of families manifest either structural jointness or functional jointness or a mixture of both. **MS Gore** in his study of Agarwal's of Delhi finds out how mother-son relationship proceeds over husband-wife

relationship and family operates as a strong support base to its members in matters related to selection of occupation, financial assistance and selection of mates. **TN Madan** indicates how residential separation has not given way to break down of joint family. In his theory of “**money order economy**” he indicates that family jointness has always been enduring in the case of India.

These scholars concluded by saying that family transformation in India is not a replica of family transformation in the West. Therefore social change in India is Indian in character and thus, Western theories and models cannot explain family transformation in Indian society.

In India, the family whether extended vertically and/or horizontally is called the joint family, which is strictly speaking also a property-sharing unit. The term ‘**joint family**’ was coined by **Sir Henry Maine** to describe the patrilineal type of extended family in India where all the male members of the family hold joint ownership rights in the family property. It is largely patrilineal, patriarchal and **patrivirilocal** (residence of the couple after marriage in husband’s father’s home) in nature with a few exceptions. Joint family, which is a typical feature of Indian society, is characterized by **commensality, common residence, coparcenary** (joint ownership of property among the male members of the family in a patrilineal society), co-operation sentiment and ritual bonds. Please note that in the case of Hindu joint family the authority to take decisions and maintain peace and discipline in the family lies in the hand of the **Karta**. All the earning members keep their earnings with him and the entire property is kept under his control. Family ceremonies and celebrations are held under his guidance and direction. He also settles the disputes within the household. In a nutshell, the **Karta** is the trustee of the family and enjoys unquestionable authority.

According to **Iravati Karve**, the joint family

may be defined as “a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common, and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred.” Scholars like **I.P. Desai** emphasized that the number of generations present in a family is important for identifying a joint family. According to him, ‘we call that household a joint family which has greater generation depth than the nuclear family and members of which are related to one another by property, income and mutual right and authority.’

A joint family is commonly defined as a three generational family. For instance, a man, his married son and his grandchildren constitute a joint family. I.P. Desai suggested that there are five types of family life in India which may be summarized as follows:

1. **Nuclear Family:** The smallest family which consists of wife, husband and their unmarried children.
2. **Functional Joint Family:** When two families having blood relationship are living separately but function under one common authority, it is called functional joint family.
3. **Functional and Substantial Joint Family:** When a functional joint family is also joint in terms of property it is called functional and substantial joint family.
4. **Marginal Joint Family:** When two generations of family members live together functionally and substantially it is called marginal joint family.
5. **Traditional Joint Family:** It consists of three or more generations of people living together in one household, own property in one commonly and participates in the family rituals.

Researchers, like **F.G. Bailey** and **T.N. Madan**, on the other hand, has advocated the limitation of the term joint family to a group of relatives who form a property owning group,

the coparcenary family. **M.S. Gore**, for instance, defines a joint family as a group consisting of adult male coparceners and their dependents. The wives and young children of these male members are the dependents.

Eugene Litwak claims that nuclear and joint family are two theoretical ideals and in between there exists '**Modified Extended Families**' in which children marry out or migrate from the parental household upon marriage, but engage in common activities with parents and other kin on a regular basis. **Pauline Kolenda** presents the following types of joint family on the basis of the relatives who are its members:

- **Collateral joint family:** It comprises two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond. In this type, usually a brother and his wife and another brother and his wife live together with unmarried children.
- **Supplemented collateral joint family:** It is a collateral joint family along with unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives. The supplemented relatives are generally the widowed mother of the married brothers or the widower father, or an unmarried sibling.
- **Lineal joint family:** Two couples, between whom there is a linear link, like between a parent and his married son or some times between a parent and his married daughter, live together.
- **Supplemented lineal joint family:** It is a lineal joint family together with unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families. For example, the father's widower brother or the son's wife's unmarried brother or sister.
- **Lineal collateral joint family:** In this type three or more couples are linked lineally and collaterally. For instance, we can have a family consisting of parents and their two or more married sons together with the unmarried children of the couples.
- **Supplemented lineal-collateral joint family:** In this type are found a lineal

collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to none of the nuclear families (lineally and collaterally linked). For example, the father's widowed sister or brother or an unmarried nephew of the father.

Another type of extended family found in India is the matrilineal family among the Nayers of Kerala. The Nayers called this matrilineal extended family '**Taravad**'. Among the Nayers, the term *Taravad* was applied for the clan, and the lineage. It also referred to the property group. *Taravad* was an exogamous unit, i.e., its members marry outside the *Taravad*. The composition of this matrilineal joint family was entirely different from the patrilineal joint family. All members of this family were consanguinely related men and women only. In relation to the male ego, the members of such a family included his mother and her sisters and brothers, his own brothers and sisters, mother's sister's sons and daughters and the children of the ego's sisters. Thus, there was no relation by marriage in *Taravad*. The married women with their children lived with their mothers and other siblings. The men in the family were only occasional visitors to their wives in other *Taravad* at night but permanently resided with their own mother. That is why this system is also popularly known as the '**visiting husband system**'.

Similarly, among the **Coorgs of south India**, patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is called '**okka**'. Eminent sociologist **M.N. Srinivas** in his study '*Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India*' found the *okka* as the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. Members of an *okka* are acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His

association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*karanava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bharani*) are occasionally made to them.

The family institution in the whole world is undergoing change. In the developed societies of the West, this change is quite fundamental in nature, so that the very existence of family is threatened.

Industrialization and development of material culture have mainly led to this change. In India too drastic changes in the family in India are taking place though slowly.

Contemporary western society is characterized, among other things, by the declining importance of all primary groups, including the family, and their supersession by secondary groups. Most of those functions which the family used to satisfy are now fulfilled by various commercial and state operated institutions like crèches, kindergartens, schools, trade unions, clubs, hotels, and restaurants. The disintegration of the family has been hastened by freer sex relations made possible by changing notions about morals and by birth control techniques. With the decline of religion, the religious sanctions behind family and marriage have also vanished, making dissolution easier to obtain. The changed notions about the status and role of women have also aided this break up. Individualism is the basis of all contemporary Western culture. Individual happiness is often possible only at the cost of the family as a whole.

In India, generally the **factors leading to changes in the family** are discussed in the context of the issue of disintegration of the joint family.

- A host of interrelated factors, economic, educational, legal, demographic, have

affected the family in India.

- Among the economic factors, industrialization and urbanization have significantly affected the structure and composition of the traditional family system. The family which was a principle unit of production has been transformed into a consumption unit. Industrialisation has also separated the place of work from home. Due to diversification of occupational opportunities members of a family are no more dependent on the traditional family occupation.

- Further, the processes of industrialization and urbanization, particularly in India, have led to a demographic change in terms of heavy migration of rural people to cities. Residential separation due to mobility of members from one place to another affects the size and composition of the family. A man may take his wife and children along with him to establish a nuclear family in the city. There have been many studies, which show that migration to cities from villages and small towns has contributed to the rapid disintegration of large size family units. In the city, with problems of finding accommodation and limited space available for living, it becomes difficult for an average urbanite to maintain and support a large family.

- Modern system of education has also brought about a significant change in the attitudes, beliefs and values of the young generation. Due to increasing literacy child marriages are lessening in number leading to marriage between mature individuals.

- Further, educated women tend to be more liberal, autonomous and economically independent. Couples are not interested in having more than two or three children. As a result of which the family size is getting smaller and the number of nuclear families is fast increasing.

- Legislations regarding education, marriage, employment and property, have also affected the family system in many ways. For example, the Constitution of India has made 'right to free and compulsory education to all children

in the age group of six to fourteen years' a fundamental right under **Article 21A** which was introduced by Eighty Sixth Amendment Act, 2002. Similarly, labour laws passed for the benefit of employees like the **Indian Workmen Compensation Act, 1923** and the **Minimum Wages Act, 1948**, helped to reduce the economic reliance of members on the joint family for economic support.

- Further, **Hindu Gains of Learning Act, 1930** declared that the property acquired by a Hindu out of his education was his personal property though his education was paid for by the joint family. The distinction between self-acquired property and joint family property was drawn. After Independence, the **Hindu Succession Act, 1956** was passed which gave a daughter and son equal rights to the father's property. These legislations challenged the inheritance patterns that prevailed in joint families prior to the passing of this Act and the dependent position of women within the family.

Joint family is also seen in terms of desirability and undesirability. It is viewed as desirable as it provides economic security, provides economic placement, provides social security, helps in the upbringing of children, sharing of burden, provides emotional support, provides status to individual in a traditional society, acts as a unit of economic activity and consumption, performs socialization function, performs religious rites and rituals and so on. However, it is also accused of killing an individual's initiative, promoting patriarchy, making members docile, hinders mobility and so on.

Thus, disintegration of joint family in India is associated with the following changes –

- **Change in authority structure** – Once the family splits into several units, new authority centers emerge there, with the respective eldest male member as the head of each nuclear unit.

- **More liberty to women** – After the split in a joint family, women, who earlier had no say in the family affairs, also emerge as

mistresses of the nuclear households

- **Impact on weaker members of the family** – With the breakdown of the joint family system, the aged, widow, widower and other dependents in the family face severe problems.

HOUSEHOLD DIMENSIONS OF THE FAMILY

- Family transformation in India has obtained a new theoretical explanation from the writings of AM Shah and Pauline Kolenda. **AM Shah** puts a fundamental question that, whether in India joint household is disintegrating or joint family is disintegrating. He finds out that proportion of joint households is more today in comparison to the past. He points out the reasons for the same i.e. due to rising population; construction of house has become costly, migration in search of employment etc. He points out those bigger joint households are now splitting into smaller households. People living in different households have strong emotional ties therefore joint household is disintegrating but not joint family and so family should be studied from household perspective and changes in household and family patterns must be investigated to examine actual nature of family transformation in India.

- **Pauline Kolenda** considers that family transformation in India is not a story of absolute disappearance of joint family or joint household. Even in contemporary context joint family households are still significant therefore the impact of modernity on family in India is not that conclusive as spelt out by modernist and Marxist scholars.

- Feminist sociologists are of the opinion that whether it's joint family or nuclear family, in no way family transformation is affecting to the status of women in India. Therefore reproduction, sexuality, division of labour etc are all determined by the values of patriarchy than by principles of equality. The patriarchal

nature of family is instrumental for powerlessness of women, so family legitimizes gender inequality in Indian society since ancient times. Therefore glorification of family transformation is driven by patriarchal social centric bias and one has to liberate oneself from this biasness to have an objective understanding about family transformation in India.

- Classical sociologists were greatly committed to family study either by considering family as cornerstone of human society or by looking into changing nature of society. With the advent of modernity it was perceived that household is a residential space but family is a social institution. However, with the rise of feminism both as an ideology and as a social movement, women's approach towards marriage has gone through a series of transformation.

- Rise of socialism in different parts of the world has contributed to the decline of family. In progressive Scandinavian countries the major traditional role of family like health, security, education, employment are either extended to agencies of state or to the emergent modern institutions like marriage bureaus, old-age homes, child care centers etc which have evolved into alternatives to family. Thus sociologists look into disintegration of family taking place in a big way. Thus household as an important area of study is gaining importance as against family.

- AM Shah in his book "**household dimension of the family in India**" indicates that even in traditional context, household and family does not mean similar things. Citing the case of India he considers that family and household were absolutely different but family studies in India immensely focused attention on the transformation of joint family into nuclear families. According to A M Shah, process of development of household is affected by various factors and there are three major factors –

1. The first is the demographic factor, which not only includes the phenomena of birth, adulthood and death but also the sex and number of members. While these phenomena are demographic in origin, they are social in operation.

2. The second factor is the series of explicitly stated norms regarding the residence of various relatives in a household.

3. The third is the pattern of interpersonal relations in a household governed by the norms or codes of proper conduct attached to kinship relationships in the household.

- Household refers to residential space where people living together may or may not constitute family. Looking at household patterns one could effectively study nature and form of transformation taking place in Indian society.

- In recent analysis of global migration and family pattern, it has been found out that in countries like the Philippines and India a large chunk of women in search of employment go out to advanced countries of the world. Though most of them are married they don't stay with their family. As a result they constitute an independent household. These households may constitute many friends living together or a person living with a working partner to whom he/she is not married or a person living all alone.

- It is generally perceived in the case of India that household is less durable an alternative to family system, which gives more importance to friendship than kinship. Households offer immense individual liberty, sexual freedom, limited or no liability towards the other members of the household. It is suitable for the fragile and mobile population. Therefore in Scandinavian countries census gives more importance to household than on family.

Thus it can be concluded that household is evolving into a replacement for family in many developing countries including India. Therefore sociology of kinship is shifting its

focus from the study of marriage and family to the study of friendship and household.

PATRIARCHY, ENTITLEMENTS AND SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

Entitlements have social, economic, political and cultural connotations. Conceptually speaking entitlement can be considered as a form of individual rights, is defined by culture or rules of law or by society. In traditional society's right to work, education, social status, access to power, right over reproduction, sexuality, children, and rituals would drive by cultural prescriptions. But in modern society, such rights are supposed to be driven by civil laws pronounced by democracy. Modernity theory indicates that various forms of entitlements are now extended to every section of society therefore inequality on the basis of heredity, gender have gone into the state of oblivion.

The position of modernity theory is scrutinized and questioned by feminist sociologists. They consider that, irrespective of civilization, development, people in every society have patriarchy determined entitlements, therefore the difference between traditional and modern society is not as great as it is being portrayed. For example modernity theory of Talcott Parson indicates that industrialisation, urbanization, migration have contributed for occupational mobility, empowerment of women and gender gap within and outside family has sufficiently been reduced.

The modernist theory also indicates that in the case of India, the relationship between husband and wife is now proceeding over parent-child relationship. Conjugal relationship is considered more important than obligation towards kinship. Irrespective of gender every child inherits the property from parents, selection of mates is no longer family's responsibility and childbirth is greatly a matter of economics and mutual agreement between spouses. Therefore modernity has broken down the traditional form of marriage, hierarchical form of relationship.

In case of Hinduism emphasis on sexual purity institutionalizes child marriage. Sexual

experimentation outside marriage or premarital sex drives one in the direction of hell. Birth of male child makes women complete and divorce is considered an act of evil. Widowhood brings in disaster to the life of women therefore culture defines sexuality, reproduction, division of labour and gender rules in different societies. Modernist theory contradicting to cultural theory indicates that with the glorification of modernity, traditional form of marriage, family, gender discrimination will be wiped out and all over the world nuclear family, possibility of divorce, childbirth by choice, individual control over his/her sexuality will be getting momentum.

Thus, looking into family, marriage and sexuality one can look into the transformation experienced by Indian society. From 1970s onwards revolution in the field of marriage and family study is being experienced through the contribution of feminist scholars who point out that irrespective of time and space there are present to opposite sex—man and women. The relationship between the two is dialectical for the reason one enjoys power to make the other powerless. Human history progress in terms of technology, old political system is replaced by new political system but the dialectics of sex persist for all times to come. They indicate that what woman is to nature men are to culture. Therefore this nature – cultural dichotomy brings man–women closer to their roles such as reproduction, child rearing, domestication are the duties of women who operate within the household and family whereas man has control over property, political domain, land etc. This dialectics of sex is the foundation to evolution of law, emergence of cultural standards that ultimately gives justification to great gender divide and differential access to entitlement. **Indira Jai Singh** indicates how in case of India almost all the law explains entitlements on the basis of patriarchy than on the basis of gender equality. She writes that Hindu marriage act gave rights to women to go for divorce on the grounds of adultery but

adultery must be proved in a court of law.

There is a strong legislation against dowry but the distinction between dowry and gift is still unclear. **MN Srinivas terms dowry as "modern day sati"**, a practice that leads to death of many young women in India which cannot be forbidden through the enforcement of strong legal provisions. The victims of rape are supposed to recast the same experience over and over again in order to get justice. Only in the recent past women got their inheritance right over parent's property which was long due to them. Women have the right of maintenance over the child only as a custodian on the event of death of husband and absence of other male members of the joint family. Therefore legal provisions in India are products of patriarchy, these laws theoretically extend different entitlements to women which are difficult for them to access.

Tulsi Patel writes that women consider it as a sin to prohibit their husbands from sexuality therefore most women go for unwanted pregnancy. Most of them lose their life during childbirth, their health crumbles but still, they accept patriarchal convention, forgetting their entitlements. In a study to find out the difference between wage payment between men and women in Central India it was found that women working in factories are paid less than half the amount for doing twice the work compared to their male counterparts.

Therefore whether it is a question of sexuality, reproduction, welfare, employment, in every sphere, the value of patriarchy is glorified by the state or its agencies. These values mostly operate as guide to gender role to bring down the conclusion that family is a paradise in a hopeless world, marriage, childbirth and motherhood makes women's life complete. Therefore feminist movement in case of India is not manifesting a rebellion against patriarchy rather it is asking for gender equality.

Patriarchy is a social system in which men hold primary power, predominate in the roles of political leadership, moral authority, special

privilege and control of the property. They also hold power in the domain of the family, as fatherly figures.

Many patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, meaning that the male lineage inherits the property and title. Here, the female alternative is a matriarchy. Historically, patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, and economic organization of a range of different cultures. The analysis of patriarchy and its effects is a major topic within the social sciences and humanities.

Indian debates on socialism and patriarchy are complicated by a significant shift in the analysis. The subject of research and debates was not just capitalism and its relationship to patriarchy. Rather, patriarchy came to be discussed in terms of the modes of production and reproduction, specific to Indian realities. These were understood regarding the family and household; kinship and caste; culture and religion, and the Indian state, whose policies have a dynamic bearing on all other social structures. Indian discussion addressed and added their concerns to the more substantial feminist arguments.

Indian feminist analysis and arguments linked the family and the economy to demonstrate, how the economic power of men and their domination of production was crucially linked to, and determined by, the organization of the family and the household. The household thus emerged as an important constituent of both production and patriarchy.

The sphere of reproduction was understood in terms of a sex-gender system, which identified with concrete social structures and relationships, in this case, kinship networks. Along with the household, kin networks were seen as central to both the exercise of male power in the familial and social contexts, as well as a women's status, or the lack of it, at home and outside. Both production and reproduction were seen as involving exploitation of human labour on the one hand, and of female reproductive capacity, on the

other. The caste system was seen as central to both forms of exploitation and as linking them in explicit ways, and it has been argued that distinctive caste patriarchy exists in India. Debates about capitalism and women's sub ordinance often became debates on developments and the role of the modern states. This led to the theorizing of the state as both patriarchal and as a potential challenger of patriarchy.

Uma Chakravorty on patriarchy: Uma Chakravarti argues that the establishment of private property and the need to have caste purity required subordination of women and strict control over their mobility and sexuality. Female sexuality was channeled into legitimate motherhood within a controlled structure of reproduction to ensure patrilineal succession. Her analysis of Brahminical patriarchal relations is especially noteworthy. According to her, the mechanism of control operated through three different levels –

1. Ideological Indoctrination – The first device was when patriarchy was established as an ideology and women had internalized through stri- dharma or pativrata-dharma to live up to the ideal notion of womanhood constructed by the ideologues of the society.

2. Brahminical Customs And Notions – The second device was laws, customs and rituals prescribed by the Brahminical social code which reinforced the ideological control over women through the idealization of chastity and wife fidelity as highest duty of women. The relationship between women's purity and caste purity was important and central to Brahminical patriarchy and women were carefully guarded and lower caste men were prevented from having sexual access to women of higher caste. While Anuloma marriages were allowed, Pratiloma were not.

3. State Sponsored Patriarchy–The third was the state itself which supported the patriarchal control over women and thus patriarchy could be established firmly not as an ideology but as an actuality.

She believes that patriarchy has been a system of benevolent paternalism in which

obedient women were accorded certain rights and privileges and security and this paternalism made the insubordination invisible and led to their complicity in it. Therefore gender relations are organized within the structural framework of family, religion, class, caste, community, tribe and state.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is an important and universal social institution of society. As a social institution, it provides a recognized form for entering into a relatively enduring heterosexual relationship for the bearing and rearing of children. It is thus primarily a way of regulating human reproduction. This reproduction, however, also has a sociological dimension. The right of sexual relationship, that universally accompanies marriage, provides legitimization to the children born in wedlock; this legitimacy is of great importance in the matter of inheritance and succession. Besides, through marriage there comes into existence the family, a relatively stable social group that is responsible for the care and training of children. In all these respects marriage has historically provided the institutional mechanisms necessary for replacement of social members and thereby has been meeting the important prerequisites of human survival and society's continuance. All societies have prescriptions and proscriptions regarding who may or may not marry whom. In some societies these restrictions are subtle, while in some others, individuals who can or cannot be married are more explicitly and specifically defined.

Forms of marriage based on rules governing eligibility/ineligibility of mates is classified as endogamy and exogamy. **Endogamy** requires an individual to marry within a culturally defined group of which he is already a member, as for example caste, religion or tribe, etc. Caste and religious endogamy are the most pervasive forms of endogamy. Most religious groups do not permit or like their

members to marry individuals of other faiths. Endogamy is also a very important characteristic of the Indian caste system. **Exogamy**, on the other hand, requires the individual to marry outside of his own group. Exogamy refers to the rules of avoidance in marital relationships. Every community prohibits its members from having marital relationships with certain persons. The exogamy in one form or the other is practiced in every community. Under this rule, marriage among close relatives, especially kins and the same clan is prohibited. In Hindu marriage, Gotra and Sapinda are such exogamous groups. **Gotra** refers to a group of families which trace their origin from a common mythical ancestor. **Sapinda** means that persons of seven generations on the father's side and five on the mother's side cannot intermarry.

Incest taboo is perhaps the most prominent feature of exogamic rule of mate-selection in almost every society. Marriage of father-daughter, mother-son, brother-sister is unknown the world over. Prohibition of sex relationship between such primary kins is called incest taboo. There are sociological, psychological and also scientific reasons for the institution of incest taboo. The exogamic rules are designed to restrict free marriage relationships. The incest taboos, according to **Kingsley Davis**, confine sexual relations and sentiments to the married pairs alone excluding such relationships as between parent and child, brother and sister etc. In this way the possibility of confusion in the organization of kinship is prevented and the family organization is maintained. Quite often, a scientific justification is also provided for keeping restrictions of incest taboo. Eugenically, there is a fear of a possibility that certain physiological inadequacies present among close kin such as cousins may be perpetuated and transferred to their off-springs in case the former inter-marry.

Generally, there are two forms of marriage prevalent in different parts of world: (i)

monogamy and (ii) polygamy. **Monogamy** restricts the individual to one spouse at a time. Under this system, at any given time a man can have only one wife and a woman can have only one husband. Monogamy is prevalent in all societies and is almost the universal form in all modern industrial societies. In many societies, individuals are permitted to marry again often on the death of the first spouse or after divorce; but they cannot have more than one spouse at one and the same time. Such monogamy marriage is termed as serial monogamy. A society may also practice straight monogamy, in which remarriage is not allowed. Most upper caste Hindu females were obliged to follow the norm of straight monogamy prior to the enactment of **Widow Remarriage Act of 1856**, as until then widows were not allowed to marry again. With further modernization societies are likely to move towards the conditions of serial monogamy, rather than maintain straight monogamy.

Polygamy is that arrangement of marriage in which either a woman has more than one husband or a man has more than one wife. The former arrangement is called polyandry and the latter polygyny. Of the two forms of polygamy, polygyny is much more prevalent than polyandry the world over.

The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 established monogamy for all Hindus and others who came to be governed by this Act. Some of the 'other' communities covered by this Act are Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. Strict monogamy is also prescribed in Christian and Parsi communities. **Islam, on the other hand, has allowed polygyny.** A Muslim man can have as many as four wives at a time, provided all are treated as equals. However, it seems that even among the Muslims, polygynous unions are now restricted only to a small section of society. In India, polygyny is also found among the Naga tribes, the Gond, the Baiga, the Toda, the Lushei clans and most of the other Proto-Australoid tribes of Middle India. The Khasi, the Santhal and

the Kadar are among those that are monogamous. Excessively high bride prices have forced monogamy on many, as e.g., on the Ho.

Polyandry is much restricted in distribution in comparison to other forms of marriage. Some argue that it is because polyandry leads to fewer children to every woman, more male children and a high incidence of sterility among women. Polyandry has two forms, **polyandry** and non-fraternal polyandry. In fraternal polyandry, the woman is wife to all the brothers and in the non-fraternal one, the wife has several husbands who are not brothers. The paternity in case of **fraternal or adelphic** polyandrous societies is more legal and social than biological. **Ogburn and Nimkoff** are of the opinion that the chief factor responsible for polyandry would seem to be the extreme poverty of the people. Fraternal polyandry is reported among the Todas of Nilgiris of Tamil Nadu and Khasas of Jaunsar Bawar in Dehradun district of Uttar Pradesh while **non-fraternal polyandry** was practised by Nayars of Kerala.

In some polygamous societies certain preferential rules for the choice of wives/husbands are followed. In certain societies males marry the wife's sisters, and females their husband's brothers. Such marriages are termed as sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry, respectively. In other words, while sororal polygyny implies the marriage of one man with several sisters, fraternal polyandry on the other hand implies the marriage of one woman with several brothers. Levirate, sororate, cross-cousin marriage and parallel-cousin marriage are some other forms of preferential marriages. **Levirate** is a custom in certain societies in which a widow marries one of her husband's brothers. **Sororate**, on the other hand, refers to the custom of a widower marrying the sister of his deceased wife. Often it is a younger sister who marries her deceased older sister's husband.

Cross-cousin marriage refers to the marriage of the children of siblings of the opposite sex, that is, the children of a brother and sister. Cross-cousin marriage in certain societies is often explained to be a device for avoiding payment of a high bride price, and also for maintaining property in the household. The Gonds of Madhya Pradesh call this form of marriage dudhlautawa ('return of milk'), implying thereby that the bride-price a person pays for his wife will be returned when his daughter marries her mother's brother's son. Parallel cousin marriage refers to the marriage of the children of siblings of the same sex, that is, two or more brother's children, or two or more sisters' children.

Marriage among Hindus is a sacred bond, a religious sacrament. This means that a Hindu marriage cannot be dissolved. It is a union for life. This is also reflected in the marital rites. Some of the essential rites are kanyadan (the giving off of the bride to the groom by the father), vivaha-homa (the lighting of fire as divine witness and sanctifier of the ceremony), panigrahana (the clasping of the bride's hand by the groom), agniparinaya (going around the sacred fire by the bride and the groom), lajahoma (offering of the parched grain to the sacrificial fire) and saptapadi (walking seven steps by the bride and the groom). Then the bride is carried away; vivaha, the Hindi word for marriage means 'carrying away'.

In Hinduism the aim of marriage is not only to secure physical pleasure for the individuals but also to advance their spiritual development. **K.M. Kapadia** says that "Hindu marriage is a socially approved union of man and woman aiming at dharma, procreation, sexual pleasure, and observance of certain obligation. As a sacrament, Hindu marriage aims to fulfil certain religious obligations. A traditional Hindu passes through **four Ashramas** or stages of life called Brahmacharya (student life), Grihastha (family life), Vanaprastha (retired life) and Sannyasa (renunciation). At the

commencement of each such Ashrama, a Hindu undergoes a sacrament and takes a vow. As a result of this, one becomes purified in body and mind. Marriage is a gateway to Grihastha Ashrama. Ancient Hindu texts point out three main aims of marriage. These are dharma (duty), praja (progeny) and rati (sensual pleasure).

Muslim marriage, on the other hand, is not a religious sacrament, but a secular bond. It is a social or civil contract, which can be terminated. Muslim marriage is called Nikah. The ceremony is performed by the priest or the kazi. The nikah is considered to be complete only when the consent of both the groom and the bride has been obtained. A formal document known as nikahnama bears the signatures of the couple. Among certain sections, the signatures of two witnesses are also included in the document and the document may also contain details of the payment to be made to the bride by the groom. This payment is called **Mehr** which is a stipulated sum of money or other assets paid to the wife either immediately after the wedding or postponed until some future date. Among the Muslims prohibited degrees of alliance are few and limited. Thus, marriage between even half-siblings and first parallel cousins can take place. Muslim men can be polygynous under the condition that two sisters or an aunt and niece cannot be taken as co-wives and one cannot have more than four wives at a time. A Muslim can marry his deceased wife's sister and also the parent-in-law of his/her children. A Muslim man can marry a non-Muslim but only a non-idolatrous woman like a Jew or a Christian; but a Muslim woman does not enjoy similar right. Marriage is solemnized by signing a legal document and can be dissolved. But divorce is almost only the husband's privilege; and he can have it even without assigning a cause.

It is worth noting that as early as in the nineteenth century, social reformers like **Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Pandit Ishwara**

Chandra Vidyasagar, Jyotiba Phule and others fought against the evil practices of sati, exploitation of widows and child marriage. As a result Prevention of Sati Act, 1829 was passed and it made the burning or burying alive of widow's culpable homicide, punishable with fine or imprisonment or both. Further, in 1856, the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act, 1856 was passed and it legalized the marriage of widows of all castes. Later, in 1929, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 was passed (popularly known as the **Sarda Act**) and the minimum age for marriage for girls and boys was fixed at 14 years and 18 years respectively. The Act was made applicable to all Indians. The latest amendment (in 1987) has risen the minimum age for marriage for girls and boys to 18 years and 21 years, respectively.

In contemporary India, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are recognized by law and take place on a larger scale than before. However such marriages constitute only a very small proportion of the total number of marriages taking place. They are increasing at a slow rate. In theory Hindu marriage is a sacrament and thus irrevocable. However, in post-independent India several laws have been passed permitting divorce for Hindus as well as other communities. Inter-caste marriage has, however, been legalized by legislation such as Special Marriage Act 1954, Hindu Marriage Act 1955, Hindu Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act 1976 etc. The Special Marriage Act of 1954 provides for secular and civil marriage before a registrar. This Act applies to all Indian citizens who chose to make use of its provisions, irrespective of their caste or religious affiliations. Prior to this act, there was Civil Marriage Act, 1872 which treated Hindu marriage as a 'civil marriage' and provided legal permission for inter-caste, inter-religious and even 'registered' marriage. This Act was later repealed by the Special Marriage Act, 1954. The Government of India has also passed the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961.

Marriage has also undergone several changes

1. Concerns for career and spread of higher education are also leading to rise in age of marriage.
2. In India also, marriage as an institution is

undergoing several changes and stresses. New experiments like live-in, single parent families and same-sex marriages are now gaining more traction as law takes a liberal interpretation of individual liberties.

3. Manners of mate selection are also changing and love marriages are more common. Even in conservative hubs like Haryana and Western UP, youths flout traditional norms like – Khap and Gotra endogamy rules to choose their mates in a freer manner. Inter-caste marriages are also becoming a norm. Some hybrid forms of mate selection like ‘arranged- love-marriage’ are also emerging.

4. With greater intrusion of technology and science, it was expected that a secular-scientific outlook would emerge and, consequently, the non-essential rituals and customs will be done away with leading to reduction in wasteful expenditures as well.

5. Emergence of matrimonial websites has on one hand made marriage as a more liberal process as young couples meet online, date and get married. On the other hand they are also strengthening the traditional form as many caste and community specific matrimony sites have also come up.

Family and marriage have undergone changes due to various factors. Industrialization and occupational differentiation has led to geographical mobility. Many traditional family occupations are shunned for new avenues and nuclearization of family happens. Similarly, in the case of India, land reforms and land ceiling requirements had led to demands of separate households. Legal factors also played their role as individuals were empowered and government policies promoted the idea of small families as the source of happiness. Divorce and separation laws were made women friendly. Education also promoted liberal thinking and docile character was shed by many individuals. Urbanization also leads to migration, but the high costs of living deter shifting of the whole family.

6.RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Religious Communities in India, Problems of Minorities in India

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

Religion is a way of life in India and it affects the social, economic and political structure of society. Different religions followed by different people living in different parts of the country, have created diversity of culture and brought about changes in lifestyle of the masses. India is the birth place of four of the world's major religious traditions, namely Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism. Throughout its history, religion has been an important part of the country's culture. Religious diversity and religious tolerance are both established in the country by law and custom. A vast majority of Indians associate themselves with religion.

Syrian Christians appeared on the West Coast of India in the very first century of the Christian Era when Saint Thomas came to India. The Arab traders brought Islam to the West Coast of India much before the Muslim conquest of this country. Sikhism appeared on the religious scene of India only about five centuries ago. Similarly Zoroastrians or Parsis came to India when Persia was invaded by the Muslims. The persecuted Jews and Zoroastrians (Parsis) found sanctuary on the Indian soil. While Muslims and Christians swelled in their numbers due to their open outlook, Parsis and Jews remained a closed community and remained limited in numbers.

There have been large scale changes in the religious composition of population due to conversions from one faith to another. Spatial pattern of distribution of different religious groups had undergone drastic changes due to large scale migrations as a result of partition of India in 1947.

The documented history of Indian religions begins with historical Vedic religion, the religious practices of the early Indo-Aryans, which were collected and later redacted into the Vedas. These texts are the central texts of Hinduism. The period of the composition, redaction and commentary of these texts is known as the Vedic period, which lasted from roughly 1500 to 500 BCE. The late Vedic period (9th to 6th centuries BCE) marks the beginning of the Upanisadic or Vedantic period. This period heralded the beginning of much of what became classical Hinduism, with the composition of the Upanishads, later the Sanskrit epics, still later followed by the Puranas.

Jainism was established by a lineage of 24 enlightened beings culminating with Parshava (9th century BCE) and Mahavira (6th century BCE). Buddhism was historically founded by Siddhartha Gautama, a Kshatriya prince-turned-ascetic, and was spread beyond India through missionaries. It later experienced a decline in India, but survived in Nepal and Sri Lanka, and remains more widespread in Southeast and East Asia.

Sikhism was founded in the 15th century on the teachings of Guru Nanak and nine successive Sikh Gurus in Northern India. The vast majority of its adherents originate in the Punjab region.

Religion in India is characterized by a diversity of religious beliefs and practices. India is officially a secular country and has no state religion. The Indian subcontinent is the birthplace of four of the world's major religions;

namely Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. According to the 2011 census, 79.8% of the population of India practices Hinduism, 14.2% adheres to Islam, 2.3% adheres to Christianity, 1.7% adheres to Sikhism, and 0.7% adheres to Buddhism. Zoroastrianism and Judaism also have an ancient history in India, and each has several thousand Indian

adherents.

PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The term 'minority' has not been defined in the Constitution or in any other enactment. However, the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations' organization in 1950 has defined minority to include "only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve suitable ethnic, religious and linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from the rest of the population". According to **Humayun Kabeer**, minority is 'a group on some basis or the other that has a sense of "aliqueness" and of communal unity, which further distinguishes it from the majority of the inhabitants of the area'.

The Indian socio-economic fabric is very complex because it is much affected by caste, religion and all the more regional / linguistic differentials. At the same time, the Indian economic, social and political institutions which are persisting since centuries have a historical basis. These factors have given a unique character to Indian society. It has become a conglomeration of various layers and segments divided and subdivided.

Today, India is a unique example of plural society transforming itself into a modern nation state. The very plural nature of society is the root cause of the problem of identity and allegiance of various minorities to the modern nation state.

There are different kinds of minorities in India i.e. religious minorities, linguistic minorities, and ethnic (tribe) minorities. Is India a multicultural society with religious diversity non-existent in any one nation? Minorities are always under the fear of loss of their identity therefore they go for blockade. They are also afraid of Cosmopolitan culture for example Delhi Punjabi living in Punjabi Bagh. In India Muslims and Christians are in minority as compared to Hindus. But the relationship

between Hindus and Muslims are more stressful as compared to relationship between Hindus and Christians.

Gandhiji said that "the rise of Hindu fundamentalism is evolving into reactionary forces because Christian missionaries were engaged in conversion in tribal areas". People got converted into Christianity but were unable to abandon Hinduism completely e.g. elements of hierarchical relationship among people belonging to different caste are still prevalent within them. In Kerala Christianity is vertically segmented into three hierarchical groups i.e. **Syrian Christians, Latin Christians, New Christians (untouchables)**. Thus caste like hierarchy is followed and Christianity was getting Indianite unlike West.

In North East majority of the people are Christians. Tribes are segmented on the basis of ethnic identity which has resulted into conflict between them. Missionaries introduced modern values and ideology and introduced modern education which unified them. E.g. Mizoram is known today for very high literacy rate not because of state program but because of missionary's effort.

Logically minorities are as much citizens of India as the majority is. To tackle the problem of various minorities, while formulating the Constitution of India, Article 25 - 28 were included to ensure due respect and status to each religious group thereby not compromising the civil rights of the people.

The biggest threat to Christian minority in India is the rise of Right-Wing fundamentalism that challenges to the civil rights, democratic rights of the citizens of the country. Christians are becoming victims of organized terror, standing alienated in their own homeland. The rise of fundamentalism is responsible for the vertical division of nation on the basis of religion affecting the cultural essence of Hindu society that was best known for tolerance and cultural synthesis.

Problems faced by minorities in India

1. Problem of Identity

- a) Because of the differences in socio-cultural practices, history and backgrounds, minorities have to grapple with the issue of identity
- b) This gives rise to the problem of adjustment with the majority community.

2. Problem of Security

- a) Different identity and their small number relative to the rest of the society develop feelings of insecurity about their life, assets and well-being.
- b) This sense of insecurity may get accentuated at times when relations between the majority and minority communities in a society are strained or not much cordial.

3. Problem Relating to Equity

- a) The minority community in a society may remain deprived of the benefit of opportunities of development as a result of discrimination.
- b) Because of the difference in identity, the minority community develops the perception of the sense of inequity.

4. Problem of Communal Tensions and Riots

- a) Communal tensions and riots have been incessantly increasing since independence.
- b) Whenever the communal tensions and riots take place for whatever reason, minority interests get threatened

5. Lack of Representation in Civil Service and Politics

- a) The Constitution provides for equality and equal opportunities to all its citizens including religious minorities
- b) The biggest minority community, that is, Muslims have a feeling among them that they are neglected

- c) However, such a feeling does not seem to exist among the other religious minority communities such as the Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, for they seem to be economically and educationally better than the majority community.

6. Failure to Stick on Strictly to Secularism

- a) India has declared itself as a secular country. The very spirit of our Constitution is secular
- b) But in actual practice there is lack of commitment to secularism, purely religious issues are often politicized by these parties.

7. Problem Relating to the Introduction of Common Civil Code

Another major hurdle that we find in the relation between the majority and the minority is relating to the failure of Governments which have assumed power so far, in the introduction of a common civil code.

It is argued that social equality is possible only when a common civil code is enforced throughout the nation. Some communities, particularly the Muslims oppose it. They argue that the imposition of a common civil code, as it is opposed to the "Shariat" will take away their religious freedom. This issue has become controversial today. It has further widened the gap between the religious communities.

It is true that communal disturbances, religious conflicts, group clashes are taking place frequently in India. In spite of these disturbances the nation has maintained its secular character for the past 55 years. Further, the government has been making special efforts to safeguard the interests of the religious minorities. Some of the governmental efforts in promoting the welfare of the minorities are mentioned below.

The National Commission for Minorities (NCM)

was established by the government to facilitate the same, in 1992. It was instituted under the National Commission for Minorities Act of the same year. Six religious communities have been designated as minorities by the union government.

Problems of Muslims in India

John Stuart Mill has rightly said that "the worst of the tyrannies is tyranny of the majority". This remark does not imply that majority community deliberately attempts to humiliate the minorities, but the general behavioral pattern of the majority community is such that it could be always asphyxiating to the minorities, as borne out by the simple reaction of small groups of girls in colleges amidst majority of boys. In other words, the sensitive minority complex is a natural phenomenon.

Apart from these specific factors contributing to the tensions between the two communities, there are various other factors that are at the root of communal conflicts, which are:

1. Role of politicians.
2. Anti-social elements in society.
3. Bitter memories of the past.

The very fact that communal disturbances occur very often in the northern belt, reveals that the memories of the partition days still linger in the minds of the people. Apart from this, Hindu revivalist organizations are also active in the northern belt of India. This is borne out by the fact that communal disturbances occur as per the calendar, revealing that deep-rooted suspicions and bitter memories of yesterday have not been forgotten and forgiven as yet. However, if such clashes are not controlled in time, the state is to be blamed for it. Absence of adequate intelligence reports incapacitates administration to take the needed preventive measures. Worse follows when communal flare-ups break out. Subjected to various political pressures as well as owing to the fear of being dubbed communal, the parties tend to deal with a given situation in a mild mannered,

and thereby let the communal trouble go out of control. It has always been proved that every such disturbance must be dealt with very firmly on its very early stage.

In brief, the communal tensions of today are partly caused by deep-rooted reasons, and partly because of secondary reasons. However, it should not be construed that communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims is totally absent or it has completely broken down. In everyday life there is not much of a difference between the lifestyles of Muslims and Hindus. In areas such as Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra the Muslim population speak the same language. The lifestyles too, including the dietary habits, happen to be similar. And, as we all know, some of the Jati practices are prevalent among Muslims also. Generally, the lifestyle of Muslims, whether they be in the Deccan and southern India or in northern India are the same as that of the majority group, and ordinarily they lead normal lives without fear. Communal troubles are occasional events and they are not always of any serious magnitude.

According to **Sachar Committee Report**, Muslims have very little representation in police, Administration and other government jobs in proportion to their population when compared to other communities. Only 4% of Muslim children complete class X and 2% complete class XII whereas only 1.2% are able to complete their graduation, apart from this women graduates are less than 1% among Muslim population. According to this report on an average 249 communal riots take place in India every year and in these communal riots 80% of the Muslims lose their property and at times their life.

Commission identified merely 2.5% Muslims in public posts which show that their representation in mainstream is lesser than any community. It is essential for any society to accommodate and give an honorable place to this population and for that following measures can be taken.

- 1) Traditionally Muslims are artisans and skilled workers hence this skill should be flourished in terms of technical, institutional and strategic support.
- 2) Under constitutional provisions a system and policy must be developed so that their representation in public life can be increased. It will provide a role model for them which will help them to join mainstream society.
- 3) Muslims have a problem of minority fear psychosis which is further increased by rightist wing like Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal, etc. They are required to be checked and a harmonious relation between Hindus and Muslims will help them to come out from fear psychosis.
- 4) Educationally, Muslims are backward and only modern education can help them to understand the changing realities.

Hence, modern education must be taken to their doorsteps in form of Navodaya Vidyalayas, Central schools and other qualitative education. Communal tensions are the common problems among Hindus and Muslim hence in those areas where they are neighbors some respected figures are required to be identified and they must be interacting with each other so that for self and political gains no one takes political advantage.

Major problems of Muslim in India advocates **Deepak Mehta** is minority psychosis. Though Muslims are the majority among all minorities in India but still there is a compartmentalization between Hindu and Muslims in terms of territory, dress and occupation. In a **study of Dharavi** (a slum in Mumbai), he points out that even little provocation from one side leads to acceleration of communal passion from the other side giving way to regular communal conflicts. Educational problems of Muslim can be attributed to multiple factors. Firstly school curriculum is either in Hindi or in English and very little space is offered in a school curriculum to explain Islamic ideas, values,

rituals and way of life therefore Muslim children find out school text as non- interesting and other's cultural product.

Zoya Hasan writes that, on one hand the orthodox religion and its leader and on the other hand state are instrumental for the perpetuation of backwardness of Muslim women in India. She finds out that Uniform Civil Code which could have really empowered Muslim women, has been out rightly rejected by vested interest who falsely propagates that this is a policy of Hindu agenda imposed upon Muslim minority. But in reality Uniform Civil Code is a national agenda for the empowerment of women.

Randhir Singh writes that, the worst fear of Muslim minority in India is the rise of "**Islamophobia**" that conceptualizes that the roots of terrorism and communal violence are the Muslims. The concept of Islamophobia glorified by right-wing fundamentalists is leading to isolation of Muslims from their own homeland, vertically dividing the society on the basis of religion which is leading to religious militantism questioning to the secular credentials of India.

Christians

First time in 10th century A.D. a Christian missionary St. Thomas arrived at Kerala coast. Initially, he was able to convert some Nambudri Brahmins and over the period their activities remained in Kerala.

Later, missionaries changed their focus from upper caste to remote tribal areas of North East, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, etc. and over the period issues of conversion became a point of debate. After independence, in constituent Assembly it was discussed whether the right to conversion or propagation should be there or not. Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee opposed it, whereas K.T. Munshi, P.D. Tandon said if these laws are made it would seem that laws are made in keeping Christians in mind.

Finally, under Article 28 and 29, right to propagation of one's faith became a fundamental right. Then onwards lots of communal tensions and riots have taken place on the issue of conversion between Christians and right wing Hindus. Riots in Meenakshipuram in Tamil Nadu, rape of a nun in Jhabua, murder of a priest in Dang of Gujarat, and killing of Graham Staines and his sons in Manoharpur, Odisha and violence in Kandhmal in Odisha are some of the examples.

Madhya Pradesh government set up Justice **Niyogi Commission** to give the report over missionary's activities which recommended that missionary's activities are suspicious and required to be regulated. Regarding this recommendation MP government made the law to regulate the activities of conversion.

The problem is still continuing because on the one hand Christians believe that propagation of religion is a Fundamental Right whereas rightist wing cries of foul play. Hence, it is important that in the light of Article 28-29 very clear and unambiguous guidelines should be formulated so that the missionaries and the right wing can carry their activities accordingly and unnecessary communal riots and tension can be avoided.

From last few years, a new demand for Dalit Christians in form of reservation has appeared which may turn into a problem in coming future otherwise, Christians are educated, evil free and almost do not have any other problems.

UNIT-C (SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA)

1. VISION OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

VISION OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA, IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MIXED ECONOMY

VISION OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

"Modern society is inherently change oriented" Any alteration or modification that occurs in a situation over a time is called social change. It is the change in human interactions and interrelations. If comes to change there are sources which are greatly responsible for change. The first source is unsystematic and unique factors like day or night, climate, the existence of people or groups. The second source is systematic factors like if we need sound development there must be a stable and flexible government and system as well as different social organizations.

According to **Gould and W. L. Kolle**- "Social Change denotes observed differences from antecedent states of the social structure, institution, habit or equipment of a society".

M. Ginsberg- "a change in social structure e.g. in the size of a society the composition or balance of its parts, or the type of organization".

Mojumder defined it as a mode of fashion either modified or replacing the previous one in the life of individuals or in society. **Hoton and Hunt** defined it as change in overall societal structure and relationship of a society.

According to **World Bank**- "Social Change is the significant alteration of social structures (that is of patterns as social action and interaction) including consequences and

manifestations of such structures embodied inners (rules of conduct), values and cultural products and symbols.

IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MIXED ECONOMY

Planning is a blueprint of how social change should take place in society. Planning tells us the area of priority and from where the resources to be utilized /mobilized. If these resources are being received from International monetary fund and loans from other countries, how to pay them back is the concern of planning with some specific growth rate certain capital gets circulated through which the above loans could be paid back.

David Hall in his book – '**Planned Social Change**' indicates that planning offers a guideline to the state to define how to allocate scarce resources for maximum collective wellbeing. It makes a balancing act between individual aspiration of people and collective goals of state. It also provides for the welfare of those who are at the receiving end in society. Thus, planning is not only a nation building exercise, but also a welfare exercise. India after independence went for structural change. Development planning was initiated in India to cater to the socialist ideas of Nehru and developmental needs of the country. We lacked technological advantage and market advantage and people were making their living from agriculture and traditional handicrafts. Hence, we had no choice but to go for non-capitalist development planning. In socialist development planning, state controls everything including instruments of growth and production. State determines the way as to how trade and commerce must take place. Hence state monopoly is executed everywhere. India has evolved into a country after freedom struggle, in this struggle people came from every strata of society. Prior to this

movement people had experience of excessive state-controlled during the colonial period and state was capitalist oriented during that time. But again there was a concern that if socialist model will be adopted then there are chances of complete autocratic rule of state. Thus it can be said that socialist development planning was not the goal of the country but it was rather the only way out at that point of time.

MIXED ECONOMY

Mixed economy is an economic system in which both the state and private sector direct the economy, reflecting characteristics of both market economies and planned economies. Most mixed economies can be described as market economies with strong regulatory oversight, in addition to having a variety of government-sponsored aspects.

Under the mixed economy core areas are controlled by the state for example Coal, Railways, shipping, petroleum etc. Certain areas were spelt out where private sector was restricted like defense, electricity and government rule that was considered absolute in these fields. But there were some areas where public and private sectors could work together or compete with each other.

Mixed economy in India has always given importance on agricultural growth as 80% of people were making their living directly from agriculture. Development model that India chose after Independence was greatly driven by **Nehruvian ideology**. Nehru believed that massive growth rate is a necessity for India to address to the problems of hunger, unemployment and poverty.

Following the idea of **Mahalanobis**, he indicated a big plan approach for different sectors is essential for economic growth in India. India started as a country dependent on food aid driven by principle of "ship to mouth". It was perceived that land reform system, rural cooperatives, green revolution, public distribution system can bring revolution in

agrarian sector. Likewise government control over industries was considered essential for economic growth. Government gave direction to other industries dominated by private entrepreneurs through industrial policies, specification of licensing provisions, sales tax and income tax which were considered to be the need of the hour for inclusive growth.

Nehru believed that accelerated growth can bring economic surplus to the hands of the state that can be used in infrastructure sector like health, communication and education. Sociologists look into the impact of mixed economy and development planning in India addressing the problems associated with work culture, system of governance and other related factors.

MS Gore in his article "developmental policies in India since independence" indicates that land reform system was introduced in the country in a haphazard manner which mostly supported the vested interest of the big landlords.

Gandhian concept of cooperative farming lost its merit and "Benami" transfer gave legitimacy to the private ownership rights over the land to the dominant class. As a result landless laborers substantively started to speak about the failure of development programs in India. **Daniel Thorner** calls this as capitalist agriculture growth in socialist India.

Community Development Program was aimed at improving economic growth through the promotion of agriculture, horticulture and communication

network. However the local dominant caste took all the benefits that went for contractor-ship and pocketed all services and infrastructural support. By bribing officials they consumed all the benefits of the program. As a result community development program led to family/personal development which led to its tragic failure.

Amartya Sen tells that India's development policy has shifted from control by state to control by market whereas but India should of done is to balance out between the two emphasizing more on the areas of priority and thereby promoting capacity building. Indicates that the government should have started with two different areas of development i.e. health and education. Health is both physical and mental capability of a person to earn a livelihood and education gives him capacity to gather skills and challenge discrimination, understand his rights and so he is able to demand justice when it is not extended to him.

P.R. Dubhashi describes India's approach to planning as-

(1) India's plans are comprehensive and balanced. It includes both public and private investment. Growth of all sectors of economy is encouraged.

(2) Indian approach can be called 'democratic planning'.

(3) Indian planning is aimed at settling 'socialistic pattern of society'.

(4) Indian planning strives to combine economic, technological, and human and institutional component to development.

(5) Indian planning tries to reconcile planning with development and increase production with equal distribution.

Critics

(1) Development efforts benefitted only a class of people.

(2) According to Yogendra Singh development planning has led to the emergence of different categories of powerful middle class in rural and urban India - class of 'merchant capitalists'.

(3) New structure gave new land of conflict and confrontation between caste and classes.

(4) Erosion of authority, dissatisfactions with existing process of development and change has contributed to the problem of violence, lawlessness in the country.

CONSTITUTION, LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Change in the existing patterns of social life is known as " Social Change". Society and social conditions never remain static. Generally, social change is to be understood as change in social structure i.e. polity, economy, family etc.

To understand the social change through law and legal system, it is pertinent to understand the working of the system in the light of political, social, economic perspectives which can be seen in the constitution of India. Law is a mirror to know how people relate to one another, their values, what they consider worth preserving in life, and how they define their own security.

In the West, blacks and women got citizenship rights after lots of protest, mobilization etc. But in case of India suddenly one day everybody is given citizenship rights with a whole lot of fundamental rights without creating any awareness or mobilization in the section before it was introduced therefore citizenship guaranteed by the state is largely different from the citizenship practiced or used by the people.

All the concepts like equality, fraternity and liberty were borrowed from West which cannot be effectively applied to Indian society because of ideological and cultural differences. Europe and America went for Independence through collective participation, whereas in the case of India princely states, zamindars and many others were happy with the British rule because they were largely benefited by it. The only problem they faced was increased taxation but they were willing to live with that, because they knew that after independence they will lose their property rights. Hence in the case of India it was not an inclusive action of the people. The grounds which were the foundation for Freedom/Independent movements in the west like equality, liberty and fraternity were altogether new to India but still they were included in the

Constitution.

The two most important/key areas of Indian Constitution are **Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights**. Directive principles of State policy talks about what are the basic direction for a state to go for social change. It is advisory in character i.e. looking into resources available with the state; the state will formulate plans for the people for example it talks about abolition of child labour, protection of environment, and living wages for workers, ending all forms of inequality etc.

State is trying to provide primary education to children since the 1960s, but in a poor country where hunger and survival are two major problems which lead to health concerns, education becomes a foregone conclusion. In India food security was a major problem and state went for agricultural development and introduced collective efforts.

Karl Marx said that "**labour is the commodities sold in capitalist market**". Child in case of India is pie of the parents. Families are child bound but still we have not been able to provide even the bare minimum to our children, who are going to be the future of tomorrow. In Kalahandi, Orissa mothers sell their child not for money but for the survival of the child, as they are incapable to feed them due to massive poverty which is leading to malnutrition, disease and death. Thus in case of India chronic poverty persists and so child labour is difficult to abolish as it serves as an additional source of income for the poor parents.

As far as secularism is concerned India comes in the category of unique nation. Can a state go for secular credentials where people are driven by strong religious consciousness? Hence there is a contest between what state wants people to be and what people culturally are. **Andre Beteille** said that people are driven by the manuscripts than by Constitution. Constitutionally bonded labour has been abolished but as a matter of fact we

all know that it is practiced in every part of India in one form or the other.

Vijayalakshmi in a study of women housemaid in Delhi tells that most of them come from Bihar and lack protection. The doors of their return are locked because land alienation has already taken place. Their happiness lies with the members of the family where they're working. They can't demand minimum wage and if they try to liberate themselves police cases are filed against them. Thus bonded labour is abolished constitutionally but practically it is still persists.

Fundamental rights of Indian Constitution talk about adult franchise emphasizing on meaningful political participation by the people. However different studies conducted by various sociologists indicate that how Booth capturing, caste-based voting behavior was the other name of democratic politics in India. In addition to that, reflecting on Panchayati Raj system they indicated how people are coerced to stay away from democratic participation on the grounds of gender, caste and ethnic identity.

Right to freedom is a constitutional provision that is debated at length with **Ramchandra Guha, Upendra Bakshi** who consider that freedom is yet to carry any meaning for tribal communities in India. They have become the worst victims of highhandedness of the state due to land alienation. Living within the democratic state most of the displaced tribal live at the mercy of powerful state and constitutional guarantee of liberty and freedom is a fairytale for them.

Amartya Sen has rightly pointed out that poverty makes an individual speechless, marginalized and therefore freedom as a constitutional provision is not being really enjoyed or exercise by a large majority of people in Indian society.

According to **Yogendra Singh**, law plays an

important role in bringing or preventing social change. Social change as a neutral concept can be viewed in following manners –

- Law as legitimizing social change – After the rise of anti-untouchability movement, law banned it by making constitutional provisions.
- Law may initiate social change – Recent amendment regarding Right to education can be seen as a harbinger of social change in direction of providing free universal education to all.
- It may hasten a social change – Law often provides momentum to social change. For example in case of Marriageable Age, law led to rapid decrease in Child Marriages which was already seeing a decline due to modernizing influence of new ideas.
- It may prevent a negative social change – Several laws prevent social change in negative direction. For example – Anti Narcotics Laws aim at preventing increasing anomie in society. Another legislation is PCPNDT Act which prevents skewed sex ratio.

Marxists on the other hand see law as a part of larger ideological framework of state and working on behalf of the dominant groups in society.

Further, 'a law is as good as its users'. To make laws effective their implementation as well as awareness is also necessary. Willpower of people is another factor. Failure of dowry law is a classic example. A lack of strong political will is another debilitating factor.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Modern education initiated by British expanded rapidly after independence. This contributed to transmission of skills. A vigilant and articulating working class, factory based organizations, rational authority system in economic organizations, a service sector economy and economic modernization was a result of the spread of education in India.

Educated elite initiated nation building in India through process of Five year plans. To make

this system work, educated personnel emerged for equality and justice. That is how, with the spread of education, so many transformation movements arose. **Ravi Narayana Reddy** emerged as leader of Telangana movement. He came into contact with Marxist leaders of Vijayawada and thus Telangana movement emerged as a communist movement which helped in end of Nizam rule.

Kounds and Vellalars of Tamil Nadu, Jats and Yadava of North India, Lingayas and Okalingas of Karnataka who were traditionally peasants, converted themselves as successful businessmen due to education. This is how education provided opportunity for trade and commerce which gave a profession with self-employment.

Due to spread of education a number of Dalit castes like, Chamars, Mahars, and Male and Irawari of Kerala gained mobility. Irawaris of Kerala are today no longer called Dalits, education weakens traditional hierarchy. That is why there is a competitive struggle for reservation to gain access for education.

Education also made significant changes at familial level. Individualism, rationalism and egalitarianism grow. There is an increase in the number of nuclear families and with the spread of nuclear families, there is a greater trend towards gender equality in families. Kerala has demonstrated how mass education could develop literacy rates even that of women. **Abdul Kalam** in his presidential address said that, when women are educated, a society with stability is formed. Thus the spread of education amongst women resulted in delayed marriages, fertility control, population controller etc. **Amartya Sen** commits that performance of Kerala on socio-economic indicator is better when compared to the performance of every district of China.

Education also results in creation of a secular mindset. As goals of life become increasingly

secular, ritual dimension of caste is decreasing. Education thus gives primacy to secular goals. And after rapid spread of education, especially after independence, a buoyant middle class emerged. Middle class stabilized democracy in India and gave stimulus to economic growth. That is how education played an important role in bringing social change.

But, the spread of education in India had been lopsided, presence of educational institutions are more in cities than villages. The BIMARU region is characterized by low facilities of education at school level, education is still the way it persisted during the colonial rule. It continued to be capital and knowledge intensive.

Together several conceptual analyses and empirical studies on this theme provide a valuable elucidation of the functions of education as an instrument of development, the conditions under which this instrument is effective as the conditions in which it's functioning is constrained. They also provide valuable data and insights on how, where and why education in the country has failed as an instrument of change. The writings on the subject reveal a shift in the outlook on education across the years. In the beginning the writings generally exuded faith in education as an instrument of development and focus on spelling out the manner in which it is expected to function as such. In contrast, later writings displayed a measure of skepticism about the effectiveness of education and generally inclined towards indicating where and why it fails.

We find broadly two paradigms on the issue of education and society in India. They are the **functional paradigm and the conflict paradigm**. In the functional paradigm education is considered as the main instrument of social change and transformation. It is evident in the writings of educationists, planners, policy-makers and most of the sociologists. The third Five Year Plan (1961) stated that education is the most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development, technological

progress and creating a social order founded on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunities to all. Programs of education lie at the base of the effort to forge the bonds of common citizenship, to harness the energies of the people, and to develop the natural and human resources of every part of the country.

Further, the report of **Kothari Commission (1964)** held that the destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms. This, we believe, is no mere rhetoric. In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons coming out of our schools and colleges will depend on our success in the great enterprise of natural reconstruction. The report adds, 'In fact, what is needed is a revolution in education which in turn will set in motion the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution'.

In the conflict paradigm, education is not considered as a prime mover of social change or as the main weapon, or even one of the important instruments of achieving fundamental social changes. Here, it is asserted that change is in or through the educational system is not possible without prior changes in the social structure. The changes in economic structures, in the political power structure, or the legal structure are the mainsprings of change in the social hierarchy and the relationships between different sections in it. All these factors including education are interrelated, and it is difficult to separate out the effects and say that a particular aspect of the change is attributable to education. Hence education seldom rises above the socio- economic and socio-political situation in which it is embedded.

It has been argued that although formal education plays a vital role in '**ideational change**' through transformation of the knowledge, attitudes and values of the

people, its effectiveness in bringing about structural change in society is extremely limited. The vicious circle in which education is caught in India today may be broken if the linkages between the existing practices, procedures and vested interests in the status quo are meaningfully exposed by social scientists through their research.

Education is regarded as the key for restructuring the economies of developing countries. It helps in overcoming the techno-economic problems and also plays an important role in resolving the socio-demographic problems. Education facilitates the development of human resources, cultural expression, and improved health and thus provides an essential base for social and economic development. It is considered as an empowering phenomenon which enables the people to combat social justice and exploitation and thus creates the required synergy for a structural socio-political transformation. According to UNESCO, education leads to social revolution.

Education is regarded as an important instrument of social change. The role of education could be viewed from two related but slightly different perspectives, which may be called teleological and empirical perspectives. In the teleological perspective, the role of education is to assist the society to achieve the goals it has set for itself.

These include:

- i) Goals in the fields of technological, scientific, and other areas of economic development of the country,
- ii) Social goals like reduction of various forms of social inequality; and
- iii) The goal of moulding the character of citizens as responsible and socially and politically conscientious members of democratic society.

Education was regarded as an important means for reducing social inequalities in India. The Constitution of India made special provisions for promoting the educational

interests of the weaker sections of society.

Educational support was provided to SC / ST through the programs of scholarships and fellowships, and making reservations of seats for them in various educational institutions. It was presumed that education would contribute to their overall development.

Education could facilitate their economic development as it enables them to get better paid jobs and achieve social mobility. Education also has an emancipators' role. It promotes social awareness and sharpening of self-respect and dignity. However, it is noted that education performs only a restricted role in the upward mobility of the weaker sections, and at the same time enables the elites to maintain positions of power and authority.

The Indian Constitution provides equality of educational opportunity to all citizens. The liberal democratic system permits competition and holds this as a legitimate strategy for the betterment of one's status in society. Competitiveness is an important feature of the Indian education system. There is a dialectical relationship between education and social mobility in general and mobility to elite positions in particular. But it is only to a limited extent that education has facilitated social mobility.

Problems with Education in India

There is noticed certain level of mismatch between education and development, particularly rural development in India. It is opined that the education system is out of pace with the rhythm of life in India. The primary schools are completely focused on preparing students to enter into the secondary system of education. The secondary system has no concern with life around it and is fully meant to prepare students to feed into the tertiary system whose goals seem to rest outside the India's requirements. The products, particularly of the elite institutions prefer to leave the country and work in the affluent foreign countries only for their individual benefits. A

large number of educated youth remain unemployable in the country. The poor people do not find education useful and attractive as it does not ensure job, besides other factors.

Non-formal education including adult education (and sex education) is seen to have large potential to promote development and social change in a country like India. The classroom-centered education and training is largely geared to producing urban based elites. It has created a serious problem of educated unemployment and also high dropouts and illiteracy among the backward sections of society. The expert/ centered, literacy/skill focused non-formal education, including adult education has not been able to adequately cater to the needs of the people.

The dialectical relationship is manifested in the processes of 'early selection' and 'mass examination' in India. The process of early selection is involved in the enrolment of children when they are very young in different types of educational institutions. Children from the elite background are 'selected' early in life and placed in good quality, high fees, English medium 'public schools' where they are prepared - in terms of skills, behavior and values - specifically for elite status in their later life.

Children of the middle class study in medium quality quasi - public schools run by private institutions, and in Central and Sainik Schools of the Government, and later generally work at middle level occupational strata. Children of the lower class people get the opportunity to study in the ill-equipped low quality regional medium government-run schools and are prepared to join the lower occupational strata in the society. Similarly, the higher education institutions, both general and professional, are of high, medium and low quality. Students of the elite public schools generally enter the selected few elite colleges. Those from the medium and lower quality schools generally get admission to the medium and lower quality colleges and institutions.

Various studies have shown that the major beneficiaries of higher education come from the upper social strata and an urban background. Education had earlier facilitated the extension of dominant peasant caste hegemony, particularly at the state level. But with the passage of time, those belonging to the lower castes, like SC/STs also made considerable progress in higher education and so has achieved the attendant socio-economic benefits through limited mobility.

Besides literacy, education has to meet the need for skill development and employment generation. It could develop their personal and collective critical thinking, problem diagnosis and solution through organizing themselves in different ways. The program would break their isolation and marginalization, and motivate, organize and empower them to fully participate in social and public / political activities in life. Here, the outside support would only facilitate the process and the deprived people would themselves actively participate in their overall development in a sustainable way.

Further, many structural and infrastructural hurdles are still there. According to **Jean Dereze**, three major factors still mar education in schools—poor infrastructure, irrelevant curriculum and poor quality of teachers. Though we have universal enrollment at primary levels, dropouts are still very high. Cost of education is another barrier in a developing society like ours. Education may not be the panacea that it is claimed to be. Still, no society is totally open and provides for true mobility for all. Education needs to be accompanied by the removal of other structural barriers also to be an effective instrument of social change.

2. RURAL AND AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN INDIA

(a) Programs of Rural Development, Community Development Program, Cooperatives, Poverty Alleviation Schemes
(b) Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture
(c) Green Revolution and Social Change
(d) Problems of Rural Labor – Including Bondage and Migration

PROGRAMS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural Development is a composite measure undertaken by the state since India's independence to improve the quality of life of the people living in rural areas, to effectively promote economic development and delivery of health care, education and other infrastructural support.

The basic objective of rural development has always been the involvement of the people in the developmental programs, technological upgradation, training and skill development, full utilization of human resource potential and natural resources available in rural areas so as to ensure that development evolves in India from grass root than being enforced upon the people from the top.

Rural development implies both the economic betterment of people as well as greater social transformation. In order to provide the rural people with better prospects for economic development, increased participation of people in the rural development programs, decentralization of planning, better enforcement of land reforms and get access to credits, are the basic prerequisites. Community Development Program seeks to empower individuals and groups of people by providing these groups with the skills they need to affect change in their own communities. These skills are often

concentrated around formation of large social groups working for a common agenda. Community developers must understand both how to work with individuals and how to affect communities' positions within the context of larger social institutions.

Cooperative movement, an important aspect of rural development program was devised to provide multiple thrust to the process of rural development.

It was expected that all people would come together to achieve wonders for rural development for example collective farming, credit financing etc requiring very little help from the government.

Scholars found out that rural development program could not get momentum because of strong caste consciousness, isolation of dominant caste of the village from Labour class, manipulation of public funds, politicization of developmental issues, inherent contradictions among villages during panchayat elections and other factors. **DL Joshi** indicate that rural development program started with a big promise but it failed to alter the mindset of the people in hierarchical structure of over India thereby leading to its premature collapse. Green revolution was meant for expansion of agriculture production, though it was successful but it polarized the rural society into have and have-nots. Therefore it is said that rural development should stand for economic benefits to people instead of just depending on green revolution.

The various components of rural development program are:

● **Wage Employment Programs** have sought to achieve multiple objectives. They not only provide employment opportunities during lean agricultural seasons but also in times of floods, droughts and other natural calamities. They create rural infrastructure which support economic activity. These programs also put upward pressure on

market wage rates by attracting people to public work programs, thereby reducing labour supply and pushing demand for labour. It encompasses national rural employment guarantee program and various other rural employment programs to provide productive employment to the rural workforce.

● **Employment assurance scheme** was launched in 1993 and primarily meant for the drought prone areas like desert, tribal and Hill area blocks. It was later extended to all blocks in 1997-98. This scheme was designed to provide employment in the form of manual work in the lean agricultural season. The works taken up under the program were expected to lead to the creation of durable economic and social infrastructure and address of the needs of the people.

● **Food for work program** started in 2000-01 as component of employment assurance scheme in eight notified drought affected states of Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Uttaranchal. The program aims at food provision through wage employment. Food grains supplied to states free of cost. However, lifting of food grains for the schemes from food Corporation of India go-downs are slow.

● **Rural Housing** : Initiated in 1985 - 86, the Indira Awaaz Yojna (IAY) is the core program for providing free housing to families in rural areas, SC/ST, households and freed bonded labourers. The rural Housing program has certainly enabled many BPL families to acquire pucca houses. Provisions like safe drinking water, sanitation and common drainage facilities were taken up under the program **Samagra Awas Yojna (SAY)** . The Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) has extended its activities to the rural areas, providing loans at concessional rate of interest to economically weaker sections and low income group households for construction of houses.

● **Social Security programs** : Democratic decentralization and centrally sponsored social assistance programs were two major

initiatives of the government in the 1990s. The national special assistance program launched in August 1995 marks a significant step towards fulfilment of the direct response of state policy. The three compliments of **national social assistance programme (NSAP)** are national old-age pension scheme, National family benefit scheme, and National maternity benefit scheme. The NSAP is centrally sponsored programme that aims at ensuring a minimum national standard of social assistance over and above the assistance to states provide from their own resources.

● **Land reforms** : in Agro-based economy of, the structure of land ownership is central to the well-being of the people. The government has strived to change the ownership pattern of cultivable land, the abolition of intermediaries, the abolition of Zamindari system, ceiling laws, security of tenure to tenants, consolidation of landholdings and banning of tenancy are few measures undertaken.

A study of rural development programme from 1960s indicates that the regional disparities in development are a product of rural development programme. Development programme has intensified caste consolidation and caste conflict in village India. Most of the rural development programmes were implemented through lower-level bureaucracy, as a result, the contractor, the petitioner and the optical axis became stronger and most of these people belonging to upper caste pocketed all the benefits and expanded in higher caste and lower caste. Thus the modern institution instead of breaking down traditional hierarchy made relationships further stronger.

Most of the SC/ST, women could not benefit from the policies due to lack of awareness and most of them did not have infrastructural support that could work as a guarantee to receive subsidized loans from banks to initiate small trade or other kinds of activities. By the beginning of 8th five year plan it was

noticed that around 68 rural development programs with different names and target groups were introduced in the country, leading to confusion in resource allocation, program implementation and evaluation. Due to these reasons all the programs were put under one banner that gave way to “**Integrated Rural Development Programme**” (IRDP) . The major highlight of integrated rural development programme scheme was 50:50 shares with regard to resource allocation between state and Centre and also spatial component programme were extended for women and rural youth. Emphasis was given on horticulture, sericulture, cottage industries. Rural infrastructure building was also emphasized through programs like **Food for Work and Employment Assurance Scheme** . Thus indicating all this developmental programs, rural development program was founded on strong economic genesis.

It has been said that IRDP achieved milestone in a short period of time because of centrality in its approach. However after 8th plan period the focus of rural development once again changed with the new government, new ideas, new schemes were introduced like **Pradhan Mantri Gramodya Yojna, Swarna Jayanti Swarojgar Yojna, Annapurna Schemes** to address issues related to women, destitute, rural poor and landless. More recently **National Rural Employment Guarantee Program** has given acceleration to rural development. Some states earlier located in poverty zones like Andhra Pradesh have achieved remarkable success whereas other states like Orissa have shown no sign of progress.

Some sociologists consider that various attributes related to poverty were not taken into consideration while formulating rural development programs.

They consider that infrastructure conditions, cultural character of people, gender involvement with work are the non-economic variables that must be studied in detail while

formulating rural development programs. Thus rural development program should be based on localized needs, state specific and people centric in character.

In conclusion it can be advocated that massive rural development programs in different names are being introduced in India since independence. It will be premature to conclude that all of them have failed, though it is a matter of fact that they have not produced a result on expected lines. One learns from experience and more so from failure therefore one can conclude by saying that success of National rural employment guarantee program has drawn lessons from the failures of IRDP, employment assurance scheme and food for work program in the past. Thus it can be said that it is not public policies alone but also knowledge about those policies and association of the beneficiaries can translate the dream of rural development into reality.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

First major step towards rural transformation after independence was taken up in first five year plan and that was through **Community Development Programme** . CDP initiated a process of transformation of socio-economic conditions of villages. It was designed to promote better living for the whole community with active participation of the entire community. It aimed at inculcating in the villagers new desires, new incentives, new technologies and new confidence so that the vast resources of human resources may be used for the growing economic development of the country.

As the name suggests, it conceived of village as a community cutting across caste, religious and economic differences. According to **A.R. Desai** , in the context of agrarian society in India, the philosophy underlying this movement was based on the following sociological assumptions.

(1) Individuals and groups forming the village community have a large number of common

interests and sufficiently strong to bind them together, that the interests of different sections of community are not irreconcilably conflicting, rather they are sufficiently alike to create a general enthusiasm as well as a feeling of development for all.

(2) State is a supra class and an impartial association and that the major policies of the government are of such a nature that they wouldn't sharpen the existing inequalities further.

(3) Government conceived of Community Development Programme, to bring about rural industrialization by developing community as a whole. It is possible because members of village community interests have shared interests if interests are promoted, it would benefit and if differences exist they can be reconciled. And there was a belief that State was impartial.

That is why there was reliance on state as a basic instrument of transformation.

Community Development Programme was designed on the basis of certain earlier experiments in rural India like that intensive rural development activities carried out at **Sevagram and Sarvodaya** centers in Bombay State, Firca development schemes in Madras presidency, experiments to build community centers to refugees in Nilokheri and on the times of some pilot projects initiated by Elbert Mayors at Etowah and Gorakhpur in U.P. Along with this, there was another realization that developed. Provincial autonomy was granted after GOI Act 1935. So, Indians gained experience in administration. The main problem was that, activities of various departments were not carried out in a coordinated manner. All these experiments didn't prove to be effective.

In a single program they wanted to have a multiplicity of programs, simultaneously introduced to bring development. As far as the content of the program is concerned, there were various dimensions to it:

(a) **Constructional programs** : These

involved building of schools, laying roads, dispensing buildings, community centre buildings, houses for the poor, drinking water resources etc.

(b) There was also irrigation which consisted of constructing wells, canals, tanks etc. Along with this there were **agricultural programs** which introduced soil conservation techniques, reclamation of waste land, encouraging farmers to adopt improved seeds, manures and pesticides. It also aimed to familiarize farmers with better agriculture implements, consolidation of land holding etc.

(c) **Institutional programs** were also launched. Youth clubs, women's organization, Vikas Mandal, cooperative societies, veterinary dispensaries, primary schools, maternity centers, midwives training centers etc. were started. This is how a multipurpose program was envisaged.

Programme implementation

Administrative structures which consisted of four tiers consisting of Centre/State/District and Block were created. The program was highly centralized, centrally controlled and executed. There was an administrator at Centre, Divisional commissioner at state level and District level, and Block development officer at block level. At the bottom of hierarchy there was a village level worker or Gram Sevak etc.

Program was launched on 2nd October 1952 more than 50 projects were launched to begin with. Each project comprised of 300 villages with a population of 2 lakhs each, three divisional blocks of 100 villages, Block of 20 units of 5 villages each and for every unit there was a Gram Sevak.

The whole program was divided into three phases. The first phase was the National extension phase, second phase was intensive community development phase, and third phase was post intensive development phase. In the first phase, areas selected were subjected to provision of services on the ordinary rural development pattern. In the

second phase, the blocks that were selected were subjected to a more composite and increasing government expenditure. In the post intensive phase, it was presumed that the basis for self-perpetuation of the development process has been created and the need for special government intervention reduced. And gradually these areas were handed over to the concerned department. And in this way the multipurpose program of rural development was initiated.

This program aroused enormous curiosity among social scientists, including sociologists. It was in the 1950's and 1960's, that they thronged Indian villages. Oscar Lewis, S.C. Dube, David Mandelbaum, Daniel Thorner etc conducted numerous studies. **S.C. Dube** identifies some of the salient features of this program. They are as follows:

1. This program recognized the need for a unified and coordinated direction of development activities.
2. It also recognized need of associating non-officials and civil society with both planning and execution.
3. They also streamlined administrative hierarchy into four tiers to reduce delays and red tape.
4. They tried to use various local agencies to mobilize popular participation. However, very soon it was realized that program was not very successful.

Balwant Rai Mehta committee laid a general consensus that the project was not successful in achieving the targeted objectives. The failures were:

- The basic assumption that village as a community of shared interests went wrong. It was found that village had overriding interests.
- That state will act as a neutral, impartial and supra manner proved to be wrong.
- Most of programs tended to benefit landowners. Gram Sewak and members of his caste received most of its benefits.
- High reliance on bureaucratic machinery alone for programmed implementation

rendered the program ineffective.

- There was hardly any people's participation. Also bureaucracy was not able to enthuse people.
- There was no consultation, discussion, participation and suggestions of people. Decisions were taken at the top and they were ordered to ground level functionaries.
- Most of the people and even bureaucrats had no social service ethos and skills. There still remained a confusion regarding the powers and duties of functionaries.
- Most importantly there was a general apathy of public because there was no form or agency which represented people through which participation could be mobilized and held accountable for implementations of programs.
- It was also realized that villagers normally showed distrust at officials with whom they hardly had any communication and who were outsiders.

Thus, at the end of the program, it was found that existing inequalities stood sharpened. So, there was serious rethinking about efficiency of an area development approach.

In a society characterized by gross inequalities, many programs tended to benefit the privileged. By end of 2nd FYP, we started moving away from Community Development Programme. From Community Development Programme, we moved to a rural development programs. While approach was changed to target group approach as needs and interests of different groups are different. That is why by 3rd FYP we had IADP (Intensive Agricultural District Programme) for rich, SFDP (Small Farmers' Development Programme) for landless, MFDP (Marginal Field Development Programme) for better peasants. Also separate agencies for each were created to implement these.

CO-OPERATIVES

India has basically an agrarian economy with 69% of its total population residing in rural areas. The rural people need a lot of services in daily life which are met by village

co-operative societies. A co-operative society is an autonomous body of people united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise.

The seeds of cooperation in India were sown in 1904 when the first Cooperative Societies Act was passed. Since then the cooperative movement has made significant progress. The village cooperative societies provide strategic inputs for the agricultural sector. Consumer societies meet their consumption requirements at concessional rates. Marketing societies help the farmers to get remunerative prices and co-operative processing units help in value addition to the raw product. In addition, co-operative societies are helpful in building up of storage go-downs including cold storages, rural roads and in providing facilities like irrigation, electricity, transport and health.

Various developmental activities in agriculture, small industry marketing and processing, distribution and supplies are now carried on through co-operatives. In fertilizer production and distribution the **Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative (IFFCO)** commands over 35 percent of the market.

Dairy cooperatives operating under the leadership of the **National Dairy Development Board** and through 15 state cooperative milk marketing federations has now become the largest producer of milk in the world. The groundwork for this was laid in the early 1970's when the largest dairy development program in the world - **Operation Flood** - was launched. Operation Flood was a national marketing strategy linked to a dairy infrastructure development program that created a chain of dairy processing plants, collection stations and a national milk transportation grid. With the passage of the **Insurance Act**, cooperatives have been allowed to entry into the insurance business. Insurance is a field where the

immense potential of cooperatives still remains untapped. The Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative has recently teamed up with a Japanese company and formed a joint venture for undertaking general insurance business in India.

This signifies that Indian cooperatives have come of age in formulating strategic alliances.

Thus the co-operative societies in India in fact are playing multi-functional roles both in rural and urban areas. An Expert Group constituted by the Government of India in 1990 which recommended-

- To facilitate building up of integrated co-operative structure;
- To make the co-operative federation organizations responsive towards their members;
- To minimize government interference and control in the functioning of co-operatives;
- To eliminate politicization from the cooperative sector.

Based on the recommendations, the central government enacted the **Multi State Cooperative Societies Act, 2002** which provided for democratic and autonomous working of the Cooperatives came into force with effect from August 19, 2002. Various development activities in agriculture, small industry marketing and processing, distribution and supplies are now carried on through co-operatives. The co-operatives in India have made an all-round progress and their role in agricultural progress has particularly been significant.

Cooperation in a vast country like India is of great significance because:

- It is an organization for the poor, illiterate and unskilled people.
- It is an institution of mutual help and sharing.
- It softens the class conflicts and reduces the social cleavages.
- It reduces the bureaucratic evils and follies of political factions.

- It overcomes the constraints of agricultural development.
- It creates a conducive environment for small and cottage industries.

Causes of Slow Progress of Cooperatives

Despite rapid growth the overall progress of cooperative movement during 100 years of its existence is not very impressive. It is therefore necessary to know the causes of poor performance of the movement and on that basis take such steps as would promote a faster growth of cooperative Movement in India. **There are several reasons for the slow progress of cooperatives such as:**

- **Government Interference** : The cooperative movement in India was initiated in 1904 under the auspices of British government. Right from the beginning the government has adopted an attitude of patronizing the movement. Cooperative institutions were treated as if these were part and parcel of the administrative set up of the government. The government interference thus became an essential element in the working of these institutions. As a result, people's enthusiasm for the movement did not grow. The movement's independence and self-reliance existed only on paper and files.

- **Mismanagement and Manipulation** : Over the years, this truly democratic idea got corrupted and farmers with larger holdings grew more powerful. In practice, this altered the power structure of the cooperatives.

In the elections to the governing bodies money became such a powerful tool that the top posts of chairman and vice-chairman usually went to the richest farmers even though the majority of members were farmers with small-or medium-sized holdings.

- **Lack of awareness** : People are not well informed about the objectives of the movement, the contributions it can make in rebuilding the society and the rules and regulations of cooperative institutions. Unfortunately, no special efforts have been made in this direction. People look upon these institutions as means for obtaining facilities

and concessions from the govt. So long as people expect to get something from the government, they see to it that societies somehow continue to function. Lack of education, dirty politics of the village, caste ridden elections to the offices of cooperative societies, bureaucratic attitudes of the government officers at the lower ranks are some of the hurdles in spreading the correct information about the cooperative movement and in educating the people about its true character and vital role in the society.

- **Restricted coverage** : The cooperative movement has also suffered on account of two important limitations on its working. One is the size of these societies has been very small. Most of these societies are confined to a few members, and their operations extended to only one or two villages. As a result, their resources remain limited, which made it impossible for them to expand their means and extend their area of operation to the most of the societies have been single purpose societies. By assessing the persons and the problems only from one angle, these societies neither help roperly the person nor make optimal use of their resources. Under these circumstances it has not been possible for these societies to make much progress.

- **Functional weakness** : The cooperative movement has suffered from inadequacy of trained personnel right from its inception. Lack of trained personnel has been caused by two major factors. In the first place, there has been a lack of institutions for the purpose of training personnel. Secondly because of the unsatisfactory working of cooperative institutions, efficient personnel did not feel attracted or motivated towards them. The functioning of the cooperative societies, too suffer from several weaknesses. Some of these are, taking no care of the need of credit seekers or their repaying capacity at the time of granting loans, making no adequate provision for the return of loans, unsatisfactory keeping of accounts, lack of coordination among various divisions of the cooperative structure, too much dependence on outside sources of finance, lack of

adequate auditing. Such weaknesses have prevented them from progressing on healthy lines. Thus there are several pitfalls like poor infrastructure, lack of quality management, overdependence on government, dormant membership, non-conduct of elections, lack of strong human resources policy, neglect of professionalism etc. are the limiting factors. Indian cooperatives are also unable to evolve strong communication and public relations strategies which can promote the concept of cooperation among the masses.

POVERTY ALLEVIATION SCHEMES

Poverty which stood at around 55% at the time of independence is now at the level of 37% as per Tendulkar Committee report which is widely accepted by government now.

Amartya Sen defines poverty as – 'Lack of what one needs to live in society – Not only to survive, but also for contribution and participation in society'. He redefines poverty not only in terms of economic status, but in terms of capability as well and hence connects it to the empowerment. Government has adopted multiple approaches towards fighting poverty over the years which include –

1. Phase-1, Trickle Down Approach –

Initially government adopted the 'Trickle down approach'. Assuming that overall development will slowly percolate to the poor ultimately. Poverty alleviation programs were used as supplementary mechanisms.

2. Phase-2, Focused Schemes – Finding the assumption of 'Trickle Down Effect' not working, government launched specific poverty alleviation schemes from 3rd Plan. Many schemes like 'Million Wells Schemes', 'Food for Work', 'Pradhan Mantri Rojgar Yojna' etc were launched. 4th plan called for 'Garibi Hatao' and 5th plan saw focused attention on poverty alleviation.

3. Phase-3, Integrated All Round Approach –

Poverty is looked as a multidimensional phenomenon and along with employment guarantee schemes like MGNREGA, other schemes like Self Help Group Scheme, National Rural Livelihood Mission, National Skill Development Mission,

Public Distribution System, Integrated Child Development Scheme, Midday Meal Scheme etc are also launched as a part of multipronged strategy. Apart from these schemes, social spending has been increased significantly. One can trace this approach from the Fifth Five Year Plan. Developmental schemes like – Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana, Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana, Ambedkar Awas Yojana are also attempts in the same direction. Human Development is also taken as priority and linked with poverty.

With RTE, primary education has been made a fundamental right. NRHM is an effort to uplift health care in villages. Right to Food aims at eradicating hunger.

NREGA (MGNREGA)

It is the most important program of rural poverty alleviation. It is based on an act passed by parliament in 2005 called NREGA. It came into force on 2nd Feb 2006. It was initiated initially in 200 most backward districts of the country. By April 2007, it extended to 330 Districts. Today, the entire country barring 4 districts are under this programme. It is also known as the "Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act", and abbreviated to MGNREGA, is an Indian labour law and social security measure that aims to guarantee the 'right to work' and ensure livelihood security in rural areas by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. This step is expected to provide wage employment to the rural poor and would act as a safety net below which no household would be allowed to fall. The NREGA Programme was designed based on the lessons learnt from the implementation of earlier wage employment programmes such as NREP, RLEGP, JRY, (SGRY – Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana) and (JGSY -Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana). Earlier policies were formulated and implemented by bureaucracy alone. The theme of government approach had been to

merge old schemes to introduce new ones while retaining the basic objective of providing additional wage employment involving unskilled manual work and also to create durable assets. The major responsibility of implementation was also gradually transferred to Panchayati Raj Institutions. Under this a minimum of 50% of the funds are transferred to the village panchayats which are responsible and accountable for generating wage employment. Various types of activities such as rural connectivity, water harvesting structures, drought proofing, minor irrigation, micro irrigation works, works for benefiting SCs/ STs are being implemented. To make MGNREGA implementation effective, recently electronic fund management system (EFMS) has been introduced to reduce delay in payment of wages. Aadhaar card made compulsory to prevent leakage and ghost accounts. For drought-affected talukas/ blocks, additional employment over and above 100 days per household is introduced. The lacunas of earlier poverty alleviation programmes were as follows:

- (1) Absence of social monitoring.
- (2) Hardly any involvement of local communities.
- (3) Rampant corruption.
- (4) Supply driven schemes rather than demand drive schemes. Livelihood by employment generated didn't match with felt needs. There were delays and corruption in wage payments. The programmes failed to provide livelihood security. Employment opportunities were not flexible enough. They also had gender bias. No adequate employment for women and also no parity in wages between men and women.

Uniqueness of NREGA :

- (1) Unlike other schemes, NREGS is rooted in an act of parliament and it doesn't depend on the whims and fancies of politicians.
- (2) It aims at generating minimum livelihood security to alleviate poverty.
- (3) It relies primarily on PRI's it is also an experiment with decentralized delivery mechanism it is not bureaucratically

engineered.

(4) The main objective is to provide for enhancement of livelihood security of households in rural areas by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in every financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work.

(5) It also provides for unemployment allowance when there is no work. Though it is a centrally sponsored scheme, unemployment allowance will be paid by State governments. Along with this 1/4th share of semi-skilled and unskilled wages will be paid by state government.

(6) 60% of the fund will be spent on wages of unskilled laborers and 40% of funds will be spent on wages of skilled labor.

(7) PRI's are made prime agencies for planning and implementation to ensure transparency, accountability. Along with this, there is a provision of social audit also.

Impacts of the Scheme

- Indeed the impact is remarkable because most of the advantages belong to deprived class. 90% of beneficiaries were landless laborers. Out of their 34% belonged to SC, 28% to Muslims and 26% to OBC.
- Rajasthan was the state where it was most effective. Dungarpur district of Rajasthan generated 100 days of work.
- Also lot of irrigation and water conservation works are being carried out. Along with this rural connectivity programme are being taken up. So, lot of durable assets is being created due to NREGA.
- In a state like Bihar, where lawlessness is the name of the game, wages were more than Rs. 60 target. So, NREGA worked effectively in a state which really requires it.

GREEN REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Initially, the new technology was tried in 1960-61 as a pilot project in seven districts and was called Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP). Later the High Yielding varieties Programme (HYVP) was added to the

IADP and the strategy was extended to cover the entire country. This has been called the Green Revolution. Green Revolution is one of the programs which aim at transformation of rural economy and thereby the social setting of the people to be in tune with the encouraging trends of society. It provided the increase in production needed to make India self-sufficient in food grains, thus improving agriculture in India. It was an interventionist measure taken by states to introduce economic changes. Green revolution had a large impact on social, ethnic and political life of people. Green revolution was introduced in two phases i.e. Punjab, Haryana and Western UP in the first phase and southern India, Western India in the second phase. If we look into western pocket of India its impact is different from that of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. Integrating all the facts we can conclude that it changed economic and social set up of Indian society. From 1960s–1970, due to drought in major parts of the world it was presumed that millions of people will die in Asian and African countries. Norman Borlaug was invited to India by the adviser to the Indian minister of agriculture **M. S. Swaminathan** to show a way out so as to avert large scale famine which could have killed millions of people. Research was undertaken by **Norman Borlaug** wherein he developed a drought resistant seed more suitable to Indian conditions. He came up with wonder wheat that was first tried in Mexico, which increased the production 200times in Punjab, Haryana and West Bengal. The Green Revolution led to large-scale production of wheat grains and India's accomplishment in agriculture became unbeatable. In 1970s different sociologists started studying the impact of green revolution and in 1985 they got published data on green revolution. To make green revolution complete there was introduction of different kinds of cooperative system e.g. seed cooperatives, rural credit cooperatives, irrigation cooperatives, fertilizer cooperatives etc.

National seed Corporation of India

provided seeds at a cheaper price to different seed cooperatives. But due to the large number of members of seed cooperatives belonging to upper class/rich farmers, all the benefits were pocketed by them rather than getting equitably distributed.

In the same way the objective of seed cooperatives, initiated by the villagers with the consensus to get benefit provided by the state, but due to entire co-operatives being controlled by families who owned more than 80% of the land, they pocketed all the benefits and small farmers were kept empty-handed.

Thus by using new seeds big farmers got maximum return whereas the poor farmers had to go on with old seeds which deteriorated their economic and social condition further.

In the same way the rural credit cooperative did not benefit the poor farmers. Therefore we can find out that capitalism is becoming much more intensive and institutionalized, cooperatives which were created for the society were catering to the class interest. Credit cooperatives are engaging in financial mischief, rampant corruption, manipulation that has ruined many poor families in the countryside. In case of Punjab, the vested interest group, moneylenders and the commercial farmers have used cooperatives for gratification of the self-centric goals. Therefore cooperative has become a form of capitalist venture, systematically engaged in the exploitation of the poor and marginalized. Therefore green revolution in case of India has given rise to the intensification of capitalist agriculture development in those societies where the state was committed to the ideology of socialism.

P Vardhan indicated that real poverty is always estimated not in terms of basic needs but on the factors like economic sustainability to family, whether maximum profit is generated to invest in education, trade and other employment generating activities, whether agriculture is generating employment or disguised unemployment. These factors need to be undertaken to fully understand the impact of green revolution in case of India. It is proclaimed by the

government and economists that green revolution has increased agricultural productivity by several folds and that green revolution has created jobs for millions of people. Rejecting this view sociologist's point out that no doubt green revolution has increased productivity by several folds and provided employment to millions of people ,but it cannot be overlooked that it has created a very big gap between rich and poor. The main objective of green revolution was not only to increase food productivity but also to bring about social and economic development of people at the grass root (as green revolution was part of the overall strategy of rural development program). It can be said that the objective of food productivity was achieved to a large extent but it has failed miserably as far as a social and economic development of the poor is concerned and thus made rural poverty fragile.

Bhalla and Chadda conducted study on 200 villages of Punjab and Haryana and found out that the difference in per acre return in case of big and small farmers is 200 times and so the income gap between rich and poor is to the extent of 16 times. Green revolution also led to massive distress migration of agricultural labour from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to Punjab and Haryana. These migrant laborers are not skilled and so they have no way out but to work on the rich farmers' fields thereby leading to their exploitation.

Lakshmi Menon and Utsa Patnaik look into the gender impact of green revolution. When family's income goes beyond their consumption needs, it becomes a status symbol and so people become status conscious. Women are withdrawn from labour as a result economy dominated by men leads to glorification of gender role of women i.e. men as producers and women should stay at home. The preference for male child becomes more prominent as now people have money to take technological aid for selective abortion of female fetus. This is one of the biggest reasons of adverse gender gap in case of Punjab and Haryana. Green revolution also

had a big impact on the power and politics in India. The beneficiaries from green revolution developed political aspirations. Hence they constituted political parties and peasant leaders made appearance in the political arena to demand massive benefits in terms of subsidies for the rich farmers.

TH Omen considers that despite all its limitation green revolution contributed to the unionization of agricultural laborers, generated scope for rural employment, addressed the problems of rural poverty and changed India from a food deficit country into a food surplus country. Taking these opinions into consideration it can be concluded that changes taking place in one sector of the society is bound to have an influence on the other sectors as well. Therefore green revolution has immensely influenced to local politics, stratification systems, ethnic identity, gender status, inter-caste relationships, and regional identities. Therefore what needs to be taken into consideration is to examine the prospects in retrospect effects of social change in India evolving on and after the effect of green revolution.

C.H. Hanumantha Rao concluded that Technological changes have contributed to widening disparities in income between different regions, between small and large farmers and between landowners on the one hand, landless laborers and tenants on the other. In absolute terms, however, the gains from technological changes have been shared by the rise in the real wages and employment and in incomes of small farmers in region sexperiencing technological changes. The rich farmers in Punjab, Haryana and in some pockets of western Uttar Pradesh have been spending a portion of their gains due to green revolution on conspicuous consumption. Consequences of the Green Revolution were economic and social. It transformed the traditional ritual based agriculture to modern, secular and profitable activity. Increased production led to self-sufficiency and food security. It led to rural affluence in many rural areas and also led to industrial growth and

self-reliance in terms of agricultural equipment manufacture. Productivity of wheat and rice almost doubled. E.g. in case of wheat it increased from 850 kg/hectare to 2500 kg/hectare. It also infused scientific temper into Indian agriculture.

Other consequences of green revolution

1. Unequal Benefits to Farmers – In most of the Green Revolution areas, it was primarily the medium and large farmers who were able to benefit from the new technology as it was costly. It were the farmers who were able to produce a surplus for the market who were able to reap the most benefits from the Green Revolution and from the commercialization of agriculture that followed. Peasants failed to reap benefits as they could produce just enough to meet their own ends. Thus, in the first phase of the Green Revolution, in the 1960s and 1970s, the introduction of new technology led to increasing inequalities in rural society.

2. Displacement of Tenant Cultivators and Rise in Agricultural Laborers – In many cases, it led to the displacement of tenant-cultivators. Landowners began to take back land from their tenants and cultivate it directly because cultivation was becoming more profitable. This made the rich farmers better off, and worsened the condition of the landless and marginal holders who at times sold their lands and became laborers. Many small landowners of non-Green Revolution areas also moved into Green Revolution areas as laborers as wages were high.

3. Migration – Migration led to increased demographic pressure in cities and demographic distortions in rural areas. As often only male laborers migrated, sex ratios skewed and often women and children of laborers were forced into grinding work back at their homes.

4. Green Revolution, Caste & Breakdown of Traditional Economic Structure – In addition, the introduction of machinery such as tillers, tractors, threshers, and harvesters (in areas such as Punjab and parts of Madhya Pradesh)

led to the displacement of the service caste groups who used to carry out these agriculture-related activities. Thus, organic linkages of Jajmani system broke down. It also contributed to agrarian unrests. Dominant Castes also emerged.

5. Green Revolution and Class – It led to the development of notions of class interests and peasant associations were formed and they demanded free electricity, water, MSP etc.

6. Rise of New Classes and Interest Groups – Paul Brass also links increasing participation of affluent farmer's class to the success of Green Revolution. Today, farmers group of North India are acting as powerful lobby. According to Satya Dev, seed corporations in Haryana are completely hijacked by dominant farmers.

7. Change in Cropping & Agricultural Patterns – In these areas there has been a significant shift from dry to wet (irrigated) cultivation, along with changes in the cropping pattern and type of crops grown. Increasing commercialization and dependence on the market in these areas (for instance, where cotton cultivation has been promoted) has increased rather than reduced livelihood insecurity, as farmers who once grew food for consumption now depend on the market for the incomes. In most of the Green Revolution areas, farmers have switched from a multi-crop system, which allowed them to spread risks, to a mono-crop regime, which means that there is nothing to fall back on in case of crop failure.

8. Regional Inequalities – Another negative outcome of the Green Revolution strategy was the worsening of regional inequalities. Only areas of a few crops were benefited and only those areas with assured irrigation benefitted. This further deepened the divide between dry areas and wet areas. Further, as supply increases prices dropped and it hit farmers of dry areas harder.

9. Conflicts and Agrarian Unrest – Improper implementation of land reforms was coupled with unequal benefits of Green Revolution. Farmers became more assertive.

10. Loss of Traditional Knowledge – Indian

farmers have been cultivating the land for centuries, much before the advent of the Green Revolution and have developed great indigenous knowledge about agriculture.

Much of this traditional knowledge, like the many traditional varieties of seeds that were developed over the centuries by farmers, is being lost as hybrid, high-yielding, and genetically modified varieties of seeds are being promoted as more productive and 'scientific'.

11. Gender Imbalance – According to Ashish Bose, preference for male child in green revolution belt has increased due to increased attachment with the land as its value goes up. Similarly, Nivedita Menon finds out that Green Revolution has given way to feminization of poverty and intensification of patriarchy and widening of demographic divide.

12. Change in the Mode of Production of Indian Agriculture – It is also said to have introduced capitalist orientation in Indian agriculture.

13. Ecological Impact – Excessive groundwater use and excessive use of fertilizers contaminated ground water. Water logging and salinity were other problems. Use of pesticides led to loss of many endemic varieties of farm friendly insects and birds.

14. The ultimate outcome of the Green Revolution was a process of 'differentiation', in which the rich grew richer and many of the poor stagnated or grew poorer. It should be noted that employment and wages for agricultural workers did increase in many areas, because the demand for labor increased. Moreover, rising prices and a shift in the mode of payment of agricultural workers from payment in kind (grain) to cash, actually worsened the economic condition of most rural workers.

However, as **Hanumantha Rao and World Bank reports** show, there has been improvement in food security of the nation and it has also led to the development of around 5-10 million additional direct or indirect employment.

It also promoted rural-rural migration, thus reducing the burden on already overburdened

cities. It reduced dependency of India on foreign programs like PL-480 of USA which were highly suffocating in nature and had even tried to force compromise on sovereignty of India.

CHANGING MODES OF PRODUCTION IN INDIAN AGRICULTURE

Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture is a reflection of the paradoxical character of social transmission in India. Unlike West, India has not gone for a shift from feudalism to capitalism. When capitalism developed in West from spoils of feudalism, to its contrast in case of India specific pockets of capitalism developed from out of agriculture. Therefore agrarian transformation in India is driven by regional diversity, historical differences and contemporary variabilities. Marxist sociologists find out that unlike China and Russia peasant's movement in India is not polarized. They indicate that hegemonistic domination of the upper class stands on the way of peasant mobilization in India. It has and found out that multiple modes of production gives way to diverse class structure in different parts of the country. As a result polarized class structure has evolved in case of India.

Gail Omvedt finds out the strong nexus between caste and class therefore caste conflict is a form of class conflict in India. Marxist sociologists consider that Indian agriculture is purely feudal in character. Liberal sociologists look into various measures undertaken by the state accelerating scope for mobility and opportunities. As a result vertical mobilization (from below to up) of Indian peasantry is not taking place in a big way. **Andre Beteille's** book " **agrarian social structure** " gives an analysis of these conditions in detail.

A R Desai points out that land reform system has not been successful, Benami transfers are taking place and big landlords use tenants in unofficial contracts so that the tenants can never go to the court of law and therefore they don't enjoy their rights.

According to **P C Joshi** , agriculture during British rule was in feudal mode of production. While British introduced reforms in many areas, agriculture remained untouched in terms of technological interventions and ownership reforms. Further, linkages between land and caste were very strong. Taking into consideration historical factors in contemporary context it can be seen that different modes of agriculture production are present in various parts of the country. During colonial period Indian agriculture was purely feudalistic, however after introduction of governmental initiatives, people protest, one can locate multiple modes of production in different parts of the country. In states like Orissa, Manipur, Assam the colonial land tenure policy didn't have much impact, so one can find out that land holding is small, traditional technology is used in agriculture, rural poverty is dispersed, caste and landholding relationship is weak. Thus these areas can be considered as backwards, semi feudal regions. In states like Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal landlords keep a certain portion of land as reserved for commercial planning. The employer laborers on contractual basis than going for hired laborers. Most of these areas are not greatly influenced by tenancy law. Traditional form of relationship between landlords and peasant is present; caste and landholding though have strong relationship. Therefore these areas identified as semi feudal or semi-capitalist region. In almost all the southern states capitalist agriculture has got momentum but the benefits of this capitalism is pocketed by the dominant caste. Agriculture is not guided by intensive use of modern technology and the rich farmers are not highly unionized and mostly the tenants and agricultural laborers come from the lower castes. Therefore these areas can be identified as low intensive capitalist region. In states like Punjab and Haryana, hired labour is used, production is made as a response to demands of market, tenancy practices almost absent, farmers are you highly unionized and caste and its relationship with landownership

is almost absent. Therefore class commission, class consolidation is completing the cities and due to which these reasons are capitalist intensive region. Most of the important economic changes in agriculture can be said to date from the 1960s, when the process of destroying the pre-independence forms of landlordism and laying the foundations of an industrial and infrastructural development that could supply inputs to agriculture was beginning to produce real changes. In fact, much of the 'mode of production' debate centered more on the colonial period, rather than on analyzing whether a qualitatively different process was at work in the post-colonial phase. Ten years later, many things seemed much clearer. To begin with, not only the patterns that could be seen in outline in 1968-69 developed much further, but there is more data available to confirm them. These included not only many village and regional studies, but also massive all-India government material — the Census and Agricultural Census of 1971, the National Sample Survey and All-India Debt and Investment. 1971 was sufficient to reflect the basic pattern of the changes in Indian agriculture. Further, data on production , productivity, crop patterns, irrigation, investment and credit, use of tractors, fertilizers and improved seeds etc is available for much more recent years, a basis now that did not exist in 1969-70 to draw more solid empirical conclusions about the agrarian economy and class structure, though there are still important gaps in our knowledge and the state of theory; Politically the classes that observers were barely discerning in 1970 — a Kulak or capitalist farmer class, and a rural semi-proletariat of agricultural laborers and poor peasants are now coining forward as clearly powerful rural actors, though not in forms predicted in 1970. Capitalist farmers were the main force behind the 'farmers agitations' during the 1980s, who were dominating the rural political scene: it is not an accident that these agitations were centering in the more capitalistically developed regions, their main demand for

higher crop prices itself indicates the commercialization of the rural economy.

Transformations in rural agriculture after independence can be summed up-

1. Mechanization and capital investment in agriculture.

2. A shift from payment in kind (grain) to payment in cash as wages.

3. An increase in the use of agricultural labor as cultivation became more intensive.

4. A loosening of traditional bonds or hereditary relationships between farmers or landowners and agricultural workers and the rise of a class of 'free' wage laborers'.

5. A shift from 'production for consumption' to 'production for market' and cultivation became more commercialized.

6. Rural areas were become more integrated into the wider economy Other changes also supported the change in structure in rural areas.

The spread of higher education, especially private professional colleges, in rural and semi-urban areas, penetration of transportation and communication, agricultural extension services, cooperativization of milk production and so on also affected the mode of production in rural areas.

Thus, it can be concluded that multiple modes of production are present in agrarian India. Farmers are still landless and marginal who come from Dalit community, tribal origin and other ethnic groups. Most of the agriculturists are coming from dominant caste (both traditional and modern) including Brahmins, Rajputs, Bhumis, Jats, Lingayats, Reddys and Yadavs. The rest of the population is coming from artisan caste who is the small or medium farmers.

Hence all over the country despite the presence of multiple modes of production one can find out the clear-cut presence of three different classes i.e. upper-class, middle-class, lower class. India has not really taken place in socialist direction, nor has it confirmed to the demands of capitalism, thus agrarian transformation in India is a typical illustration of the complex nature of social

change in Indian society guided by multiple forms of possibilities and contradictions.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL LABOR – INCLUDING BONDAGE AND MIGRATION

Historically, rural labor belonged to the landless class in Indian society and it worked under the economic system known as – Jajmani system. In wake of little financial and material security, this labor always led a life of want and misery. With introduction of private property during colonial rule, problems of the rural labor only exacerbated.

New classes emerged and rural labor became a subject of exploitation at the hands of Zamindars, dominant castes, British officials (they were often taken as begar) and so on. Rural labor often suffered at the hand of the nature also at that time in the form of famines, draughts, floods etc. Often their marginal lands were alienated in situation of non-payment of the land revenue and rents.

Many of the non-agricultural skilled laborers during British period also suffered as a result of ruining of handicraft and handlooms and they failed to find a place in industrialization process as well. As a result, there was tremendous swell in rural labor and marginal peasants. Thus, rural labor during British period became victim of double burden of caste and class. Rural labor has different features than urban labor. While urban labor works in a market or money economy, rural labor may not be.

Rural labor also doesn't have regular supply of work as rural economy offers limited scope for labor work which is mostly seasonal in nature. Rural labor is also affected by seasonality, indebtedness, bondage, begar, poor social security, migration, poor education and health for family and children, poor social security, exploitation, caste system and so on.

According to **Jan Breman**, in his 'Patronage and Exploitation; Changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat 1985', shows that landless workers do not have many rights, for

instance, they are usually not paid the minimum wage. Problems of landless laborers are multi-faceted. At the core of all this is the problem of low wages and unemployment. It is estimated that on an average, they are totally unemployed for a period of about 100 days and self-employed for about 50 days in a year.

Various problems of rural labour can be studied as under:

1. **Security of tenure** : One of the major objectives of the government's land reform movement was to ensure the security of tenure of tenancy and provide minimum wages. However, the implementation has been unsatisfactory. Implementation has been uneven and landlords have made use of certain loopholes to escape the rules (G.R. Madan, 1990). For example, land owners have started declaring tenants as mere agricultural labourers. Implementation work has been successful wherever tenants have belonged to the numerically dominant caste. Otherwise tenants still face exploitation and uncertainty of tenure.

2. **Wages** : A major problem faced by rural labour is that supply of labour in the labour market is more than demand. As a result, wages are abysmally low. Government has instituted a minimum wages regulation law. However, it is not followed by landlords. Indeed, the National Commission on Labour has termed it as a 'dead letter'. A view in many scholarly circles was that increase in productivity will lead to increased labour wages, by the 'trickle-down effect'. However, this view has been found to be incorrect. There has not been any perceptible rise in wages owing to green revolution, and resultant rise in productivity. Hence, agricultural labour till date is mired by extremely low wages, in spite of huge surplus value earned by land owners. A positive trend seen off late is the introduction of National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA now MGNREGA). Rural laborers get a minimum wage for 100 days of the year through NREGA. Hence, wherever NREGA is properly implemented, landlords are

also forced to give at least as much wage as labourers get through NREGA.

3. **Capitalist mode of farming** : Prior to green revolution, Jajmani System was in operation in villages. By the jajmani system, the landowner had a social obligation to pay for the worker's welfare. The landlord-worker relation was regularized, and there was stability in the relation. Green revolution introduced farm mechanization. Due to this 'sponge effect' of agriculture was lost. Sponge effect refers to the ability of a farm to accommodate more labour. Secondly, green revolution exposed farmers to market economy. Landlords favourably adopted capitalist mode of production. In capitalist farming, profit is primary motive. To maximize profits, landlords cut down on labour. Also, jajmani system broke; landlords were no longer ready to provide for their traditional workers in lean season. When jajmani system broke, landlords hired and fired workers at will. According to Surinder Jodhka, all of the above factors have led to high rates of unemployment and underemployment. Green revolution and capitalist farming have led to polarization of classes (high inequality in incomes) and pauperization of rural labour.

4. **Bonded Labour** : The problem of bonded labour has substantially decreased in recent years, but still remains. Landlords do not let their bonded labourers free and force them to declare themselves as casual labourers.

5. **Problems of non-farm landless labour** : Other than agricultural labourers, there are other labourers engaged in activities such as building houses, digging of canals, construction of roads, and other public works. They mostly work under contractors and are paid low wages. As they work in groups - unlike agricultural labourers who work on an individual basis - they can organize themselves to form unions and cooperatives for mutual help. However, for this they need extension support from local government.

6. **Problems of artisans** : The socio-economic situation of artisans had deteriorated a lot during British rule due to

competition from British manufactured goods. With independence, tariff barriers were imposed on manufactured goods, and condition of artisans improved. Government has also reserved certain businesses for Village and Small Scale Industries (VSI); Khadi, handicrafts, handloom and powerloom to name a few. In spite of this, artisans face numerous problems. They face problems in procuring raw materials; they cannot afford new technology, and do not have institutional support to market their products. As a result, they are exploited by numerous middlemen. Their efficiency is low due to low levels of technology. Further, they are getting stiff competition from machine-made goods. Due to unavailability of credit facilities, they cannot go for modernization. Due to pauperization, many skilled artisans migrate to urban areas in the hope of better opportunities. This trend has, in fact, harmed them and doomed them to underemployment, slum life and exploitation in the hands of informal sector industries in cities.

BONDED LABOR

Bonded Labor can be termed as modern day slavery. National Commission on Labor defines bonded labor as 'labor which remains in bondage for the debt incurred'. Thus, it is a relation between a creditor and debtor in highly unequal terms. This form of labor is a product of debt bondage where the dependence and control of labor is through indebtedness.

The bonded labor system is created when redemption of any advance in cash or kind at usurious rate of interest makes the debtor undertake a work at nominal or no wages till the time the debt is paid. The debt tends to increase rather than diminish and the person in debt and, sometimes his family are bound for life. Reasons for indebtedness are often social. Over expenditure in marriage, death of family bread earners etc lead to indebtedness. It is known by different names in different places – Sagri system in Rajasthan, Vetti system and Bhaghela in Andhra, Bandhua

mazdoori in North India, Saurkiya, Kamia, Ramasia and Janaouri in Bihar, Hali and Halpati systems in Gujarat, Feetha in Karnataka, Vet and Begar in Maharashtra, Jetha in Madhya Pradesh and so on.

The agreement between landlord and debtor once entered lasts for quite some time and the debtor continues to render services for years together or sometimes for generations. The ignorance of the bonded laborers and their vulnerable position without any alternative available, makes them subjugated to the money-lenders. The reasons for which the landless agricultural laborers including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are forced to enter into labor agreements are listed below –

- The caste system, wherein the lower castes worked as bonded laborers in the arrangements of the high castes.
- Expenditure incurred on account of social and religious customs associated with births, marriages and deaths.
- Mortgage of land by needy tenant farmers.
- Poverty of the rural masses who are forced to become indebted even to subsist Pledging of children is most prevalent and worst form of bonded labor.

The system implies the infringement of basic human rights and destruction of the dignity of human labor. Due to its dehumanizing nature and violation of multiple human rights, it is also termed as 'modern slavery'. Historically it became intense with spread of Zamindari system and rural distress. Degree of bondage varies and **Burdhan and Rudra** have classified them as 'Extremely Attached' and 'Partially Attached'. Extremely attached are those who are in total bondage.

Article 23 prohibits bonded labor as constitutions guarantees us right against exploitation, 'Bonded Labor System Abolition Act' was passed in 1976. NHRC also takes suo-motu action in cases of bonded labor. S C Judgment in **Swami Agnivesh led Bandhua Mukti Morcha Case** has also called for affirmative action against bonded labor. Many

schemes are also there for their rehabilitation. For example– **Indira Awas Yojna** provides for free housing for them. Many non-governmental organizations like Bachpan Bachao Aandolan led by Dr. Satyarthi, who also won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2014, have also done significant progress in this direction.

MIGRATION OF RURAL LABOR

Migration of rural labor force into other well off areas is a hallmark of the developing and the underdeveloped agrarian economies as rural areas are often left behind in developmental race. Distressed rural labor often resorts to migration to urban areas for better pastures often ending up in low key jobs. Migration of labor has demographic and social consequences. It leads to creation of slums in urban areas. It also leads to skewed sex ratios as often male population generally resorts to migration. Women, children and old parents of migrated workers face their own problems in the village. For instance, in poor areas where male family members spend much of the year working outside of their villages, cultivation has become primarily a female task. Women are also emerging as the main source of agricultural labor, leading to the '**Feminization of agricultural labor force**'. The insecurity of women is greater because they earn lower wages than men for similar work. Migration also brings new challenges to workers themselves who at time face hostile environment and are prone to multiple vulnerabilities. Home and sanitation are the biggest issues. Further, migrated workers also fail to get social security benefits due to lack of local identity. Green Revolution and other regional disparities promoted rural to rural migration in a big way. These migrant workers have been termed '**footloose labour**' by **Jan Breman**, but this does not imply freedom. Labor from backward regions like Bihar, eastern UP, Bengal etc migrates to prosperous regions like Haryana, Punjab etc.

Wealthy farmers also often prefer to employ

migrant workers for harvesting and other such intensive operations, rather than the local working class, because migrants are more easily exploited and can be paid lower wages. Migrant laborers also have to face multiple deprivations as there is no housing and hence no physical security. Often they lack bank accounts and their hard earned money is prone to be stolen. Migrant labor also faces linguistic and cultural problems. In wealthy state like Punjab and Haryana, they are also stereotyped as 'Bharis', 'Purvaiyas' etc and are also subjected to verbal abuse. They also face multiple discriminations including discrimination in access to public services. In Haryana, there have been instances when they were not given seats in state transport buses or were treated rudely.

They have to adjust their food habits also according to the alien culture. Due to the migratory nature, education of their children also suffers greatly and they are also drawn into casual labor workforce due to poor education. Migrants are also deprived of family support as they often migrate alone due to issues like high cost of living in other regions where they migrate. Currently, there is little protection that government offers to such migrant laborers. No social security scheme is there which covers migrant laborers and in fact, due to lack of local proofs, they are even excluded from some of the existing social security schemes like PDS system, MNREGS as well.

Government has launched an ambitious unique identification program –

Aadhar – which aims to provide such benefits to migrants at any place in India.

Government has launched many schemes and programs to ameliorate the condition of rural labor. During land reforms, many landless laborers were given land as a part of the redistribution process. Many rural anti-poverty programs such as the NREP, JRY and TRYSM etc were launched in the past. Currently MNREGS and National Rural Livelihood Mission address their problems.

Food Security Act and other schemes like Antyodaya Anna Yojna aims at addressing the issue of food and nutrition.

Right to Education ensures the education of their children. Rural laborers are now also covered under insurance schemes like Aam Aadmi Bima Yojna and Janshreee Bima Yojna. Problem of housing is addressed by schemes like Rajiv Awas Yojna. Rural labor is also covered under Minimum Wages Act 1948. However, many of these provisions are not effectively implemented on the ground and there are large variations. In states like Kerala, they are delivering good results, but in other states like Bihar, UP etc, the condition of rural labor is similar to feudal laborers. Government must take steps to encourage private enterprise in rural and semi-urban areas so that educated people do not move to bigger cities in search of jobs and suitable small and medium scale industries could be set up in the rural areas. This will also reduce pressure from the already burdened agriculture. Though the government has launched several anti-poverty and infrastructure generating schemes, most of the villages in India still do not have even the bare minimum amenities.

The crux to solving this problem is to generate full-time employment opportunities in the rural areas. Further, proper implementation of Schemes like Bharat Nirman, MGNREGA, SJGSY etc. can lead to the creation of vibrant village economy supported with good infrastructure to support the development of villages. Initiatives like PURA (Provision of Urban amenities in Rural Areas) must be promoted on a large scale to bridge the rural-urban divide in terms of infrastructure. Private sector too must be involved in rural infrastructure development projects by providing them incentives like tax-holidays and rebates.

Further, preventive measures like planned growth and expansion of cities should be taken so that the incoming rural population

can be absorbed in the cities in a more efficient manner without creating any adverse effects. Schemes like JNURM, Swasthya suraksha Yojana etc can usher in the era of cities without slums. However, it must be noted that a decade from now, the problem that the nation will face is educational unemployment. In fact, with the expansion of rural education, millions of children have been taken off the fields in the last decade to join the rural schooling system. The aspirations of these first-generation literates require the construction of creative strategies for mass semi-skilled employment in the near future. So, the process of "jobless growth" has to be stopped and steps have to be taken to undertake creation of employment opportunities through expansion of manufacturing and service sectors.

Though it will perhaps never be possible to stop migration completely, the approach should be of managing it in such a way that no ethnic or social frictions are created across the country. Rural areas across the country must have all the amenities to ensure that people of the younger generation choose to remain in there instead of moving to the bigger cities. If they still decide to migrate to bigger cities, the choice should be dictated more by a spirit of exploration rather than compulsion to move out due to lack of opportunities.

3.INDUSTRIALISATION AND URBANISATION IN INDIA

EVOLUTION OF MODERN INDUSTRY IN INDIA; GROWTH OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA; WORKING CLASS: STRUCTURE, GROWTH, CLASS MOBILIZATION; INFORMAL SECTOR; CHILD LABOR; SLUM AND DEPRIVATION IN URBAN AREAS

EVOLUTION OF MODERN INDUSTRY IN INDIA

India has a very glorious past. India's handicrafts were prized in foreign countries. Village artisans produced products of high aesthetic quality with ease and efficiency. Industrial development is important for socioeconomic and human development of a country. India, since ancient times, has been famous in the world for its cottage and household industries. Before the beginning of modern industrial development, Indian pottery, muslin and silk goods were much in demand. Traditional handicrafts industry, however, suffered after the advent of the British in India. The British policy of exporting raw material from India to Britain and importing finished goods into India severely hampered growth of industries. This critical scenario improved somewhat after the mid-nineteenth century but the growth of industries was a slow process.

In India, the modern industrial sector on an organised pattern started with the establishment of the cotton textile industry in Bombay in 1854 with predominantly Indian capital and enterprise. In 1855, the jute industry was started in the Hooghly valley at Rishra near Kolkata, largely with foreign capital and enterprise. Rail transport made a beginning between Bombay and Thane in 1854. The country's first paper mill was started at Ballygunge near Kolkata in 1870 and steel was first manufactured by

modern methods at Kulti in 1874. The Tata Iron and Steel Company started at Jamshedpur in 1907.

This means that the modern industrial sector had its beginning only after the middle of the nineteenth century. The two World Wars gave an impetus to the development of a number of industries, such as chemical, iron and steel, sugar, cement, glass and other consumer goods industries.

The post-independence industrial policy emphasised the attainment of the socio-economic objectives such as employment generation, higher productivity, removal of regional imbalances in development, providing strength to agricultural base, promotion of export-oriented industries and consumer protection. A deliberate policy of locating the industries in economically backward regions has been pursued to reduce regional imbalances in development. The industrial policies of 1948 and 1956 indicate the direction of industrial development in India. The process of industrialisation started with the launching of the First Five Year Plan and continued through successive plan periods. Pyrard, the 17th century Portuguese writer has recorded that everyone from the Cape of Good Hope to China was clothed from head to foot in Indian made garments. Even during Mughal period some industries existed in India but they were of small scale or handicraft. The real evolution of modern industry in India took place during the colonial rule of British Empire.

Industries were present in India earlier also, but post 19th century industrialization was fundamentally different as it used inanimate power and production was mass production.

I. It started in India with cotton and jute industries and its first phase lasted from 1850-1890. This phase was also accompanied by the exploitation of Indian labor class as well. There were horrible working conditions in factories and wages were abysmally low with no safeguard in case of causality.

Workers had little organizational ability and their voice was almost unheard. Traditional handloom also declined during this period and the new industrialization rose on the grave of the domestic industries. Manufacture of these industries was either exported or the surplus obtained from the produce used be drained out of the nation. Thus, industrialization during the colonial period heralded the misery of Indian – opposite to Britain, where it led to prosperity, rise in incomes and economic growth.

II. In the second phase of 1890-1915, heavy industries like cement, iron and steel were setup and they were geographically more diverse in location as many of them were located near source. This period also saw the setting up of industries by the Indian entrepreneurs during the Swadeshi Movement. Economic drain by early industrialization was already exposed by this time and some spirited Indians like – P C Ray, Tatas etc – started indigenous factories. Working class movement was in formative stage and was slowly gaining momentum. Industrial class witnessed tremendous expansion as new industries came up.

III. Third phase lasted from 1915-47 when two wars provided stimulus as well as brought hardship. Indigenization of industries was promoted, consumer goods industries were established, capitalist class gained a firm footing along with them trade union movement also gained further momentum as ILO was also established in 1919. In this phase, some of the labor laws were also enacted and some of the demands of labor were also conceded. This phase also witnessed the impact of communist movement on trade union movement as well. Nehru who was inspired by Fabian socialism and by the Russian example decided to adopt a socialist pattern of economic development. Much of early economic activity in newly independent India was state induced, and state controlled. Nehru wanted to adopt **Harold Laski's** idea of a mixed economy, which he did. The state controlled major

industries and public related services.

In setting a path for the economic policy after Independence, Nehru followed a development discourse and models which were current and popular at that time. He truly believed that like Russia, India needed to develop its heavy industries which were capital intensive. Thus in the initial phase of economic development saw setting up heavy industries and the construction of dams. He chose from a set of options considerably more limited than those available today, and followed to a large degree the conventional wisdom among Indian academic economists of the time.

In 1980 the first steps towards liberalization were taken up by Indira Gandhi and followed by Rajiv Gandhi, this involved easing restrictions on capacity expansion for incumbents, removed price controls and reduced corporate taxes.

IV. Fourth phase lasted from 1947-1991 which saw state sponsored heavy industry led growth guided by ideology of self-reliance and import substitution. This period also witnessed license raj and state control over production. Self-reliance was achieved in many sectors by 1970s; telecom gave much needed technological edge during 1980s.

The economic liberalisation of 1991, initiated by the Indian prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and his finance minister Manmohan Singh in response to a macroeconomic crisis did away with the Licence Raj (investment, industrial and import licensing and ended public sector monopoly in many sector, thereby allowing investment in many sectors. Since then the overall direction of liberalization has remained the same irrespective of the ruling party at the center although no party has yet tried to take on powerful lobbies like the trade unions and farmers, or contentious issues like labour reforms and cutting down agricultural subsidies.

V. Last phase includes the post liberalization period. It led to a structural change with the arrival of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). On the one hand inefficiency of economies were dealt with, on

the other hand private sector became stronger. Consumer goods industry saw tremendous expansion, multinational companies flooded India. It had a mixed impact in the past twenty five years. Labor policies have been liberalized and the power of trade unions has been curtailed.

GROWTH OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

In simple words, the process of urbanization denotes population growth of the cities and towns. Sociologically, it also denotes the spread of urban way of life to the country-side. Thus, the process of urbanization has demographic as well as social dimensions. In present times, with the spread of industrialisation, the process of urbanization has received unprecedented momentum all over the world and more specifically in the third world countries. It is predicated, on the basis of the current rates of urbanization, that within a few decades the urban population of the third world countries will grow twice that of the present industrialized societies.

The census of India defines some criteria for an urban area. These are:

- Population is more than 5000
- The density is over 400 persons per sq. km
- 75% of the male population engages in non-agricultural occupations.
- Cities are urban areas with a population of more than one lakh.

Robert Redfield and Milton Singer

describe the city as a centre of cultural innovation, diffusion and progress and have classified the process of urbanization into two categories –

- I. Primary urbanization – It helps in spreading of values of Great tradition
- II. Secondary urbanization – It leads to overshadowing of values of little tradition and hence is also disintegrative.

The rapid growth of urban population in third world countries has led to the availability of public utilities becoming scarce. In India, such

a situation in big cities has made it very difficult for the local administration to cope with the increasing population and arrive at any enduring solution. In social science, this has led to formulation of the controversial notion of over-urbanisation. In order to ameliorate the fast deteriorating conditions of urban living systematic urban policy and effective measures, urban renewal has become inevitable in India and all other third world countries.

Urbanisation in its demographic sense refers to the trends of growth of the urban population. In societal context and in its sociological sense it also denotes a distinct way of life typically associated with living in the city and the process of transforming rural ways of life into urban ones.

Urbanisation has its bearing on social relationships in community living. The relationships of community-living tend to become impersonal, formal, goal oriented, contractual and transitory. With urbanisation, transformation of economic activities from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector takes place, and the proportion of population engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors of activities increases with division of labour and specialisation of work. Further, the process of urbanisation also leads to breakdown in the functioning of traditional institutions and patterns of behavior and of social control. It leads to a situation of continuity and change in the sense that the traditional forms often continue to persist, but their functions undergo major re-adaptations in the face of urbanisation.

As pointed out by **Yogendra Singh**, "many new roles, often rational and modern in orientation, are added on to the traditional institutional forms."

In India, the traditional institutions like caste, joint family and neighborhood offer ample evidence of such continuity and change in cities. Urban growth coupled with industrial development induces rural-urban migration whereby the cities of bigger size, offering opportunities of improving life, tend to overflow with the rural migrants.

On the one hand, such migration accelerates the pace of urbanisation and, on the other; it creates excessive population pressure on the existing public utilities with the result that cities suffer from the problems of slums, crime, unemployment, urban poverty, pollution, congestion, ill-health and several deviant social activities. In this context, it is essential to know the various facets of overurbanization and urban problems in India.

Urbanisation has been viewed as an important force of social change. In India, this process has, on the one hand, meant economic growth, political change, new values and new attitudes. It also reflects the elements of continuity between rural and urban social structures.

Socio-cultural Character

In the process of urbanisation the towns and cities of India have achieved heterogeneous character in terms of ethnicity, caste, race, class and culture. In the urban areas there has always been coexistence of different cultures. Studies show that though various ethnic and/or caste groups have adjusted themselves with each other in the city, they have also tried to maintain their traditional identity. The migrants have maintained distinctive cultural traditions in the towns. Various migrant groups have maintained their own cultural identity.

N.K. Bose points out that migrants tend to cluster around people with whom they have linguistic, local, regional, caste and ethnic ties. A study by **Jagannathan and Haldar** on the pavement-dwellers in Calcutta shows that they retain close ties with kinship and caste groups for socializing and transmitting or receiving information from the village. Thus cultural pluralism has been an important socio-cultural dimension of the urbanites. Social stratification has taken a new form in the urban society. It is assumed that with urbanisation caste transforms itself into class in the urban areas. But caste systems do exist in the cities though with significant

organizational differences. Marriage and family are two important aspects of social life. In the urban areas caste norms have been flexible with regard to the selection of mates. There have been increasing opportunities for the free mixing of young men and women. Again the voluntary associations have encouraged inter-caste marriages. As a result there have been more inter-caste and inter-religious marriages in the urban areas than earlier though it has also been pointed out that joint family system is breaking down in the urban areas.

Problems of Urban Areas

The current process of urbanisation has faced many problems in different parts of India. The most important of these are:

I. **Over-urbanization** – Over-urbanization in one sense implies excessive urbanization in relation to employment growth. It also means that the urban population has grown to such a large size that the cities fail to ensure a decent way of life to the urban dwellers on account of excessive population pressure on civic amenities, housing, etc. In the Indian context, the idea of over-urbanization has been advanced on the grounds that: (a) there is an imbalance between the levels of industrialization and urbanization in India, (b) the process of urbanization takes away a lion's share of resources and, thus, impinges upon the rate of economic growth of society, (c) the availability of civic amenities and facilities is so poor that these have now reached a point of break-down and become almost incapable of bearing further growing urban pressures. However, there is another view that argues that since India has still predominant rural population and urban population is still below world average, India has still not witnessed over-urbanization. Further, over-urbanization in India is also attributed to a faulty urban policy and not to urbanization per se.

II. **Pollution and Environmental Decay** – According to Murray Bookchin in his 'The Modern Crisis, 1986', modern cities are sprawling, environmentally damaging monsters that devour energy and generate waste at an unsustainable rate. Solid waste

management has emerged as one of the biggest challenges of urban areas.

III. Economic Challenges

a. Inadequate Housing and Slums – It is estimated that nearly 70 percent of the population in big cities live in substandard houses, which they call their homes. Similarly, there are hundreds of such people who are living in cities as pavement-dwellers, without any kind of shelter at all. Slums are another big challenge.

b. Inefficient and inadequate transport

c. Informalisation of workforce as immigrants fail to find place in formal economy

d. Unsafe and insufficient water supply – Nearly 30 percent of the urban population in India is deprived of safe drinking water facilities.

IV. Social Consequences

a. Crime – The white-collar crimes, which are committed largely by violating the rules and regulations of trade, business or profession during the conduct of these activities also become widespread, especially in cities which are the victims of rapid urbanization.

b. Inequalities – Economic inequalities in urban areas are more pronounced than in rural areas. Situation in ghettos and slums is in stark contrast to the situation in high rise skyscrapers.

c. Isolation – With the rise of urbanization, a city-dweller, while living amidst a sea of fellow city-dwellers, is detached from them socially. Older people, the migrants who are still strangers in the city, people who are unable to get along with others, socially rejected persons and persons who do not find people of their liking often feel acute isolation even amidst thousands of the urban-dwellers. The heterogeneity of population, especially in matters of social status, caste, class, religion, income, occupation, etc., creates partial isolation under which, as K Dais says, integrity of particular groups is reinforced by maintaining social distance (avoidance) toward other groups. Residential segregation is one of the manifestations of partial isolation in cities.

d. Maladjustment – As the process of

urbanization accelerates, the city life tends to be rapidly characterized by cultural diversities, socioeconomic inequalities, competition, conflict and several other manifestations of complexities of social reality. The fact of social mobility also affects the life of the city-dwellers. In such a competitive environment, several among those, who are the losers, fail to suitably adjust to the reality, and become victims of frustration, inferiority complex and loss of a meaningful integration with the totality of city-life. All such failures give rise to the problem of maladjustment. Similarly, even among the successful ones, many fail to conform to the new situations, and become maladjusted.

The problem of maladjustment becomes all the more acute in the case of those city-dwellers, who are relatively recent migrants. They, in fact, present cases of 'marginal man' – a concept developed by Robert E Park. The marginal-man, in simple words, is said to be one who is in the process of changing from one culture to another. A marginal man suffers from the problems of maladjustment precisely because he feels lost amidst the pressures of two cultures, as he cannot completely change from one cultural system to another.

e. Rural-urban divide – As skilled population move to cities, villages are often left with no leadership. Government focus also shifts from rural to urban areas as more population crowd cities and they become unmanageable and highly strained.

In India, urbanisation along with westernization and modernization has furthered the process of rapid social change both in the rural and in the urban areas. One of the important results of urbanisation is the rural to urban migration. Migration has become a continuous process affecting the social, economic and cultural lives of the villagers widely.

Srinivas pointed out that urbanisation in southern India has a caste component and that, it was the Brahmin who first left the

village for the towns and took advantage of western education and modern professions. At the same time as they retained their ancestral lands they continued to be at the top of the rural socio-economic hierarchy. Again, in the urban areas they had a near monopoly of all non-manual posts.

As a result of migration there has been a flow of urban money into the rural areas. Emigrants regularly send money to their native villages. Such money facilitates the dependents to clear off loans, build houses and educate children.

The urban centers of India have become the centers of national and international linkages. At present, many cultural traits are diffused from cities to the rural areas. For example, dress patterns like pants, shirts, ties, skirts, jeans etc. diffuse from cities to the rural areas. Besides these, new thoughts, ideologies are also diffused from the cities to the rural areas due to an increase in communication via radio, television, newspaper, computer, the Internet and telephone. The urbanism, which emerges in the cities gradually, reaches to the rural areas, depending on their proximity to the cities.

Thus it can be concluded by saying that urbanisation has great sociological importance. The rapid pace of industrialisation as a necessary corollary to globalisation is playing an important role in the modernization of Indian society, transforming it faster than one could imagine. The differing viewpoints held by various sociologists wherein one expects urbanisation as a leading force pushing Indian society towards modernization thereby transforming caste into class, while on the other hand sociologists like MN Srinivas points out that it is transforming caste old into caste new rather than changing caste into class.

New trends in urbanization are now witnessed in the form of growth of sub-urban areas, satellite cities, mega cities, decay of inner cities, urban renewal and gentrification drives to tackle with emerging issues of urbanization, several policy and legislative

initiatives have been taken. They include Rent Control Act, Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, Rajiv Awas Yojna, Property Rights to Slum Dwellers Act 2011, JnNURM, and so on.

WORKING CLASS: STRUCTURE, GROWTH, CLASS MOBILIZATION

Concept of the working class has emerged in wake of the rise of industrial societies. Based on Marxist ideas, working class are those who don't own capital and contribute their labor, is a contractual relationship and are directly involved in value addition. The working class is not a cohesive entity and it has numerous differences and contradictions. There is a problem of where to draw the line. Who belongs to the working class and who does not? The difference further extends in terms of skill, sex, age, income and caste. Hence the working class is a complex, contradictory and constantly changing entity. One cannot have a single definition which will be all inclusive. This is because of the blurring of boundaries between classes and the different working classes. The composition, the size and the character of a class changes over a period of time. Therefore the requirement is of a series of definitions, which have to change in accordance with the changes in social structure.

M Holmstrom, defines working class as 'a group which shares a similar economic situation which distinguishes it from others like property owners, managers and employers. It thus refers to industrial workers and sometimes other wage earners and petty self-employed'.

In the Marxian scheme, the capitalist society is characterized by two principal classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat. Bourgeoisie owns the means of production and proletariat sell their labour for wages in order to live. India has a multi-structural economy where a number of pre-capitalist relations of production co-exist with capitalist relations of production. Correspondingly, here a differentiated working class structure exists

i.e. the numerous types of relations of production, consumption and accumulation of surplus combine to produce a variety of forms of the existence of the working class.

This is further compounded by the structural features of Pan-Indian society along with local conditions. So the composition of the working class is affected by the caste, tribe, ethnic origin and the gender based division of labour between male and female and associated patriarchy. This implies that despite internal structural differences and the relations of productions through which working people have been and continues to be, there exists a group of people denoted as 'working class'.

Growth of Working Class in India The modern working class came into being with the rise of capitalist mode of production. This mode of production brought with it the factory type of industry. In other words, the rise of the factory system of production and working class happened simultaneously. Conversely, without a factory industry there can be no working class but only working people.

The formative period: The forced intrusion of British capital in India devastated the old economy but did not transplant it by forces of modern capital economy. So, traditional cottage industry and weavers famed for their skill through the centuries were robbed of their means of livelihood and were uprooted throughout India. This loss of the old world with no new gains led to extreme impoverishment of the people. Subsequently, with the introduction of railways and sporadic growth of some industries, a section of these very people at the lowest rung of Indian society who had been plodding through immense sufferings and impoverishment in village life entered the modern industries as workers. The first generation of factory workers, it appears, came from this distressed and dispossessed section of the village people.

Emergence of working class: With the growth of modern factory industries, the

factory workers gradually shaped themselves into a distinct category. The concentration of the working class in the cities near the industrial enterprises was an extremely important factor in the formation of the workers as a class. Similar conditions in factories and common living conditions made the workers feel that they had similar experiences and shared interests and react in similar fashion. In other words, the principal factors underlying the growth and formation of the working mass as a class in India in the latter half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, It bear similarities with the advanced countries of Europe.

Hence, the consciousness of being exploited by the capitalists/ owners of factories was evident as early as 1888, when workers of Shyamnagar Jute Mill assaulted the manager. That is, the reactions against the exploitation in early phases were marked by riots, affrays, assaults and physical violence.

Consolidation of the working class: The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th was marked by the organized national movements and consolidation of the working class. The national movement, especially in Bengal and Maharashtra had already assumed a developed form which exerted a great impact on the later national awakening of the entire country. The partition of Bengal in the year 1905 aroused bitter public indignation and gave rise to mass national upsurge. This political development worked as a favorable condition for the Indian working class too for moving ahead with its economic struggles and raising them to a higher pitch. These struggles led to the laying of the foundation of the first trade unions of the country. Moreover, the turn of the century was also marked by the advance in industrialization with concomitant swelling of the working class in numerical strength.

Nature and Structure of the Working Class Today

Given such an eventful history and evolution of the working class in India, it is worthwhile to examine the nature and structure of the

working class in the present circumstances. As mentioned above, due to the existence of multi-structural economy and effects of primordial affiliations, a variety of forms of the working class exists in India. On top of all the differences, the differences in wage are also the basis of divisions among the working class. On the basis of wage, there are four types of workers.

- First, those workers who are permanent employees of the large factory sector and get family wage. (By 'family wage' it is meant that the wage of the worker should be sufficient to maintain not only the individual but also the worker's family).
- Second, there is a large and preponderant section of the working class that does not get a family wage. This includes workers in the older industries like cotton and jute textiles, sugar and paper.
- Third, there is a section of the working class at the bottom of the wage scale — the mass of contract and sometimes casual laborers in industry, including construction, brick making and other casual workers.
- Fourth, below this lie a reserve army of labour, who work in petty commodities production in petty trading ranges from hawking to rag-picking. They are generally engaged in the informal sector and carry on for the want of sufficient survival wage.

The existence of a majority of workers, who are not paid family wage means that either the worker gets some form of supplement from other non-capitalist sectors or the worker and his/her family cut down their consumption below the minimum standard. Not only is there wage differential among the working class, there is also variation in the terms of working conditions. Hence, better paid labour also has much greater job security. However the workers on the lower end of the wage scale have not only job security but also considerable extra-economic coercion and personal bondage which leads to lack of civil rights. Similarly, working conditions for the low paid workers are uniformly worse than for high paid workers.

So, in the same plant or site there is a clear difference in the safety measures for the two groups of workers. The situation worsens further with regard to women workers.

Social Background of Indian Working Class

Indian working class, as mentioned earlier, came from diverse social backgrounds in which primordial identities such as caste, ethnicity, religion and language played very important roles. In recent years, the significance of these elements has been reduced but they do persist nonetheless.

The dominant position of the workers from upper caste was also brought out in a study of Kerala. This study points out that in higher income jobs upper castes dominate whereas Dalits/adivasis have preponderance in low wage jobs. The middle castes are concentrated in middle to bottom ranges. Even in the public sector, the representation of backward castes, schedule castes and tribes is not up to their proportion in the population. Moreover, it seems that caste based division of labour is followed in the class III and IV jobs in government and public sector enterprises. So the jobs of sweepers are reserved for dalits and adivasis. In coal mines, hard physical labour of loading and pushing the coal tubs is done by dalits and adivasis. In steel plants the production work in the intense heat of coke oven and blast furnace is mainly done by adivasis and dalits. This is because of pre labour market characteristics such as education and land holding. So those who possessed more land and education ended up in a higher wage sector. But then if upper and lower caste people own comparable levels of landholding and education, the upper caste worker will get into a higher segment of the wage than the lower caste worker. This is because of the continuing importance of caste ties in recruitment.

Caste also serves the function of ensuring the supply of cheap labour for different jobs with the fact of not paying more than what is

necessary. In other words, the depressed conditions of adivasis and dalits helps in ensuring a supply of labour, who can be made to work at the mere subsistence level. Hence, caste on one hand plays a role in keeping the lower sections of the society in the lower strata of the working class, on the other hand, the upper caste get a privilege in the labour market. Further, caste is not only a matter of marriage and to an extent residence, but more so a continuing pool of social relation for the supply of various kinds of labour for the capitalist mode of production.

The working class at the conceptual level seems to be fairly simple, but if one tries to define it, the problem magnifies. The reason is that this is not a homogeneous entity. Rather it is a complex, contradictory and constantly changing entity. Another reason is that the concept of 'class-consciousness' is very slippery with regard to the working class. The consequence of this is, it is often proclaimed that either the working class is shrinking in size or everybody except a few at the top is working class. However the fact is that the working class is a distinct entity, with characteristics of its own. In India, the situation is much more complex because of several reasons like,

- The forced intrusion of British capital in India;
- Simultaneous existence of multiple relations of production; and
- Never ending identification of working mass with primordial features such as caste, religion and other ethnic divisions of the society.

The coming into being and consolidation of the working class in the world as well as in India has been affected by local and international events of both economic and political nature. So for carrying out further studies on the working class, these peculiarities have to be taken into account.

At the same time, the Government of India has taken multiple steps to ameliorate the

condition of workers in industries. Constitution provides equal fundamental rights and directive principles call for enhanced workers participation in management. Various legislations have also been enacted including – Workmen Compensation Act, Factories Act, Industrial Dispute Act, Minimum Wages Act and so on. For females separate legislation have also been enacted like – Maternity Benefit Act, Equal Remuneration Act, etc. Children are also prohibited now from working in factories. Separate provisions are there for workers in different sectors. A number of social welfare programs have also been launched from time to time including insurance, housing and social security. There are also schemes of skill development and micro-financing. A national commission for the unorganized sector has also been established. NGOs also work towards the welfare of workers by acting as facilitators as well as service providers. They also act as their voice in front of policy makers.

INFORMAL SECTOR

Generally in the context of third world societies, it is believed there exists a kind of duality or dualism or dual-economy in urban areas. This dualism is based on the contrast between activities which are recognized officially or which are sanctioned by official or governmental legislations on one hand and those which aren't. Those activities which are generally sanctioned by official legislation and registered with the government are referred to as formal sector. Labor working here is organized labor.

Employees outside the organized labor market are generally referred to as the informal sector. Informal sector is sometimes said to represent the traditional economy which exists parallel with the modern economy. This is the characteristic feature of third world societies.

Formal sector and modern economy are characterized by unlimited wants. It is preoccupied with growth and there exists a

rational organization to realize these objectives and a rational assessment of cost-benefit analysis to achieve this objective. The informal sector or informal economy is defined as that part of an economy that is not taxed, monitored by any form of government, or included in any gross national product (GNP), unlike the formal economy; in India most of the potential working population earns their living in the informal sector. Agricultural workers constitute by far the largest segment of workers in the unorganized sector. The informal /unorganized sector in India continues to remain bigger than the organized sector in many key aspects in spite of the large control over resources and social economic power enjoyed by the organised sector. Thus despite its large, substantial place in economy, the unorganised sector is a relatively neglected sector in the arena of public policy support and academic discourse.

Features of informal sector:

- Low level of organization; small scale; usually employing fewer than 10 workers and often from the immediate family;
- Heterogeneity in activities;
- Easy entry and exit than in the case of former sector;
- Usually minimal capital investment; little or no division between labour and capital;
- Mostly labor-intensive work, requiring low-level skills; there is usually no formal training as;
- Workers learn on the job;
- Labour relations based on casual employment and/or social relationships as opposed to formal contracts; employer-employee relationship is of an unwritten and informal with little or no rights;
- Due to their isolation and invisibility, workers in the informal sector are often largely unaware of their rights, cannot organize them and have little negotiating power.

Categories of workers in the informal sector:

- Based on occupation: Small and marginal farmers, landless agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, fishermen, those engaged in animal husbandry, in beedi rolling, labelling and packing, building and construction, collection of raw hides and skins, handlooms weaving in rural areas, brick kilns and stone
- Quarries saw mills, oil mills, etc.
- Based upon nature of employment: attached agricultural labourers, bonded labourers, migrant workers, contract and casual labourers.
- Specifically distressed categories: scavengers, carriers of head loads, drivers of animal driven vehicles, loaders, unloaders.
- Service categories: midwives, domestic workers, barbers, vegetable and fruit vendor is, newspaper vendors.

Why is there such a large informal sector in India?

- India was rather late in terms of growth of industrialization and pace of growth of industrialization also remained slow due to dependency and colonial policies. For example: - Japan and India started to industrialize by the same time. But by 1950, Japan went ahead.
- Even after independence, the kind of industrialization we adopted was capital intensive. Economic growth was also low till 6th FYP and after that though growth crossed 6%, it was skewed, jobless and lopsided growth.
- We neglected agriculture and rural industrialization. Ability of agriculture to provide employment for young people remained limited.
- In the 1960's as we went for rapid food growth and strategy i.e. green revolution, it led to premature mechanization of agriculture leading to labor displacement. So, labor in numbers was growing, but demand was shrinking. Along with this, there was polarization of small and marginal farmers.
- We failed as far as population control was concerned. Population was burgeoning while employment opportunities closed. Even consumer goods industries tended to be

capital intensive except small scale industries. Even then 80% of small scale industries suffered from perpetual sickness.

Problems in the informal sector

Social problems emanate from the low status of agricultural workers in the rural hierarchy and the economic problems are due to the inadequacy of employment opportunities, poor security of tenure, low-income and inadequate diversification of economic activity in rural areas. They are dispersed, unorganised and generally have poor bargaining power. Due to seasonal work they often have to migrate for alternative avenues of employment in other areas like construction etc. during off-season.

Circumstances force many of them to borrow, from time to time, from private sources either for consumption purposes (even to maintain a subsistence level) or to meet social obligations (marriages, etc.) and some of them end up as bonded laborers.

The issues and problems of home based workers are very complex because of the absence of any direct master-servant or employer-employee relationship between the home worker and the person or organization for whom he works. The relationship being ambiguous and indefinite, the home worker is subjected to exploitation in various forms.

In India, there is no authentic data on home based workers. Official data sources such as Census of India, do not recognize these workers as an independent category but have included them in the broad category of those working in house-hold Industries. As such, home based workers are not visible in national statistics. The other major occupations of the Home based workers are agarbatti makers, zari workers, papad makers, cobblers, lady tailors, carpenters, etc. One of the major features of the construction industry is that it is prone to risks of accidents. Due to non-detection and non-reporting, accurate statistics of the number of such accidents is difficult to obtain.

Several other problems faced by workers in the informal sector are:

- Sexual exploitation of women migrant workers;
- Very less amount of money paid in the form of wage,
- Most of the migrant workers in the informal sector live in slums with poor sanitation leading to health hazard.

Social security measures taken by the government for workers in the unorganised sector of late, the issue of provision of social security to the growing segment of unorganized sector workers gained enhanced significance in the development discourse in India. Various efforts of the Government of India, in recent years, such as designing of new social security schemes, recasting of earlier schemes, introduction of innovative methods towards effective identification and enrolment of beneficiaries, contemplation of comprehensive legislations to ensure social protection for unorganized sector workers and so on testify a paradigm shift in the social security front.

These schemes are in the nature of:

- Centrally funded social assistance programs,
- Social insurance scheme,
- Social assistance through welfare funds of Central and State governments, and
- Public initiatives.

The centrally funded social assistance programs include the employment oriented poverty alleviation programmes such as Swarnajayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojna, employment assurance scheme, national social assistance programme comprising old-age pension, family benefits and maternity benefits to address the social security needs of the people below the poverty line. The social insurance scheme includes several schemes launched by the Central and State governments for the benefit of weaker sections e.g. Janshree Bima Yojna, Rashtriya Swasthya bima Yojna, etc.

Several public institutions and agencies are also imparting various kinds of social security benefits to the selected group of workers. Among these **Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA)** has made significant achievement in promoting social security through the formation of cooperatives.

CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

Millions of children in today's world undergo the worst forms of child labor which includes Child Slavery, Child prostitution, Child Trafficking, Child Soldiers. In the modern era of material and technological advancement, children in almost every country are being callously exploited. India has the dubious distinction of being the nation with the largest number of child laborers in the world. The child laborers endure miserable and difficult lives. They earn little and struggle to make enough to feed themselves and their families. They do not go to school; more than half of them are unable to learn the barest skills of literacy. Poverty is one of the main reasons behind this phenomenon. The unrelenting poverty forces the parents to push their young children in all forms of hazardous occupations. Child labor is a source of income for poor families. They provide help in household enterprises or of household chores in order to free adult household members for economic activity elsewhere. In India the emergence of child labor is also because of unsustainable systems of landholding in agricultural areas and caste system in the rural areas.

Bonded labour refers to the phenomenon of children working in conditions of servitude in order to pay their debts. The debt that binds them to their employer is incurred not by the children themselves but by their parents. The creditors cum employers offer these loans to destitute parents in an effort to secure the labor of these children. The arrangements between the parents and contracting agents are usually informal and unwritten. The number of years required to pay off such a loan is indeterminate. The lower castes such as Dalits and tribal make them vulnerable groups for exploitation.

The environmental degradation and lack of employment avenues in the rural areas also cause people to migrate to big cities. On arrival in overcrowded cities the disintegration of family units takes place through alcoholism, unemployment or disillusionment of better life etc. This in turn leads to the emergence of street children and child workers who are forced by their circumstances to work from an early age. The girls are forced to work as sex-workers or beggars. A large number of girls end up working as domestic workers on low wages and unhealthy living conditions.

Sometimes children are abandoned by their parents or sold to factory owners. The last two decades have seen tremendous growth of export based industries and mass production factories utilizing low technologies. They try to maintain competitive positions through low wages and low labor standards. The child laborers exactly suit their requirements. They use all means to lure the parents into giving their children on the pretext of providing education and a good life. In India majority of children work in industries, such as cracker making, diamond polishing, glass, brass-ware, carpet weaving, bangle making, lock making and mica cutting to name a few, in the carpet industry of Uttar Pradesh, children work in the glass industry in Firozabad.

In the unorganized sector child labor is paid by piece-by-piece rates that result in even longer hours for very low pay.

Inadequate schools, or lack of schools, or even the expense of schooling leaves some children with little else to do but work. The attitudes of parents also contribute to child labor; some parents feel that children should work in order to develop skills useful in the job market, instead of taking advantage of a formal education. From the time of its independence, India has committed itself to be against child labor.

Article 24 of the Indian constitution clearly states that "No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or employed in any hazardous employment" The Bonded Labour System Act of 1976 fulfills the Indian Constitution's directive of ending forced labour. A Plethora of additional protective legislation has been put in place. There are distinct laws governing child labour in factories in commercial establishments, on plantations and in apprenticeships. There are laws governing the use of migrant labour and contract labour. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation law) of 1986 designates a child as a person who has not completed their 14th year of age. It purports to regulate the hours and the conditions of child workers and to prohibit child workers in certain enumerated hazardous industries.

The Government of India has also adopted a new National Policy on Children in 2013 and a National Labor Policy in 1987 in accordance with the constitutional mandate and the prevailing legislation on child labor. In 1992 India has ratified the 'UN Convention on the Rights of the Child' which implies that India will ensure wide awareness on the issues of the children among the various governmental and the non-governmental agencies. Article 24 prohibits Child Labor. SC also in 'Sivakasi PIL Case' issued detailed guidelines. Child Labor has been banned since 1986 by a parliamentary Act on recommendation of **Gurupadswamy Committee**. SC ordered a blanket ban in 2006. National Commission on Protection of Child Rights has also been formed to take care of child rights and strengthen the legislative and executive framework.

However there is neither blanket prohibition on the use of child labour, nor any universal minimum age set for child workers. All of the policies that the Indian government has in place are in accordance with the Constitution of India, and all support the eradication of Child Labor. The problem of child labor still

remains even though all of these policies are existent. Enforcement is the key aspect that is lacking in the government's efforts.

Child labor is a global problem. If child labour is to be eradicated, the governments and agencies and those responsible for enforcement need to start doing their jobs. The most important thing is to increase awareness and keep discussing ways and means to check this problem. We have to decide whether we are going to take up the problem head-on and fight it any way we can or leave it to the adults who might not be there when things go out of hand.

SLUM AND DEPRIVATION IN URBAN AREAS

According to **Aashish Bose** slum is a deprived human settlement, a settlement which is demographically, socially, economically and environmentally vulnerable, over-crowd, lawlessness, crime, pollution, lack of drainage plague slums. Slums are a center of deprivation in cities. Pauper section of the informal sector resides in the slums. As all are migrants, they lack 'community integration'. As people are from different castes, kinship groups, the integration mechanism is on religious lines giving rise to communalism. This is how it is an area of darkness.

The current process of urbanisation has faced many problems in different parts of India. The most important of these has been the development of slums, in the urban areas. Slum population accounts for a substantial share of urban population in all types of cities in India. Even a planned city like Chandigarh has not escaped slums.

Slums are characterized by substandard housing, overcrowding and lack of electrification, ventilation, sanitation, roads and drinking water facilities. Slums have been the breeding ground of diseases, environmental pollution, demoralization, and many social tensions. Crimes, like juvenile delinquency, gambling, have also increased in number in slum areas.

The National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, has recorded that the emergence of slums is essentially the product of three forces:

- Demographic dynamism of a city attracting more people from the rural areas offering greater potential for employment;
- Its incapacity to meet the rising demand for housing; and
- The existing urban land policies, which prohibit the access of the poor to the urban land market.

Characteristics of Slums

The physical aspects and general conditions of the slums are by and large the same everywhere. The foremost characteristics of slums are:

- Dilapidated and poor houses in slums are made of poor design and scrap materials. These are often raised on unauthorized land.
- High density of population and housing leads to overcrowding and congestion; one room is often used for all practical purposes of domesticating living.
- Lack of public utilities and facilities, such as, drainage, sanitation, water taps, electric light, health centers, common latrines and public parks, etc., are widely observable characteristics of slums.
- The slum-dwellers are functionally integrated with the mainstream of the city life, yet the high incidence of deviant behaviour such as crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug use, beggary, illegitimacy, illicit distilling of liquor, gambling and other social evils are associated with slum areas. It does not mean that all those residing in slums are necessarily associated with such deviant behaviour. The slum areas, socially and physically provide greater opportunity for such kinds of deviant behaviour.
- Though the slum-dwellers are functionally integrated to the city life, apathy and social isolation characterize a slum. It means that largely slums are subject to neglect and apathy of the larger community. These areas are looked down upon and considered inferior. Such a reaction from the larger community

renders slums into social isolation, detached from the city as a whole. Under these circumstances, the slum-dwellers find it almost impossible to improve these conditions through their own efforts.

In every Indian city people migrate from villages to urban centres in search of livelihood. People living in slums are not always poor and marginalised. Looking at the growing cost of urban land, some of the traders and land mafias encroach over the land in slums and rent it out. They wait till the land gets authorised, which usually happens just before the election. Therefore slums operate as a big source of profit for them. People living in particular slums largely come from one area therefore they address each other in primary kinship terms and follow traditional forms of rituals. Therefore slums are evolving into mini cultural Centre.

Slums manifest cultural poverty because people living in slums do not have access to education, political participation therefore they engage themselves in typical forms of activities which are not respected and non-rewarding. Contradicting to this MSA Rao advocate that slums are not the 'centres of cultural poverty' rather they are 'centres of cultural prosperity'. People living in slums glorify, practice and promote their culture and consider outsiders as suffering from cultural poverty.

MS Gore conceded that slums and urban growth are complementary to each other because for the construction of roads, buildings migrant workers come from different pockets of the country. They offer their service at a cheaper rate to the mainstream occupation. He further said that slum provides emotional comfort to people and therefore slum is the lifeline of urbanity, it is the sweet spot on the beautiful face of urban India.

Marxist sociologists point out that the urban centres are developed out of the sweat and blood of poor people for which they do not

get any benefit. They further consider that most of the people living in slums are accused of crime, drug paddling and other kinds of criminal activities. Slums are used as a source of cheap labour by the urban upper and middle class and therefore growth of slums is talking about exploitation between haves and have-nots in modern society.

GS Ghurye in his book "**Sociology of slums**" considers that slums are the other cultures that don't carry commonalities with Sanskrit Hindu culture therefore, protest movement coming out from the slum is questioning the unity and integrity of Indian society.

In conclusion it can be advocated that slums is not a challenge to urban planners, rather it is an area of sociological research that takes into consideration the factors like:

- Functions and dysfunctions of slums,
- Slums and social change,
- Slums and deviance.

Causal Factors

More the industrialization of a city, more the housing problems it has. No doubt industrialization is followed by high population density and lower space for an individual. However, this idea is simplistic because development of slums is the result of interaction of many factors. Some important factors in Indian context are:

1. Migration: Trends of migration in India suggest that rural to urban migration is more because of push factors than pull factors. Rural folk migrate to cities not because there are better opportunities in cities but because there are no opportunities in villages. Unfortunately, there is a scarcity of jobs in cities also. Huge in-migration makes the labour market huge. The migrants either stay unemployed, or get employment at very low wages in the informal sector. On top of this, real estate prices are sky-high in cities. Due to inability to pay rent, they develop squatter settlements on pavements and in public lands. Another point to note is that in India when rural folks migrate, they do not migrate to small towns but to large cities. Already over-populated cities become even more

populated. The municipal corporation's challenge to provide basic amenities becomes all the more challenging.

2. Urban growth: In the early phases of urban growth, the Central Business District (CBD) is populated by urban classes. However, as the population grows, they shift to suburbs (outskirts of a city) and prefer to travel to work. The poor can't afford the cost of travelling; hence all new immigrant population gets concentrated in CBD. While the periphery is less dense, the CBD has high density. The municipalities concentrate on the "posh areas" leaving these overcrowded areas to neglect.

Hence, there are **4 Ps - protection, prestige, proximity and poverty**. The rich shift to posh suburbs because of issues of protection and prestige (crime is low in suburbs), while the poor remain in CBD because of proximity to business areas and general poverty.

3. Governance and Public Policy: Slums are a result of unplanned growth. Slums result when municipal authorities are unable to plan housing projects correctly, or are unable to make the right usage of available resources. For example, if proper urban planning is made, there can be multiple business nodes rather than a single CBD. There are other measures for preventing over-concentration of population in one area over other areas in the city.

4. Slum dwellers: The denizens (person who inhabits a particular place) of slum dwellings are no less to be blamed for the condition of slums. Take the case of Kherwadi slum of West Bombay. Around a hundred families had been settled there by the government and given a good plot per family. But instead of taking advantage of the modern facilities, they built small stingy sheds, rented these out, and turned landlords.

As a result, where a hundred families were supposed to live, now a thousand live. Perhaps this is because slum dwellers have low purchasing power and have to take every opportunity to add on to their income.

Alternatively, this may be because people of India, particularly, those with low socio-economic status, are not civic-minded.

A R Desai and Devadas Pillai, in their work 'Slums and urbanization, 1990' attribute rise in slum population as a failure of welfare state. According to them, though the constitution guarantees various rights, it has failed to provide adequate housing source of livelihood. They suggest a radical solution in the form of nationalization of urban land resources. According to **Gita Dewan Verma** in her 'Slumming India, 2000', slums are not only a material issue, but they are also a moral issue. They reflect the apathy of larger society and the governments. Urban land is used for non-essential glamorous uses like golf courses, leisure parks and farm houses with tacit government support. She also suggests generation of community feeling among those who live in slums so that problems can have long term and sustainable solutions through self-help.

Habitats, to a great degree, determine the social, cultural and psychological development of a person. Slums have led to numerous health, security and economic problems. Subcultures have developed within slums that encourage crime and juvenile delinquency. Anthropologist **Oscar Lewis** calls this sub-culture the '**Culture of Poverty**'. Various socio-psychological effects of this culture of poverty are:

1. Society level: The culture of poverty is a vicious circle which leads to deprivation, dependency, low achievement motivation, deviant goals, and finally more poverty. Slums are the "breeding grounds" of social problems such as drug addiction, crime, alcoholism and child labour.

2. Family level: Childhood is a well-marked protected stage in life. In slums, due to high population density, and the prevalence of so many social problems, children are exposed to what they should not be ideally. Early exposure to drug use, sex, slangs, household violence etc. have a negative impact on their psyche. Since whole family stay in single room

households, children may be initiated to sex pretty early. Also, there is relatively high degree of abandonment of women and children. Wife-beating is common.

3. Individual level: Denizens of slum experience inferiority complex, helplessness and fatalism. They are extremely dependence prone and have low levels of aspiration.

Slum Area (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956 seeks to clear slums and properly rehabilitate the dis-housed population. Integrated Housing & Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) aims at combining the existing schemes of VAMBAY (Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana) and NSDP (National Skills Development Programme) for having an integrated approach in ameliorating the conditions of the urban slum dwellers that do not possess adequate shelter and reside in dilapidated conditions.

Government is integrating various slums development programs under one umbrella of JNNURM. BSUP (Basic Services to the Urban Poor) and IHSDP has been made component of JNNURM for better implementation of plan and governance.

RAY (Rajiv Awas Yojana) is another ambitious programme. As regards reforms under RAY, security of tenure through entitlement will be critical for the overarching aim of promoting inclusive cities. Accordingly, Central Assistance under RAY will be predicated on the condition that States/UTs assign legal title to slum-dwellers over their dwelling space. For the cities not covered under RAY, slum rehabilitation would be taken up under JNNURM-II, Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) 1976, Property Rights to Slum Dwellers Act 2011.

The problem of slums is widespread in overweight cities of developing countries. The prime concern is not that slums are breeding ground of crime and diseases, rather that slum residing do not get a good quality of life. A multi-pronged approach backed by motivated administration can tackle this

problem.

4. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN MODERN INDIA

Social movements in modern India were mostly the result of British rule and the impact caused by the rule on Indian society. Different sections have launched their movements but there was also a movement for national regeneration and future independence of India.

MSA Rao- Social movements are such collective actions which involve a large number of people; a specific enunciation of the objectives and goals of the movement and they must have an ideology to follow. Rao said movements are always organized and have divisions of labour, framed rules and a leadership. India has experienced a whole array of social movements involving women, peasants, dalits, adivasis, and others. **Gail Omvedt** in her book Reinventing Revolution points out that concerns about social inequality and the unequal distribution of resources continue to be important elements in these movements.

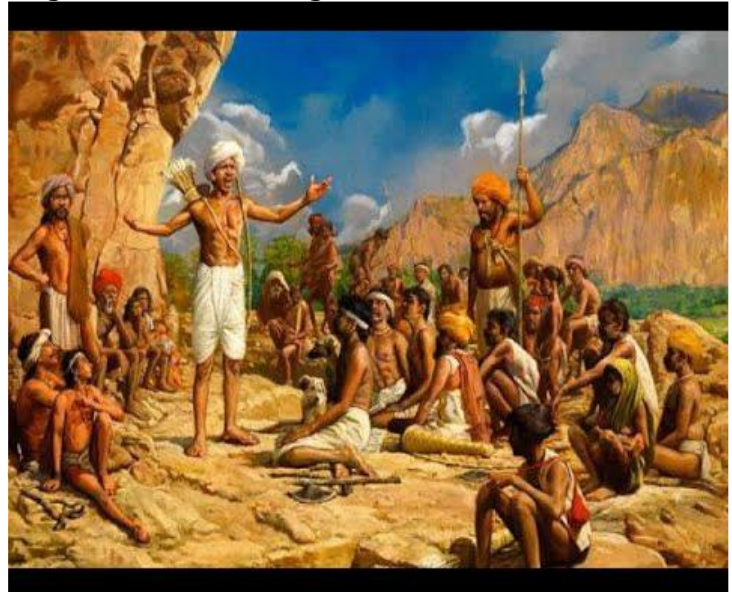
In India in all the times social movements happened but the modern Indian movements were different. The modern movements occupied a modern space and they organized the movements on the basis of articulated principles. Movements are popularly classified in terms of its participants, its purpose and sometimes the time-period it belongs. In this chapter we will focus on the following Movements:

1. Peasant & Farmer Movements
2. Women Movements in India
3. Dalit Movements
4. Scheduled Caste Movements
5. Ethnic Movements
6. Identity Movements
7. New Movements

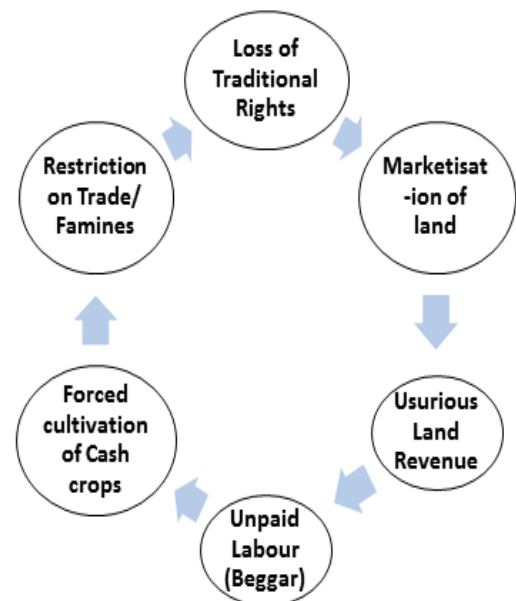
PEASANT AND FARMERS MOVEMENTS

Peasant Movements in India have started in

large numbers during the British rule:



- Before the British rule, there was a large Mughal consensus and compromise to not collect the land revenue at the time of drought/famine.
- The reasons which led to peasant movements during the British Rule:



There are three questions/controversies on Indian Peasant Movement:

Who is a peasant	Who can wage a successful movement	Can Indian peasants wage a successful movement
<p>Some scholars say even landlords are the peasants and some other say landless labour related to land is also a peasant.</p> <p>Sunil Sen said peasant is one who own more or small land and who is directly or indirectly engaged in agricultural operation.</p>	<p>DN Dhanagre and Kathleen Gough said middle peasant is the potential radical peasantry.</p> <p>The rich peasants and landlords are not concerned with all and the small peasants whose number is very high does not have the retention capacity; they are poor and can't resist for long.</p>	<p>Eric Stokes and Barington Moore (Jr.) said that the Indian peasants cannot launch radical movements.</p> <p>DN Dhanagre studied Telangana movement and Kathleen Gough studied Tanjore movement and resented this view. Gough said that peasants were capable of throwing away feudal Maratha Rissaldars from power in Tanjore.</p>

Peasants are conceptually different from the farmers. Farmers grow farm produce for the commercial purpose and have considerably larger landholdings whereas peasants have smaller landholdings. Peasants may sometimes also do part time labour during leaner season. There are multiple meanings have been given to the term peasant:

- **DN Dhanagre**- many classes and sections are linked to agricultural activities. In general discourse all of them are called peasants.
- **Kathleen Gough**- peasants are divided into many classes and they have unequal interests also.
- Peasants in different regions have different socio-economic conditions due to different modes of production in different regions like feudals, semi-feudals or capitalists and often their problems are also different.
- Overall, peasant movements address the problems of actual cultivators, agricultural labourers and other agrarian artisans.

According to **AR Desai** peasants were the second group to join middle -class intelligentsia to join the National Movement. He said that movements prior to independence were predominantly peasant movements and post independence, they were primarily farmer's movements. Shift from peasant movements to farmer's

movements also underscores a shift to capitalist mode of production.

The peasant movements in the pre-independence era were not radical movements. They wanted to have benefits for some sections of peasantry like **Champaran Satyagraha of Gandhi, Bardoli movement of Patel** etc. Mostly these movements were against the British. It was only the Telangana movement which was against the Nizam and local landlords. In 1946, **Tebhaga movement of Bengal** was for the 2/3rd share for the sharecroppers.

Evolution of Peasant Movements:

1. Pre-Independence

- 19th century:
 - In 1858, in Bengal the **Indigo Movement** started, which was against a kind of tenancy system where the farmers had given their land on lease to the company or the independent traders from England. They wanted to free their lands and it was quite successful.
 - In the 1870s, in Mumbai presidency there was a movement of the Maratha peasants, popularly known as the Deccan riots. These movements were basically against money lenders.
- 1900-1947: There were many movements in this time frame:
 - **Gandhi's movement in Champaran** in

1916- this was the movement of Indigo farmers to free their lands from Indigo cultivation.

- **Bardoli movement of Sardar Patel** in 1921- the movement of peasants for the remission of land revenue.
- The decade of 1930-40 was a decade of serious peasant movements. Such movements were led by leftists like **Karyanand Sharma** or some independent activists like **Swami Sahajanand**.

These movements were against three grievances:

- i. The peasants wanted control over fallow land which was given under the custody of the landlords.
- ii. Many peasants were unhappy with the tenancy laws as these laws placed the peasants in a very weak position.
- iii. There was the movement of sharecroppers who wanted 2/3rd share of produce from the field whereas earlier almost 50% was taken by the landlord. In this phase the question of peasants was linked to national cause and the peasant's movements acquired a national character. An important role in linking the cause of peasants and agricultural labourers to the wide national movement was played by the Communist Movement.

In 1936, the **All India Kisan Sabha** was founded as an umbrella organization for peasants. Leadership was from within and was also provided by the national leaders like **Swami Sahajanand** and **NG Ranga**. According to **Dhanagre**, leadership of these movements came from the urban middle class and politicians. These movements were properly organised and represented the interests of farmers and small landlords.

In 1946 probably the most revolutionary peasant movement in India in 20th century occurred-

Telangana Movement and Tebhaga Movement.

2. Post-Independence

After Independence the peasant movements took place in 3 phases:

● **Phase I**

It was for sharecropping and tenancy rights. They were not sufficiently strong that they could become the basis for land reforms for example the Bargadar movement of Bengal.

● **Phase II (Pre-Green Revolution)**

The movement of poor peasants for government land was launched. This became quite successful in Kerala and other parts of the country.

● **Phase III (Post-Green Revolution)**

Faulty land reforms and unequal benefits of the Green Revolution had created discontent among the peasants and started a movement for the land by the landless people.

- After this, there was the beginning of a revolutionary movement of the peasants. **PN Mukherjee** who has studied the **Naxalbari Movement** said that might not have spread to the large area but their ideology wanted to change the whole Indian state. Even today, the **Left Wing Extremism (LWE)** is the movement of peasantry. Leadership was provided by the Middle class intelligentsia, CPI cadre, as well as from within the movement. Their methods often turned violent and they went for guerrilla attacks, parallel courts and the burning of records. These violent methods were not so successful but they were instrumental in persuading the government for a rethinking on its developmental strategy.
- There were also many farmers' movements which fall under the category of New Farmers Movements. They were driven by the interest ideology and wanted to extract maximum benefits out of the state policies. Another stream of the movement led by the middle class intelligentsia and social workers which clubbed the peasants' cause with the other social issues, eg. **Narmada Bachao Andolan**.

Impact of Peasant Movements:

Peasant movements in India other than changing the land relations also have strong 'social impacts':

- Religious and caste differences decreased but the class division's increased.
- Wherever they occurred, they changed the

caste relations and the caste distinctions were mostly overcome.

- Cultural assimilation increased- as in the areas where they occurred, the collective participation through singing and dancing increased.

- With the peasant issues, other issues like poverty, linguistic issues clubbed together.

Farmer's movements differ from peasant movements in terms of their organisation, purpose and ideology:

- Farmers' movements are largely a post.

Green Revolution Movements.

These have emerged in prosperous regions of the country and are also called the new farmer's movements. Farmers' movements have a wider resource base than the peasant movements.

- Farmers' movements address the issue of relative deprivation and the peasant movements address the issue of absolute deprivation. In a globalised and capitalist mode of production, interests of farmers and peasants are at crossroad.

- There is generally an exploitative and subordinate relationship between peasants and the capitalist farmers.

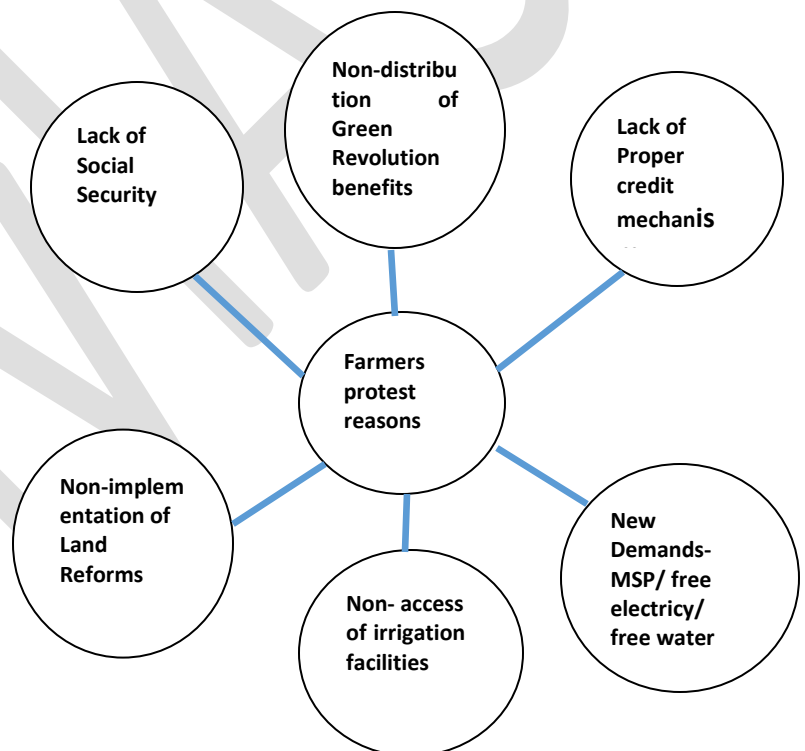
- Farmers' movements are more organised and act like interest groups.

- The nature of protest between farmers' and peasants movements is different; farmers' mobilisations have been generally non-violent in contrast with the peasant movements. Farmers' movements use new means like **Rasta roko, Rail rook** etc. to force the government to agree on their demands.

- **TK Oommen**- the issue of farmers and peasants mobilisation have changed drastically over time. No longer there are calls for the Land to the tiller by the leadership of the farmers' movements.



Farmers mobilised basically on the following issues in postindependence-



- The Green revolution and its success made agriculture profitable for a rich section of farmers. Now they have their specific demands from the state- free water/electricity, subsidised fertilisers and rise in MSP. **Dhanagre** considers them as class movements and essentially capitalist's movement.

- Earlier these farmer movements were led by the communists but later they formed their own organisations like- Bhartiya Kisan Union.

- **Vibha Arora** said that the farmers' movements in post Independent India emerged in the late 1970s and peaked in the late 1980s. They occasionally resurfaced in 1993 and 1997 as the Green revolution increased the productivity but the prices remained low.

- They pressured the government and got their demands fulfilled like loan waivers, free electricity, free water, subsidised seeds and fertilisers, increased MSP etc.

- Farmers' groups are taking their movements to the global level and have mobilised support for the agricultural issues in WTO, retail FDI, Contract Farming, GM seeds etc.

In recent times, farmers' protests have increased their frequency. The nature of unrest and agitation has changed. The agitation is all about getting the remunerative prices.

- Indian farmers are not able to face global market fluctuations.

- Small farmers are more in crisis but almost each farmer is facing the problems of high input cost and low output cost.

- Institutional loans are still not available to the farmers, so they are bound to take loans from the moneylenders at high interest rates. Lack of proper prices to their productivity lead them in a debt trap and in the end they are forced to commit suicides.

The farmers' agitation has the ability to affect the power structure of the country. By looking at the situation, the government has increased the MSP by 1.5 times; schemes like **PM KISAN Yojana** have been launched to provide financial help to the farmers. Also other schemes like **PM Fasal Bima Yojana** to provide insurance to the farms, **PM Krishi Sinchai Yojana** for providing the irrigation benefits and **e-NAM** to connect all the mandis have been launched. According to **MS Swaminathan**, to solve such a crisis there is a need for '**Special Agricultural Zones**' (SAZ) and '**Evergreen Revolution**' instead of Green Revolution.

WOMEN MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Women in India have been dominated and suppressed throughout ancient and medieval history. They were traded, enslaved and given as gifts. The impact of British in India created a rift between many sections of the society including women. In the 19th century itself women like Savitri Phule took the lead as a courageous and able lady. She ran schools and shelter homes for the women and girls.



According to **Ramchandra Guha**, women in India started thinking about themselves probably around 1886, when **Tarabai Shinde** wrote a book in Marathi '**Man and Woman**', where she had discussed how the cultural and structural impediments resist women education and advancements. In India's independence struggle women participated in large numbers. Women like **Annie Besant** and **Sarojini Naidu** have led the movement by leading the Congress sessions.

- The early 20th century saw the growth of women's organisations at a national and local level.

- Women's participation in the large numbers came in the Swadeshi Movement. Women came in large numbers on the streets to burn the clothes and succeed the Boycott movement.

- According to **Shekhar Bandopadhyay** in the 1930-32 **Civil disobedience movement** more than 30,000 women participated. This was probably possible due to the popularity of Gandhi Ji.

- The 1935 act provided the voting rights to

the women.

- The **Women's India Association** (WIA) (1917) All India Women's Conference (AIWC) (1926), **National Council for Women in India** (NCWI) (1925) are ready names that we can mention.

- While many of them began with a limited focus, their scope extended over time. For instance, the AIWC began with the idea that 'women's welfare' and 'politics' were mutually exclusive.

- In 1940s, there was the start of independent women activities when some women formed the **Family Planning Association of India** in 1949. **Laksmi Rajvardhan** of the Family Planning Association of India demanded for the males to adopt Family planning.

- Independence of India gave a push to the efforts for the women 's causes.

There was a boost of the initiatives for the education of women. In the decade of 1950-60 the number of women graduates in Indian crossed lakhs. In 1952 women got the Universal voting rights.

In 1971, a committee was formed of 17 women Parliamentarians to study the status of women in India. The report published in 1974 with the title- challenge of Inequality. The report alarmed the political class of India-there was only 10% women literacy, only 4% were having the central government jobs and 70% of the marriages were done only under 18years. The year **1975** was declared as the- '**Year of Girl Child**' and the decade of **1975 to 1985** as the '**Decade of Girl Child**'. Programs launched by giving priority to the girl child.

In the mid-1970s there was a renewal of the women's movement in India. Some call it the second phase of the Indian women's movement. While many of the concerns remained the same there were changes both in terms of organisational strategy as well as ideologies.

- There was the growth of what is termed as the autonomous women's movements. The term 'autonomy' referred to the fact that they were 'autonomous' or independent from political parties as distinct from those women's organisations that had links with political parties. It was felt that political parties tended to marginalise issues of women.

- Apart from organisational changes, there were new issues that were focused upon. For

The 70s also witnessed the emergence of the 'autonomous' women's movement. During the mid 70s, many educated women took to radical, active politics, and simultaneously promoted an analysis of women's issues. Groups of women came together in many cities. Among the incidents that played catalytic roles in crystallising these meetings into organisational efforts were the Mathura rape case (1978) and the Maya Tyagi rape case (1980). Both were cases of custodial rape by the police, and led to nationwide protest movements...

Source: Ilna Sen "Women's Politics in India" in ed. Maitrayee Chaudhuri *Feminism in India (Women Unlimited/Kali, New Delhi, 2004) PP. 187-210.*

instance, violence against women. Over the years there have been numerous campaigns that have been taken up.

- Important legal changes have taken place thanks to the campaign by the women's movement. Issues of land rights, employment have been fought alongside rights against sexual harassment and dowry.

- There has been recognition too that while all women are in some way disadvantaged vis-a-vis men, all women do not suffer the same level or kind of discrimination. The concerns of the educated middle class women are different from the peasant women just as the concern of the Dalit woman is different from the 'upper caste' woman.

An analysis of the practices of violence against women by caste would reveal that while the incidence of dowry deaths and violent controls and regulations on the mobility and sexuality by the family are frequent among the dominant upper castes- dalit women are more likely to face the collective and public threat of rape, sexual assault and physical violence at the workplace and in public.

Source: Sharmila Rege "Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position" in Maitrayee Chaudhuri ed. *Feminism in India (p.211-223) (Women Unlimited/Kali Delhi 2004)*

Different incidents which gave a new wave to women movements:

- In the 1980s a Panchayat Dalit activist, **Bhanwari Devi** of Rajasthan became the victim of upper caste male patriarchy. She was raped and murdered for questioning child marriages and working for women literacy. This incident attracted support from many classes of the women mostly for the middle class. This led to the cases to the High Court by the women bodies. In the end it resulted for the **Vishakha Guidelines**, which is now compulsory to follow in the working establishment.



Nirbhaya Movement was the Climax of Middle class women movements in India, where a new law was enacted. In reality the women's movement has come a long way. This movement was a movement of transition for women from a 'commodity to identity'.

Maitrayee Chaudhury pointed out that patriarchy is deeply embedded in Indian society. She has divided the women movement in three different stages:

- Another important incident was the **Roop Kanwar incident**. She committed suicide by performing Sati. This attracted reactions from many quarters against the inhuman practices towards the women. According to **Maitrayee Chaudhuri** this was the important year for the women movement in India.
- After 1987 middle class women activists became active in opposing the incidents related to women atrocities.
- Many incidents after that like Mathura Rape incident attracted large women support.
- The infamous **Nirbhaya Case** had attracted attention from the many quarters but it was the students and middle class women who have come in large numbers with the demand of stricter laws to protect women.

Stage I (1901-47)	Stage II (1947-87)	Stage III (1987 onwards)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women realized that their interests are different from the other sections of the population. • For realizing and enjoying their rights first of all they have to participate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now women realized that they themselves Are responsible for most of the atrocities they are facing. • They are responsible for their own discrimination as they have not opposed all the discrimination they are facing in the society. • In this stage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every atrocity on the women got the attention of the Women activities. • Movement became strengthened as different laws like Domestic Violence Act etc. had passed for the support of the women to protect from the atrocities of society. • Movement is

and raise their voice.
• They got their right to vote without any large struggle.

there is the resurgence of their consciousness which helped them to fight for their stand

now for the right of the women as a different identity in the society.

Indian women have come a long way and they can go far ahead. The women movement in India is a success story. But it has been suffered from many weaknesses also:

- i. The mobilization is still low for the movements. Large number of women's participation is still lacking for the movement. For example in the recently held movement by the Domestic Workers from Noida, the participation was from only the lower class women and not the middle and upper class women.
- ii. Women movements have still been acquired with the questions of caste, religion, class and ethnicity. For example for the movement against **Triple Talaq** the large participation was of Muslim women only and that to from the middle and lower class. For the movement of women rights in the Local Body election in Nagaland, the participation was from the women of Nagaland and not from the other corners of the country.
- iii. Women movements also face structural impediments like tradition, culture etc.

The caring of children prevents women from being the part of a movement for the larger time. As women have advanced with their agenda for equal rights in the society, there is also a cultural resistance to the movements from patriarchy. Veena Majumdar said that the Hindutva ideology has gone against the pace of the women movement. They are not ready to give Indian women rights like the western women enjoy. Against the different acts passed for the welfare of the women there is now an opposition with the voice that these laws have been misused against the

males. Religion is still an impediment to women independence; we can see that from the opposition to the Supreme Court verdict in the **Sabarimala Case and Triple Talaq case.**

Women movements in India have launched movements in their own ways, they tried to organize themselves with the formation of different organizations; political parties have their different wings to support the initiatives of the women cause. The women organization is not strong as they lack resources and political support is not so vocal on the ground. They have still not got seats reserved for them in the Parliament and their representation is also very miniscule there. Women in India do not have the capacity to change the power structure but surely they can affect the power structure as done in Bihar.

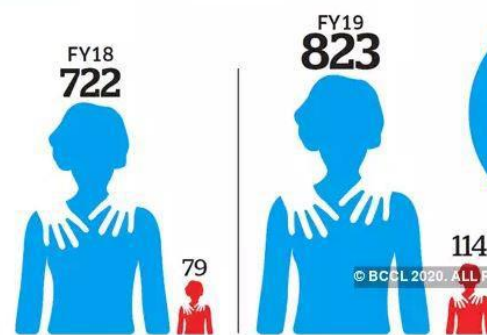
#MeToo and INDIA

It was on October 8, 2018, when the long-awaited wave of the global #The MeToo movement finally hit Indian social media. A sexual harassment complaint by Tanushree Dutta against fellow actor Nana Patekar resurfaced wherein Dutta said Patekar acted inappropriately while they were shooting a film in 2008.

Me Too at India Inc

Sexual harassment cases reported by BSE 100 companies

Cases received Cases pending



41
Wipro reported the biggest jump in no. of complaints in FY2019, y-o-y

500%
The maximum percentage increase in cases in FY19 y-o-y, reported by UltraTech, Indian Oil Corp and Hindalco

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Source: ComplyKaro

In a matter of days, more disclosures came in the form of Twitter threads and Facebook posts. As one woman's note urged others to speak up, the insidious pattern of silence

broke instantly, by (mostly) women who've been sexually harassed and assaulted by (mostly) men in powerful positions. Since then, the list of sexual harassment allegations against prominent figures in India has grown. The well-known names came from Bollywood, the journalism and media industry, and even politics.

Impact of the movement:

- An analysis by ComplyKaro Services, an Indian provider that helps companies and organisations comply with legal obligations; found that among the top 100 Bombay Stock Exchange companies, there's been a 14 per cent increase in reports of sexual harassment within a year.
- During the movement, it's was seen that name shaming become far more effective than the formal routes of justice (that of going to the police station and filing a criminal complaint under the Sexual Harassment Act).
- The year also saw the biggest rise in complaints with the National Commission for Women — from 570 in 2017 to 965 in 2018.



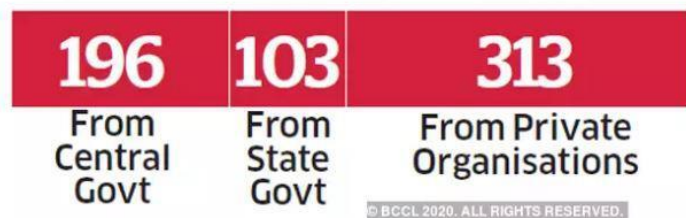
Source: Ministry of Women & Child Development in the Lok Sabha, Feb 2019

- Some organisations have gone beyond what the law mandates, putting in place genderneutral policies against harassment, and rules against same-sex harassment.
- Among the industries that saw several women speak out against men in power who had allegedly abused them was cinema. There

is a shift in how the industry views harassment, says a founding member of **Women in Cinema Collective (WCC)**, set up earlier in Kerala.

- There have also been defamation suits filed against women who have spoken in the movement, for example former Union minister MJ Akbar sued journalist Priya Ramani.
- In publicly listed companies, while there has been an overall rise in complaints, the data on the BSE 100 also threw up two trends that are of concern. One is the increase in pendency, or the time taken to resolve cases. The data also shows that 14 companies employing thousands of people have reported no case of sexual harassment since 2015-16.
- The fear of being falsely accused has become more pronounced among male executives.
- It has also been said that it would lead to the decrease in the recruitment of the women employees.
- In sectors employing blue-collar workers, even less has changed. In the garment industry in Bengaluru, for example, which employs over 5 lakh workers, 80% of whom are women, activists say internal complaints committees overwhelmingly side with the management.
- Culturally the movement has brought changes by talking about women rights. There is a slow movement towards a culture that is striving towards gender equality and attempting to break away from sexist trends. There are more films being made with female protagonists in the lead today, which has, in turn, encouraged actresses to hike their fees to what they rightfully deserve.
- The movement has been seen as having a social impact also. It's is believed that the voice of the movement will also raise the issues of abuse faced by the Dalit women and lower class women.

612 Total complaints registered via SHE-Box, an online complaint management system, between July 2019 and 2017, when it was launched by the Ministry of Women and Child Development



Source: Ministry of Women & Child Development in the Rajya Sabha, July 2019

- The movement has political impact also. Voices have been raised to make the women protection laws more stringent. Maneka Gandhi proposed to set up a committee with senior judicial and legal persons as members to look into all issues emanating from the #MeToo campaign". Apparently her ministry has created a women-friendly environment that provides a safe space for women to register their complaints directly and even anonymously, via the "She Box" (shebox.nic.in), which provides singlewindow access to every woman, irrespective of her status at work.
- The movement has also an economic impact. Lot of the movie projects stopped because of the allegations. Security related initiatives have increased in the companies etc.

DALIT MOVEMENT

Social movements of Dalits show a particular character. The movements cannot be explained satisfactorily by reference to economic exploitations alone or political oppression, although these dimensions are important. This is a struggle for recognition as fellow human beings. It is a struggle for selfconfidence and a space for

self-determination. It is a struggle for abolishment of stigmatisation, that untouchability implied. It has been called a struggle to be touched.



- Dalits are those castes and groups who engaged in polluting works. They were not allowed to live in the proper village settlements. It refers to those who have been broken, ground down by those above them in a deliberate way. There is, in the word itself, inherent denial of pollution, karma and justified caste hierarchy. **Herbert Risley** the Census Commissioner in 1901 called them **exteriors**.
- They were called **untouchables**, **Pancham** and many other terms. For the first British gave them some special benefits. BR Ambedkar after his return from England formed a '**Depressed Class Association**' and **Dalit** was the literal translation of the depressed.
- The word Dalit is commonly used in Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati and many other Indian languages, meaning the poor and oppressed persons. It was first used in the new context in Marathi by **neo-Buddhist activists**, the followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar in the early 1970s.
- The word Dalit became famous with the start of **Dalit Panther Movement** on the lines of **Black Panther Movement** of America. In Travancore the Dalit Movement started as **Adi Movement** but this was also not successful. Later **Jyotibha Phule** in Maharashtra tried to unite the backward class movement with the Dalits movement but was not successful, but his works made aground for the Ambedkar to start a movement for the Dalits.

- Dalit movements got their success with Ambedkar. He started a journal **Bahiskrit Bharat** and talked about the Dalit emancipation.
- Ambedkar launched Temple entry movements and movements for the opening of public amenities (wells, schools etc.) from 1927-29.
- He gave a new life to the **Mahar movement** which was going in the Maharashtra for the Dalit's advancement. He led the **Satyagraha campaign** at Mahad in 1927 against the ban on the use of water from a lake. Ambedkar led a group of people and drank water. The largest Satyagraha took place in 1930 at Nasik. It was organized by Dr Ambedkar and local leaders.
- In 1928 Ambedkar represented a memorandum on the behalf of a Dalits to the Simon Commission. During round Table Conferences he was the representative of the Dalits.
- **Ambedkar** wrote a book '**Annihilation of Caste**'. In this he talked about the attitude of the upper caste people regarding their social reform movements to change the conditions of the Dalits. According to Ambedkar the Upper Caste is interested only in the capture of power and in social reforms.
- In **Riddles of Hinduism**, Ambedkar talked about the Hindu religion and said that this religion is responsible for the status of Dalits in India.
- In 1942 Ambedkar formed '**All India Schedule Class Federation**' to fight for the Dalits cause.
- The Republican Party of India replaced the All India Scheduled Castes Federation in 1957. During 1957-59, all- its leaders focused their efforts on acceptance of the genuine demands of the Scheduled Castes, and when not successful they often protested. Its leaders such as B.K. Gaikwad, B.C. Kamble, Dighe, G.K. Mane, Hariharrao Sonule, Datta Katti, etc., were elected to the Parliament in 1957 where they raised such issues.

Dalit Movement after Independence followed four different ideological platforms:

1. Gandhian Ideology

Gandhian ideology tries to unite Dalits with the larger Indian society and caste system. He gave the name '**Harijan**' (God's child) to the Dalits. He worked a lot for Dalits including support to the Temple entry Movements etc. After independence Congress followed Gandhi's ideology to support the Dalits. But this ideology has been less supported by the Dalits. They consider themselves as a different identity from the Hindu caste system.

2. Hindutva Ideology

This ideology wants the Dalits to be the part of a larger Hindu religion. This has been followed by the right wing political organisations to increase their support base in Dalits. This has helped the Dalits to be a part of mainstream Indian political spectrum but due to ideological differences this has not been popular among the Dalits.

3. Communist Ideology

This ideology has been famous among the Dalits but most importantly followed by the **Left Wing Extremists (LWE)**. They had wanted to unite the Dalit in their war with the state. They have got their support base in the tribes and Dalits. More of it the younger generation of the Dalits is more attracted towards the Communist ideology as they realise that their situation is not going to change until through the state's measures.

4. Ambedkar's Ideology

This ideology has the larger backing in the Dalits. They believe in Ambedkar's way of achieving their status and identity in the society. According to Ambedkar the situation of the Dalits can only be changed if they are part of the political spectrum and get power in their hands. This ideology has been used by the '**Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)**'. On the basis of Ambedkar's ideology BSP have been able to garner a larger support base among the Dalits. They have in-fact been successful in making government in Uttar Pradesh.

Dalit Panther Movement

The most important Movement for the Dalit discourse is Dalit Panther Movement. The movement was started on the lines of Black Panther Movement of the USA. The Dalit Panthers emerged in an atmosphere where there seemed to be no group or party that appeared to be genuinely involved with the problems of Dalits.

- The sense of grievance and of being historically wronged persisted among the Dalit masses in post-colonial India, and the Dalit Panther movement used this sentiment to win popular support for its activities.
- In Maharashtra, Dalit Panthers represented a grass-roots revolt against the reluctance and mendicancy of the leadership of the Republican Party of India. It was part of the angry young men's protest that had been gathering momentum in many industrial towns where Dalits were facing unrelenting atrocities.
- It was not only fashioned on material and economic issues, but was animated by a desire to gain respect for the community; little wonder then that Dalit poets and writers were prominent in providing an intellectual leadership to the movement.
- Since its inception, the Panther Party was based on the ideology of Dr Ambedkar and was quite

radical in nature. Their radical nature is due to the impact of Communist ideology on them.

• The movement is still confined to urban centres with majority of the Dalits concentrated in rural areas remaining untouched. Of late, the party has extended its focus outside Maharashtra and is trying to build up an all India Dalit Panthers Organization by opening a number of branches in various states. Achievements of the Dalit Panthers are as follows:

- They started a debate on Dr Ambedkar's ideology.
- They made popular the term "Dalit", in preference to terms such as "Harijans" and "Untouchables".

• They were able to create a counter culture and separate identity.

- They raised their voice against the unjust caste system.
- They compelled the government to work for the Dalit emancipation.
- They contributed immensely towards Dalit literature.

• They captured the imagination of the younger generation, projected a militant image through their tactics of confrontation.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

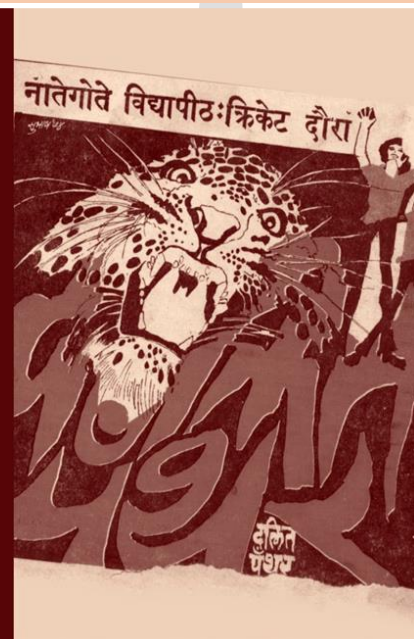
Bahujan Samaj Party was founded by Kanshi Ram in 1984. In 1984, it was formed to chiefly represent the Dalits, and claims to be inspired by the philosophy of Dr Ambedkar. With the demise of Kanshi Ram in 2006, Mayawati is now the undisputed leader of the party. It was started as an organisation named as BAMCEF (Backwards Adivasis Minorities and Schedule Caste Employees Federation). This has been the basis for the BSP. BSP has worked hard to unite Dalits under one political symbol and has been responsible to remove the Congress's influence among the Dalits. They have also spread their base outside the UP.

DALIT PANTHER founded 1972

Dalit Panther was a militant Dalit (Untouchable) liberation movement inspired by the Black Panther Party and Black Power activism.

Founded in Bombay, members organized against casteist repression and murder.

BLACKDESISECRETISTORY.ORG



...the anti-caste movement which began in the 19th century under the inspiration of Jotiba Phule and was carried out in the 1920s by the non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and then developed under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar had characteristics of all types. At its best it was revolutionary in terms of society and redemptive in terms of individuals. In partial context, the 'post Ambedkar Dalit movement' has had revolutionary practice. It has provided alternative ways of living, at some points limited and at some points radical and all-encompassing, ranging from changes in behaviour such as giving up eating beef to religious conversion. It has focussed on changes in the entire society, from radical revolutionary goal of abolishing caste oppression and economic exploitation to the limited goals of providing scope for members of Scheduled Caste to achieve social mobility.

But on the whole...this movement has been a reformist movement. It has mobilized along caste lines, but only made half hearted efforts to destroy caste; it has attempted and achieved some real though limited societal changes with gains especially for the educated sections among Dalits, but it has failed to transform society sufficiently to raise the general mass from what is still among the most excruciating poverty in the world.

PRESENT STATUS OF DALIT MOVEMENT

Dalit Movements have been increasing in the country; movement in Una Gujarat, Dalits movement going in Maharashtra, Dalits movements in Universities in JNU and Hyderabad University. The present Dalit movement has changed its way of reaction for the movement. Earlier the demands were of dignified human status, parity with others. But the present demands are not for removing discrimination and suppression but the demand for 'power'. They purely believe in Ambedkar's ideology and according to them their situation can only be changed by having power in their hands.

- a) The present day Dalit movement has been more articulated in intellectual form. It has been seeing more articulation in higher educational institutes.
- b) They have realized themselves as a different identity and they see their interests as different from the larger society.
- c) There is a movement in the educated Dalit youths for a new kind of assertion.
- d) The atrocities on the Dalits is not new in India but the way Una tragedy and later movement have shaped the Dalit's cause under **Jignesh Meghwani** is different from

the earlier reactions. Meghwani demanded not only equal status but also land for the Dalits.

e) The suicide of **Rohit Vemula** has given a new hope and life to the Dalit movement. The educated Dalit youth have been leaving their jobs and colleges to fight for the Dalit cause. These Dalit movements for the rights of Dalits have been started in almost every University in the country.

f) Intellectuals like **Sukhdeo Thorat** has starting to provide a new intellectual support base to the Dalit movements.

g) **Badri Narayan** said that this articulation of Dalit interest and the movement of Dalit youths is radical in nature.

h) The new phase of Dalit movement has tries to unite itself with the tribals and minorities.

Today's Dalits movement is different from the earlier ones. They are now not ready for any compromise other than power in their hands.

BACKWARD CLASS MOVEMENT

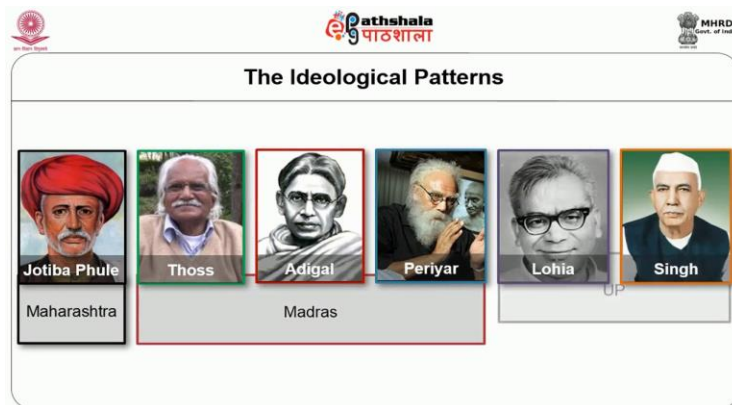
The term 'Backward Classes' has been in use in different parts of the country since the late 19th Century. It began to be used more widely in Madras presidency since 1872, in the princely state of Mysore since 1918, and in

Bombay presidency since 1925. From the 1920s, a number of organisations united around the issue of caste sprang up in different parts of the country. These included the United Provinces Hindu Backward Classes League, All-India Backward Classes Federation, All India Backward Classes League. In 1954, 88 organisations were counted working for the Backward Classes.

M.S.A. Rao, classified Backward class Movements into four kinds of variations which could be distinguished on the basis of structural cleavages and manifest conflicts.

1. The upper Non-Brahmin castes (Reddy, Kamma)
2. The second kind of Backward Class Movement hinges around the cleavages within the category of Non-Bahaman castes. It was between the upper castes and the intermediate and lower castes Hindus. (For ex. in North India the conflict was between Thakurs, Rajputs and Bhumihar Brahmins on the one hand and the intermediate and lower castes such as the Ahir and Noniyas on the other).
3. There was the opposition between certain Non-Bahaman castes on the one hand and the depressed classes on the other.
4. The fourth type of movement was a tribal movement.

In the 19th century, Pune and Kolhapur (Maharashtra) provided leadership to the emergence of backward castes movement in India. One of the first leaders of Christian missionary education was Jothiba Phule of Poona who came from among the Shudra caste of gardeners. Mahatma Jotiba Phule, who was the first to raise the voice of the downtrodden classes against orthodoxy not only in Maharashtra but in the whole of India. Phule (1827-1890) is known as the father of the non-Brahmin movement in India.



- He advised the Shudras and **Ati- Shudras** to close their ranks, take up the struggle for education and against Brahminical oppression.
- He founded the "**Sathyashodak Samaj**" (Society of Truth Seekers) in 1873 to liberate the Shudras and Ati-Shudras from religious and mental slavery.
- He built up the preconditions of a grass-root movement of the Shudras and Ati-Shudras for the abolition of the caste system itself. His work fostered a sense of identity among the socially backward masses such as Kunbis, Malis and Dhangars. Phule's movement gained ground even in rural areas. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, some sections of the dominant Shudra castes in Madras presidency like **Vellalas** were clearly on the rise challenging the position occupied by the Brahmins in public life.
- It was followed by protest movements among even non-dominant Shudras or untouchables against the ritual and civil disabilities they were subjected to over centuries. For instance, the untouchable **toddy tappers of Madras** Province called **Nadars** organised their association called '**Nadar Mahajana Sangam**' and led a series of protest movements against Brahmanical orthodoxy.
- As early as 1874, they even made an attempt to enter the great **Meenakshi Temple of Madurai**, hitherto confined only to caste Hindus. It was followed by many such attempts in subsequent years. During the same period, in Kerala, **Sri Narayana Guru**

set a silent revolution against traditional and hierarchically graded society in motion.

- Though initially started as a movement to remove the unnecessary customs and traditional evil practices prevalent among the **Ezhavas**, it produced results, which eventually changed the face of the social, political, economic and religious life of Kerala as a whole.
- With the dawn of the twentieth century, other non-Brahmin communities of **Kerala like Nayers** too formed their organisations in the line set by **Swami Narayana Guru**.

Formation of the Caste based Organization:

- The process of the formation of a constituency and the making of the common political identity was facilitated by the emergence of multiple caste associations and caste federations among the low-castes all over India.
- Initially they demanded entry into temples, prestigious caste names and honourable occupations and designations in the census etc. eg. The case of the Yadavas and Noniyas of North-India, Vanniyakula Kshatriyas and Nadars of Tamilnadu illustrate the same.
- With the penetration of liberal and democratic ideas the caste associations began to shift from sacred to secular goals- places in the new administrative and educational institutions and for political representation.
- Their pattern of protests and movements changed and they formed a new organisation and leadership pattern suitable to their new demands and objectives.
- The modern means of transport and communication have helped them in broadening caste consciousness and a new level of unification at the regional level and in some cases at the national level- some Castes like Kammas, Reddis, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Nadars, Ezhavas, Marathas, Nayers etc. built strong organisations at the regional level. Some caste associations forged countrywide links amongst similar caste-clusters such as the Rajputs, Thakurs, Kayasthas, Yadavas, Jats etc.

- The lower castes took to another strategy to secure and safeguard their interests by establishing common fronts of the backward castes, first at regional levels and later covering the entire country.
- In Madras, several non-Brahman castes formed the Justice Party in 1916. In Uttar Pradesh several backward castes came together in 1929 and formed Uttar Pradesh Hindu Backward Classes League.
- There was the formation of **Triveni Sangh in Bihar** four years later through the joint efforts of Yadav, Kurmi and Koeri Sabhas.
- These caste federations or fronts were weak because of their differing ideologies and weak organisational structures.

In the 20th Century

- The inauguration of the Indian Home Rule Movement in 1916 gave rise to attempts by non-Brahmins to secure a more influential and assured place in public life under the leadership of Shri **Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur** state in Bombay Province and of **Dr. T.M.Nair** and **Sir P.Chettiar** in Madras Province.
- **E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker** in 1925 organised the '**Self-Respect Movement**', designed as a Dravidian uplift endeavour, to expose Brahmin tyranny.
- With the transfer of power from British to Indians and the introduction of suffrage and the promise of reservations in government jobs opened up new possibilities for the Backward Classes to assert their claims to power in the arena of democratic politics.

According to **M.N.Srinivas**, the Non-Brahman movement of the present century differs from earlier movements not only in regard to scale and intensity but also as to ideology. The speeches of the Non-Brahmin leaders in Madras particularly the 20th of this century reveal the influence of the liberal and radical thoughts of Western Europe. The Non-Brahmins leaders asserted that they were as good as the Brahmins and that they wanted the British rulers to give them preferential treatment for a time in

order that this could become an established fact.

- Later in 1953 a Backward Classes Commission was appointed by the Central Government with **Kaka Kalekar** as the chairman. In 1955 it reported 2,399 communities as collective victims of so-called backwardness. It recommended reservations as well as development initiatives for the Backward Classes. But its recommendations were not accepted by the Parliament.
- The protest from the **AJGAR group** (Ahir, Jat, Gujjar and Rajput) started to have its effect in the Indian political arena. This grouping was earlier formed as the peasant group by Chotu Ram. Under leaders like Charan Singh it became one of the faces of the Backward Caste Group.
- **Janta Party in 1979**, appointed Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of B. P. Mandal. It explicitly recommended the adoption of "caste as a criterion" and identified 3,248 castes or communities comprising 52.4 percent of the population of India. Later the recommendations of the committee regarding reservation (in deference to the legal limitations only 27 percent reservation was recommended by) were accepted in late 1990s. According to Yogendra Yadav it was the watershed event for the Indian Politics. In the recent times Backward Classes movements have been started in many states; like **Patidars in Gujarat, Jats in Haryana, Gujjar in Rajasthan and Marathas in Maharashtra** etc.
- According to **Manvendra Singh** in an EPW article, this is the movement for capture of power. These Backward classes have their representatives in the legislature but not in bureaucracy. They want to have a hold in Bureaucracy also so that laws for their advancement and development can be easily implemented.
- From the past many years the condition of Indian agriculture has not been remunerative. Most of the backward class belongs to the agricultural category and hence this slowdown in agricultural growth has also impacted

them. The new generation belonging to these classes does not want to be concentrated in agriculture but a permanent solution for their employment. Hence, there is a lot of protest for the reservation in jobs and educational institutes at par with the OBC reservations.

- The recent phase of movement of these classes has been many faces from violent to non-violent:
 - The movement of Jats of Haryana and Patidars of Gujarat has been very violent in nature. In Haryana it had gone out of control and taken the form of large scale riots. The Army had been called off to control the riots.
 - In Maharashtra on the other hand the Maratha reservation protest took the form of '**Mook Morchas**' i.e. silent protests.
- In the path to fulfil their demands of reservations these protest groups are directly challenging the political establishments and have been threatening the establishments with time-lines of their future course.
- These classes have now been uniting with each other to make a larger group and representing their demands to the government.
- Due to vote bank politics and the role of caste in the Indian politics, the respective state governments and even the centre have been accepting their demands irrespective of Judicial limitations on the reservation.

The Backward Class Movements have certain inadequacies:

- It has not been able to unite all the people belonging to that class. The poor and the weak have not been able to unite themselves with the movement. For ex. In Maharashtra the Mook Morchas have less participation from the poor belonging to the Marathas. **Sri Rupa Bannerjee** has said that the caste movements have not been to unite all the people belonging to that caste.
- These movements are sectarian movements and lack ideological support. This is the reason most of the Backward Class Movements have been affected by nepotism and dynastic patronage. The Backward Class Movements have been the most successful and powerful movements in India despite their weaknesses.

But their presence is not felt all over India. These movements have a limited impact in the states of Orissa, Assam etc.

Difference between the Backward Class Movement in the South and the North:

1. While the Backward Class Movements of South India were mainly directed against the Brahmins, such a trend was not found in North-India. In several parts of the North, Brahmins were backward in terms of modern education and government employment compared to certain non-Brahmin castes. The 1901 Census of India found that in the socio-economic position Brahmins occupied a lower status in relation to other high castes in the regions of Bengal, Bihar and Bombay. However, in the southern provinces they were on the top.

2. The caste structure in the North-Indian plains (where the people and sanscritic culture made their deepest impact) differs from the South. In the South, Brahmins with only 3 percent of the population were the only representatives of the twice-born castes, which increased their social distance from the rest of the Shudra population. On the other hand, due to the presence of other groups the twice-born castes constitute nearly 20 per cent of the population in this region. This factor displaces the supremacy of the Brahmins as compared to the South.

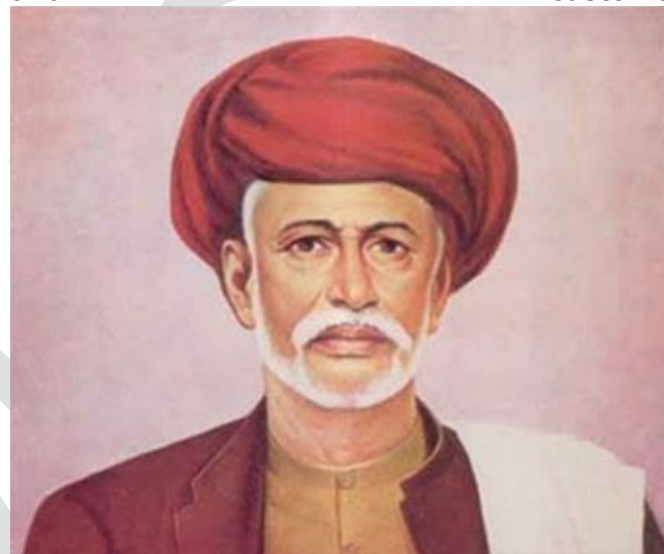
3. The traditions of semi-feudalism in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have enabled the forward castes to keep a tight control over smaller backward castes and prevent them from joining the mainstream of the Backward Classes Movement. This is not so in the South.

4. Fourthly, owing to the longer history and better organisation of Backward Classes in the South, they were able to acquire considerable political clout. Despite the lead given by Yadavas and other peasant castes, a unified and strong OBC Movement has not emerged in the North as yet.

MAJOR BACKWARD CLASS MOVEMENTS

1. Satya Shodhak Samaj

Satya Sodhak Samaj was founded by **Mahatma Jotiba Phule** to liberate the Shudras and Ati-Shudras from religious and mental slavery. In his early life Jotiba Phule was influenced by Islam and Christianity and became critical of the Brahmanical religion and customs.



- He stood not only against Vedas, but also against the Aryan Sanskrit literature. He took his stand on rationality and equality and the entire caste system.
- He provoked the people to revolt against Hindu casteist Gods and humiliating religious practices. He preached for the abolition of false beliefs, meaningless rituals and baseless customs. He advised the Shudras and Ati-Shudras to close their ranks, take up the struggle for education and against Brahminical oppression.
- Phule inspired the lower castes to form their association, create a spirit and work for their emancipation from the age old taboos pertaining to shudras in social status, education and religion.
- To carry out this mission and to free the Lower Castes from the Sanskritic and religious orthodoxy he formed Satya Soadhak Samaj in Poona in 1873. This was formed to bring together all the backward classes on a common platform.

- He did not remain satisfied with the social reforms of the upper caste Hindus instead built up the preconditions of a grass-root movement of the Shudras and Ati-Shudras for the abolition of the caste system itself.
- His work fostered a sense of identity among the socially backward masses such as Kunbis, Malis and Dhangars. He was also a source of inspiration to the movements of untouchables.
- Phule did not link his efforts for democratic revolution with that of national independence, as he thought that the nationalist movement was pitting itself against alien rule without being sensitive to caste oppression.
- Phule's movement gained ground even in rural areas. A band of Sathyashodak Samajists including Krishnarao Balekar, Navale, N.M. Lokhande, Mukundrao Patil, Ramayya Ayyavaru and others organised the movement in different rural areas of Maharashtra.
- Phule also He opened a number of schools, orphanages for the children and women belonging to all castes. He was elected as a member of the Poona Municipal committee in 1876. His writings include Dharma Tiritiya Ratna, Ishara, Life of Shivaji, etc. In 1888, he was honoured with the title of Mahatma. Although Phule's movement was not able to unite the Dalits and the Backward Classes but one can see the dominant ideological influence of Phule on dalit leaders like Gopalbaba Walangker, Faguji Bansod and Dr. B.R.Ambedkar. His ideology helped Ambedkar to start a movement for Dalit emancipation.

2. Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Movement

One of the most influential social movements in modern Kerala is the Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Movement, which is not only for the reforms or Sanskritization but also for the structural change in the caste system, Modernization, rejection of the traditional occupation, accessibility to the education, employment and spiritual life and alternative religion.

- In the 19th century Sri Narayana Guru set a

silent revolution against traditional and hierarchically graded society in motion.

- Though initially started as a movement to remove the unnecessary customs and traditional evil practices prevalent among the **Ezhavas**, it produced results, which eventually changed the face of the social, political, economic and religious life of Kerala as a whole.

- Narayan Guru formulated a new system of thought, oriented towards social transformation, and maintained that the reformation of Hinduism was a necessary adjunct for the uplift of the masses.

- The method Narayana Guru adopted was the process of '**sanskritization**', raising the untouchables to the status of Brahmins. He established a set of religious institutions, in his time he built around 60 temples in Kerala. Beginning with **Aruvippuram**, in all these temples he also started teaching to young students the classics in Sanskrit. He even stressed the importance of secular pursuits like education and building of unions and associations to empower the lower classes.

- He gave a new philosophy, religion, code of conduct and programme of action, which formed the basis of the 'Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana' movement. Narayan Guru gave a new slogan "one religion, one caste and one God for mankind".

- The broadening of this movement came as two new leaders, Dr. Palpu and Kumaran Asan joined Swami Narayana. In the first quarter of twentieth century, Billavas of coastal Karnataka, the counterparts of Ezhavas came under the influence of Swami Narayana Guru. Other non-Brahmin communities of Kerala like Nayars too formed their organisations in the line set by Swamy Narayana Guru. The SNDP movement represented one of the most successful attempts of the untouchable castes to alter the traditional balance of power besides improving their own positions. It also demonstrated that it was possible to remain within the fold of Hinduism and yet escape from the stigma of untouchability. The movement not only paved the way for other social reform movements in Kerala, but also

became forerunners of the leftist movement.

3. Self Respect Movement

E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker in 1925 organised the 'Self-Respect Movement'. It was initiated for Dravidian upliftment and to expose Brahmin tyranny and the deceptive methods by which they controlled all spheres of Hindu life.



Periyar E. V. Ramasamy

- He carried on active propaganda in an attempt to get rid of Puranic Hinduism from the people and wean them away from religious ceremonies requiring priestly service of the Brahmins.
- One of the most critical and significant sociological changes that occurred through the Self-Respect Movement was the enforcement of self-respect marriages in which a marriage could be officiated without a Brahmin priest.
- The movement regarded marriages to be not bound by caste and hence encouraged inter-caste and inter-religious marriages where one should be able to marry a person of their choice.
- The three main ideologies that were propagated through this movement were the breaking down of the Brahminical hegemony, equal rights for the backward classes and women in the society and revitalization of the Dravidian languages which included Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam.
- The movement insisted on equality between men and women, attracted the lower castes

and classes, spread rationalist and egalitarian thinking based on the idea that religion and caste institutions are the core of all evil.

- The Self-Respect Movement wanted to bring a radical transformation in the heterosexual relationships by abolishing gender hierarchy and gender roles. It emphasized the importance of sharing domestic work and child-rearing activities among men and woman.
- The 'Self Respect Movement' was powerfully oriented towards oppressed groups in the caste hierarchy, including untouchables. It adopted concrete measures to involve women and youth.
- The self-respect movement was based on the Dravidian ideology to save the non-Brahmin from the tyranny of Brahmin who were considered Aryans.
- In 1939, Naicker organised the Dravida Nadu Conference for the advocacy of a separate and independent Dravidasthan. Naicker founded the Dravida Kazhagam in 1945. The Dravida Kazhagam under the leadership of Naicker continued to pursue anti-Brahmanism in social and cultural fields.
- The leadership of the movement, which before Independence steered towards the separatist Dravida Kazhagam passed on to Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam after independence under the leadership of Annadurai, supported largely by the lower middle classes.

IDENTITY MOVEMENTS

Identity movements are those:

- a) Which are based on birth based groups like women movement, Dalit movement, backward class movements.
 - b) These are confined to the homogeneous group based on the criteria of birth.
 - c) These movements have typical group based demands So the earlier movements which we have discussed so far are categorized as the Identity Movements.
- Every group has been initiating movements for themselves. Like the Dalits, the Backwards, Tribals, women etc. Some has the

view that the Identity Movements are beneficial for the group and not for the society at large and hence they have a negative character.

- *Brij Ranjan Mani* said that these movements are positive in character as they are helpful for the marginal sections of the society (Dalits, women etc.) for unification and increasing their voices.

- These movements are particularly necessary because they are confined and are related to weaker sections of the society who need empowerment, and in the end this is related to the advancement of the society itself.

There are some limitations related to the Identity Movements:

i. Caste based identity movements have not been able to unite all the sections of that group itself. In most of the Backward Class movements the participation of the poor and weak section remain negligible.

ii. These movements are subject to divisions. In Bihar, the Backward Class movement was fragmented by the creation of MAHA PICHDA WARG among the Backward Classes by the government.

iii. Majority of the Identity movements fall prey to the nepotism and Dynastic Politics, like Samaj Wadi Party in UP, RJD in Bihar, Shiromani AKali Dal in Punjab etc.

iv. The leaders of these parties generally leave the movements for their political opportunities, like most of the prominent Dalit leaders after gaining political power have not provided new direction to the Dalit movements.

v. Some of the Identity movements like women movements suffer from the lack of resources to expand their base.

New movements

New movements - movements which became dominant from the second half of the 20th century are classified into new movements. This includes the feminist movement, pro-choice movement, civil rights movement, environmental movement, free software

movement, gay rights movement, peace movement, anti-nuclear movement, alter-globalization movement, etc. Sometimes they are known as new social movements. They are usually centered on issues that go beyond but are not separate from class.

The new social movements manifest the true nature of contemporary world crisis and prepare for a future desirable society. The role of these people's movements and experiments transcends not only state power, but also the new existing civil societies. They work to transform the state itself to become more humane and responsive to the sufferings. By highlighting the question of ecology, health, gender etc. the new movements have a valuable role to play in enlarging the scope of lower class movements.

- The ecology movements represent a new kind of class struggle; one over natural resources like forests and water Likewise, the women's movement has insistently questioned the downgrading of certain forms of work on sexual grounds, both in the work place and within the household, and the barriers to the entry of women in many professions.

- New social movements are distinctive in so far as they work outside the traditional party system. Much of their membership and force is the reflection of people's disappointment and frustration with the government and their search for alternatives to the political process, political parties and the state.

- These popular movements have some middle-class leadership of middleclass intelligentsia, professionals, teachers, etc. who offer their services as leaders, organizers or advisers to these community and other Third World social movements.

- The new movements have evolved an effective methodology of working with the disadvantaged sections of society which in turn has helped them to grow as an alternative agency of social change. **This is a**

methodology of critical intervention (critique to the government policies at the national and international platforms), **creative action** (theatre workshops, street plays,) **and participatory mobilization** (through social media etc.)

- Another aspect of the methodology of these action groups is the measure of openness, innovative spirit, participatory research and experimental strategies that these groups employ.
- These new social movements do not believe in a rigid hierarchy. Their organizational structure is horizontal in nature. As these organizations do not have a rigid hierarchy, the concept of the leader and the led does not exist. The prominent members of these organizations prefer to call themselves organizers and not leaders.

The new social movements can be seen as vehicles of cumulative change in the social, economic and political fields.

- They are able to generate a new kind of consciousness among the socially deprived about the unjust arrangements in which they are placed and new social sensitivity to dismantle such arrangements.
- In the economic field these movements initiate alternative development strategies and are able to involve the poor and the

In our current information age, social movements around the globe are able to join together in huge regional and international networks comprising non-governmental organisations, religious and humanitarian groups, human rights association, consumer protection advocates, environmental activists and others who campaign in the public interest. ...The enormous protests against the World Trade Organisation that took place in Seattle, for example, were organised in part through internet-based network.

dispossessed in self-reliant development projects.

New Social movements in India

In recent years in India, a number of social movements emerged. These movements are varying in nature and methods. However, they do have a substantial shared ideology.

The following are some shared characteristics.

1. They claim to represent the people – the downtrodden Indian masses.
2. Most of these movements are against the demerits of globalization.
3. They claim to be fighting for oppressed groups such as Dalits and Adivasis.
4. They oppose the state as well as large corporations and large funding agencies such as the World Bank. They also oppose largescale projects. They claim to be fighting for the protection of the environment.
5. They criticize the mainstream industrialized, corporate West.
6. The new movements reject universal indices of measuring development and progress such as GDP, life expectancy, child mortality, literacy rate, etc. Rather, they argue in favor of subjective and local yardsticks.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

India is a country blessed with abundant natural resources; large areas of forests, many rivers which provides livelihood for a considerable number of people including the adivasis. However these natural resources were a favorite prey for the vested interests in the state. They exploited the nature without any social concerns resulting in larger issues of development and displacement. With the endangered nature the dependant population also faces many threats. Many of these threatened communities were also marginalized groups including the poor and adivasis. Their inability to fight against the mighty interests also accelerated the environmental exploitation and degradation. The environmental movements in India were of special significance in the history of new social movements in India. These movements can be classified as new social movements because of their following characteristics:

1. The movements were addressing novel issues like environmental degradation.
2. The movements were massive with the active participation of marginalized groups.
3. The demands of the new movements were novel in the sense that it demanded right to

livelihood and rights of displaced.

4. The environmental movements adapted non-violent strategy.

5. The movements incorporated hitherto unrepresented sectors of society including adivasis, women and the marginalized.

6. Many of the new environmental movements forced the governments to take affirmative policies in the form of new laws and provisions.

The Chipko movement, an example of the ecological movement, in the Himalayan foothills is a good example of such intermingled interests and ideologies. According to **Ramachandra Guha** in his book *Unquiet Woods*, villagers rallied together to save the oak and rhododendron forests near their villages. When government forest contractors came to cut down the trees, villagers, including large numbers of women, stepped forward to hug the trees to prevent their being felled.

- The economy of subsistence was pitted against the economy of profit. Along with this issue of social inequality (villagers versus a government that represented commercial, capitalist interests), the Chipko movement also raised the issue of ecological sustainability. Cutting down natural forests was a form of environmental destruction that had resulted in devastating floods and landslides in the region.

- It helped to slow down the rapid deforestation, expose vested interests, increase ecological awareness, and demonstrate the viability of people power. Above all, it stirred up the existing civil society in India, which began to address the issues of tribal and marginalized people.

- The Chipko movement became a benchmark for socio-ecological movements in other forest areas of Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar; in September 1983, Chipko inspired a similar, Appiko movement in Karnataka state of India, where tree felling in the Western Ghats and Vindhyas was stopped.

In recent years, the movement not only inspired numerous people to work on practical programmes of water management, energy conservation, afforestation, and recycling, but also encouraged scholars to start studying issues of environmental degradation and methods of conservation in the Himalayas and throughout India.

Narmada Bachao Andolan is a social movement consisting of tribal people, adivasis, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists against the Sardar Sarovar Dam being built across the Narmada river, in Their mode of campaign includes hunger strikes and garnering support from noted film and art personalities. Narmada Bachao Andolan, together with its leading spokespersons Medha Patkar and Baba Amte, were the 1991 recipient of the Right Livelihood Award.

Movement Against Endosulfan- The struggle against the use of endosulfan and the struggle for compensation to the victims of endosulfan is one of the most serious social movement in the state of Kerala. Endosulfan is an insecticide, the use of which will badly affect the human life and environment. However this insecticide was widely used by the plantation corporation of Kerala in their cashew plantations in Kasargod. With the people's movement the movement was successful in stopping the spray and compensating the victims.

5. POPULATION DYNAMICS

POPULATION SIZE, GROWTH, COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION

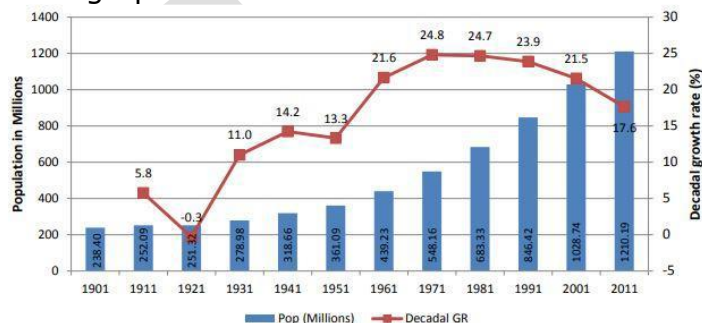
India, like many other countries, has come a long way from the initial days of evolution under conditions of high mortality due to famines, accidents, illness, infections and war, when relatively high levels of fertility was essential for species survival. Over the years, better equipped in dealing with diseases and vagaries of nature, it has witnessed significant increase in life expectancy along with steep fall in mortality. Confronted with Malthusian growth, changing social mores and spurred by government interventions, the population did respond to steps to reduce fertility, but the continued increase in number of women in reproductive age has led to high number of births each year. Consequently, in the world of seven billion people, India along with China already occupies a place in the Billionaire club and is likely to overtake China by 2025.

The second most populous country on earth, India accounts for more than 17 percent of world population with meagre 2.4 per cent of the world surface area.

- As per the 2011 Census, the total population of the country was enumerated at 1,210,726,932 (1.21 billion). There was an increase of 181.96 million persons during 2001–11 in the country. Population size has increased five-fold, from 238 million in 1901.
- In the period 2001–11, India, for the first time since 1921, added fewer people to its population compared to the previous decade.
- As per UN estimates, World population grew at an annual rate of 1.23 per cent during 2000–2010 with developing countries like India registering a higher growth rate. It is now estimated that India will overtake China as the most populous country by 2025–30 despite the fact that the growth rate has slowed down even in case of India. Decadal growth rate in case of India was 17.7 % compared to 21.5 % in the previous decade. The trend in decadal growth rate shows an

upward swing for six to seven decades from the 1900s, barring a brief downward swing during 1911–21. From 1991 onward, a clear downward trend can be observed, which is likely to continue in the future.

- While looking at the trends in population growth in India, it is important to understand the different stages in “demographic



transition.” Demographic transition is a descriptive interpretation of the change that populations undergo from high to low birth and death rates. India, at present, is at stage three of the four stage model* of demographic transition from stable population with high mortality and fertility to stable population with low mortality and fertility, with some of the states/UT's already into stage four.

Typically, demographic transition witnesses four stages or phases. The first stage is characterised by high birth and death rates, resulting in little or no population growth; in the second stage, the birth rate is high, with a decline in the death rate, resulting in high population growth; the third stage shows slower population growth due to a declining birth rate and a relatively low death rate; and the fourth stage is typified by very low population growth due to low birth and death rates.

- The fertility rates have fallen by 2.7 per cent per annum (2.8 to 2.5) over the 2006–10 period—a faster decline than the decline of 1.6 per cent per annum (3.1 to 2.9) in the preceding five years. Despite this steady decline, India has missed and postponed its fertility goals time and again. *Increased use of contraception (51%) has been the major cause for fertility decline in India, followed by*

a pattern of delayed marriage (45%).

- Seven states with high fertility rates are Bihar (3.6), Uttar Pradesh (UP) (3.4), Madhya Pradesh (MP) (3.1), Rajasthan (3.0), Jharkhand (2.9), Chhattisgarh (2.7), and Assam (2.4), of which six belong to the empowered action group (EAG) states. Major states like Bihar, UP, and Rajasthan are likely to achieve TFR of 2.1 by 2030.

Eight states have been designated Empowered Action Group states by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, on the basis of their high fertility and weak socio-demographic indicators. These include Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

- The EAG states have seen a significant fall in their growth rates in this decade (2001–11). UP's growth rate has declined by 5.7 percentage points, and Rajasthan has seen a bigger decline of 7 percentage points.

A rising trend in the contribution of EAG states' populations to the total population of the country (43.4% in 1991, 44.6% in 2001, and 46% in 2011) has been observed. The population share of eight EAG states and Assam is likely to increase from 46.05 per cent in 1991 to 49.70 per cent in 2022, and the population of the EAG states is likely to cross the combined population of all 26 non-EAG states/UTs between 2020 and 2022.

- Birth rate in 2013 decreased marginally to 21.4 from 21.6 in the previous year, with decreases observed in both rural (23.1 to 22.9) & urban areas (17.4 to 17.3).

- Death rate on the other hand has remained at 7(2012-13 comparison) leading to marginal decrease in natural growth rate of population (from 14.5 per thousand in 2012 to 14.4 per thousand in 2013). Infant mortality rate has also declined from 42 to 40 during the period.

- After an all-time low sex ratio (No. of females per thousand males) of 927 in 1991, the sex ratio of India has shown improvement during last two decades. Sex ratio, as per the 2011 census is 943 which is largely

comparable to the best performance (941 in 1961) in last fifty years. , the sex ratio in the age group 0-6 years was about 919 (much lower than the overall national average of 943. Preferences of male child is still prevalent in a large part of the society.

- Population of most of the developing countries including India consists of large proportions of children and persons in reproductive age group. For now and the near future , population projections for India, since it will have a large segment of population in the working age group , with considerably decreased dependency ratio putting it in a position to reap demographic dividend.

- As per results of Census 2011, persons aged 0-6 years accounted for about 13.6 % of total population with the proportion in case of males being 13.8 % and females being 13.2 %.

- *The projected per cent population in the 0–14 year age group shows a continuous decline over a period of time across all the states and India. The north Indian states have a window of opportunity to utilise the demographic dividend, as a large number of working people will enter into the job market.*

COMPONENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

Population growth of a country or state is affected only by natural increase and net (overseas) migration. Natural increase is the easiest to define. It is simply the population growth that arises from the difference between the number of live births and deaths over a specified period. An important influence on the number of births and deaths in a period is the age structure of the population. Changes in population size and structure are dependent mainly on three variables — birth-rate, death-rate and migration.

1. Birth Rate: The birth rate (also called the crude birth rate) indicates the number of live births per 1,000 populations in a given year. Birth Rate is directly related to fertility rate. The Total Fertility Rate is the average number of children that would be born to a woman by

the time she has ended childbearing if she were to pass through all of her childbearing years in conformance to the age-specific fertility rates of a given year.

- The Indian health and family planning (FP) programme works within a sound policy framework. In 1952, India was the first country to launch a national programme, emphasising the need for family planning to the extent necessary for reducing birth rates "to stabilise the population at a level consistent with the requirement of national economy."
- CBR at the national level has declined uniformly, from 36.9 in 1971 to 21.8 in 2011, a decline of 41 per cent in four decades. Among the EAG states, UP and Bihar recorded much higher CBRs, at 28 per 1,000 population in 2011.

- The total fertility rate (TFR) declined to an all-time low of 2.2 in 2017 after being stable at 2.3 for the four years from 2013 to 2016. In the last four decades (1971–2011), TFR declined by 53.8 per cent, and the maximum decadal decline (more than 22%) was observed in the last decade (2001–11). *The indicators known for proximate determinants of fertility include- Age at effective marriage, couple protection rate, and contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR), Education, Violence against women, Economy, urbanisation, effect of religion etc.*

a) Age at marriage	Couple protection rate,	Contraceptive Prevalence Rate-
<p>or entry into sexual union) is one of the proximate determinants of fertility, since it determines the number of women exposed to the risk of pregnancy, thus having a bearing on birth rates, the fertility of a woman, and her health profile. Additionally, women in India are expected to begin childbearing as soon as they are married, which results in high fertility. <i>The mean age at marriage in India is 21.2, which has risen moderately from 20.2 in 2005.</i> The percentage of women married before the age of 18 years is high in India (about 22%) and varies across states. There is a higher probability of higher parities, especially three and four plus, among women who marry early, do not use modern contraceptive methods, and experience infant or child death during their family building career.</p>	<p>represents the proportion of couples currently, and effectively, protected by various Family Planning methods. Couple protection rate in India has increased, from a low of 22 per cent in 1980 to almost double, at 40 per cent, in 2011.</p>	<p>Increased use of contraception (51%) has been the major cause for fertility decline in India. The CPR, as per NHFS surveys, showed that the overall contraceptive use in India for any modern method increased from 36.5 percent in 1992–93 (NFHS-1) to 42.8 percent in 1997–98 (NFHS-2) to 48.5 per cent in 2005–06 (NFHS-3), representing a 0.9 percent average annual increase.</p>

d) Women's education plays a clear and vital role in curtailing fertility. More educated women tend to have a lower number of children ever born compared to less educated or uneducated women, though it is interesting to note that women's education does not seem to play much of a role unless women cross parity two. Bihar, with the highest TFR of 3.2, had the maximum percentage of illiterate women at 26.8%, while Kerala, where the literacy rate among women is 99.3%, had among the lowest fertility rates.

e) Women who experience physical violence, characterising lower status in the house, depict higher fertility or children ever born.

f) The higher the **economic status** the lower the fertility rate. Women from families with a higher wealth index, thus showing a higher standard of living, show a much lower tendency towards getting into the higher parities of fertility rate.

g) Religion also affects the fertility rate. It has been seen that in Muslims, the Maulvis restrict the use of contraceptives to control the pregnancy. According to the study conducted by Ministry of Health Affairs, Muslim women show a significantly higher tendency towards having a larger number of children ever born compared to others, despite controlling for other socioeconomic and demographic factors impacting the number of children ever born to currently married women.

h) The number of children ever born to **rural women** is higher compared with urban women. The fall in fertility has been a welcome change, with implications not just in terms of lowering population growth but also for the development of women and children.

2. Death Rate or Mortality

Death rate is another component of population growth. There are 3 basic measures of death rate- Crude Death Rate (CDR), Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Life expectancy at Birth. Death rate has remained at 7(2012- 13 comparison) leading to marginal decrease in natural growth rate of

population (from 14.5 per thousand in 2012 to 14.4 per thousand in 2013).

- The CDR was very high, over 40 per thousand, during early years of the twentieth century but fell steadily to below 40 in the 1920s, below 30 in the 1940s, and further below 20 after 1960. It has been less than 10 since the 1990s.

- IMR was well over 100 per thousand through the 1970s but the latest figure, for 2011, is 44. Similarly, the Under-five Mortality Rate (U5MR) has declined from over 200 per thousand (one fifth of new born not surviving to the sixth year) to 55 in 2011. Though early childhood mortality has fallen, the level is still quite high, well above that in the developed world, but higher than that in many developing countries.

- The life expectancy in India has increased from a low of 20 years during 1911-20 to over 30 during 1931-40, crossed 40 years during 1951 -60, 50 years in the mid- 60s, 50 years in the mid- 1970s, and 1980s, and 60 in the early 1990s. Broadly, there has been a rise of about 10 years in the expectancy every two decades. The latest data show a life expectancy of just over 65 years, 64 for males and 67 for females during 2006-10.

- Control of diseases, Decrease in IFR, Better Sanitation and Health Services, Improvement in Agriculture, Better transport conditions etc. have led to the decrease in death rate. Since both fertility & mortality have fallen significantly & the population still continues to grow, though at a slower pace, India presently reflects characteristics of stage three countries in the parlance of demographic transition. Though mortality has fallen in India, the level continues to be higher than that in many developing countries. Infant mortality is much lower than in the past, but is not low by today's standards. Of particular concern is neo-natal mortality that has not shown much fall in the recent past. In some sections of society and in some regions of the country, mortality is quite high.

3. Migration

One important facet of study on population is

the study of migration arising out of various social, economic or political reasons. For a large country like India, the study of movement of population in different parts of the country helps in understanding the dynamics of the society better. At this junction in economic development, in the country, especially when many states are undergoing faster economic development, particularly in areas, such as manufacturing, information technology or service sectors, data migration profile of population has become more

- When a person is enumerated in census at a different place than his / her place of birth, she / he is considered a migrant. This may be due to marriage, which is the most common reason for migration among females-or for work, what is the case as generally among males, etc. It also happens that many return to their place of birth after staying out.

- The Migration Report 2019 released by the United Nations has placed India as the leading country of origin of international migrants in 2019 with diaspora strength of 17.5 million. Further, as per the October 2019 report of the World Bank, India remained the top remittance recipient country in 2018, followed by China, Mexico, the Philippines and Egypt.

- According to Census 2011, there were 454 million migrants in India. This had risen by 139 million from 315 million in 2001 in Census 2011.

- Migration in India is basically classified in 4 ways:

- a) Rural to Rural
- b) Rural to Urban
- c) Urban to Urban
- d) Urban to Rural

- People migrate for a better economic and social life. There are two sets of factors that influence migration. The Push factors make the place of origin seem less attractive for reasons like unemployment, poor living conditions, political turmoil, unpleasant climate, natural disasters, epidemics and socio-economic backwardness. The Pull factors make the place of destination seem more attractive than the place of origin for reasons like better job opportunities and living

conditions, peace and stability, security of life and property and pleasant climate.

According to Economic Survey 2016-17, NSSO Data:

- The number of migrants by place of last residence in India was 314.5 million in 2001. The figure rose to 453.6 million in 2011, showing an addition of 139 million, an average of about 14 million migrating every year. *The decadal growth in migration has gone up from 35.5% during 1991-2001 to 44.2% during 2001-11.*

- Less affluent states see more people migrating out while the most affluent states are the largest recipients of migrants.

- Annual inter-state labour mobility averaged 5-6 million people between 2001 and 2011, yielding an inter-state migrant population of about 60 million and an inter-district migration as high as 80 million. The first-ever estimates of internal workrelated migration using railways data for the period 2011-2016 indicate an annual average flow of close to 9 million people between the states.

- Migration is accelerating. In the period 2001-11, according to Census estimates, the annual rate of growth of labour migrants nearly doubled relative to the previous decade, rising to 4.5 per cent per annum in 2001-11 from 2.4 per cent in 1991- 2001.

- In the 1990s female migration was extremely limited, and migrants were shrinking as a share of the female workforce. But in the 2000s the female migration for work not only grew far more rapidly than the female workforce, but increased at nearly twice the rate of male migration. More women are migrating for economic reasons and better employment opportunities.

- Internal migration rates have dipped in Maharashtra and surged in Tamil Nadu and Kerala reflecting the growing pull of southern states in India's migration dynamics. Out-migration rates increased in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and have dipped in Assam.

- NSS 2007-08 reveals that as many as 27% of all inter-state migrants are 20-29 years old. The corresponding figure among those

moving for employment reasons is as high as 32%.

- There is an increase in Family Migration at higher income and skill levels.

According to the Amitabh Kundu 'Mobility in India' report the adult migration is decreasing towards urban areas. The reason can be the decreasing employment opportunities in the urban areas.

Consequences of Migration

Migration affects both the area of origin of migration and the areas of destination of the migrant population. The consequences of migration can be defined as:

1. Demographic consequences: Migration changes the characteristics of the population in regions of out migration and regions of in-migration.

- It changes age and sex composition of population with rate of growth of population. The proportion of old children and females increases due to out- migration in the source region.
- The high sex ratio is found in the source areas because mostly the youthful male population is involved in migration.
- Consequently, these areas are depleted of the youth population and results in lowered rates of births and lower population growth rates.

2. Social consequences: Migration results in intermixing of diverse cultures and leads to the evolution of composite culture.

- It breaks the narrow thoughts and widens the mental horizon of the people. In history, India received migrants from different cultural groups causing different cultures but sometimes migration creates social vacuum and sense of dejection among individuals and people fall in crimes and drug abuse

3. Economic consequences: Migration changes the resource population ratio. If the people are moving from an overpopulated area to an area of under population the result is in the balancing of the resourcepopulation ratio. If the migration is from an area of under population to

over population or optimal populated, the results are harmful to both the areas.

- Migration affects the occupational structure of the population. The population of receiving areas becomes more productive causing dependency ratio in the source areas.

▪ Brain drain is another consequence of migration. Skilled people migrate from poorer states to developed states in search of better economic opportunities. Internationally Indian engineers have been migrating to countries like the USA for better opportunities.

- People migrating out send remittance to their families at home and add to economic prosperity.

4. Environmental consequences: Large scale movement of people from rural to urban areas causes overcrowding in cities and puts heavy pressure on resources.

- It causes haphazard growth of cities and causes slums lacking basic infrastructural facilities such as safe drinking water, electricity, sewage etc.
- Overcrowding is also responsible for any environmental problems of air, water, land and noise pollution, disposable and management of solid wastes.

5. Other consequences: Migration enhances remittances to the source region but causes heavy loss to human resource, in terms of skilled labour. Women remained behind and enjoyed empowerment effects with increased interaction in society including their partnership as workers and decision making of households. In India Feminization of Poverty is because of the absence of men from the rural fields for better job aspects in cities.

POPULATION POLICY AND FAMILY PLANNING

The size of the population, its characteristics, spatial and rural-urban distribution, rate of growth and its determinants decide the quantum, pattern and distribution of consumption and production. It is, therefore, only natural for the state or the government

to be concerned about population. Such concern is most essential for a complex democratic society seeking to eradicate poverty and ensure adequate standards of living for its people.

Evolution of Population Policy in India:

Unlike in the case of several other developing countries, the Indian concern about the relatively high level of fertility or the number of children born to Indian women rather than the rate of population growth reflected a genuine desire to improve the living standards of the people. In the 1940s, the Bhole Committee on Health Survey and Development (1946) and the subcommittee on population set up by the National Planning Committee (1940) favoured the involvement of the government in the promotion of family planning.

- In 1952 India became the first developing country in the world to adopt a policy of governmental efforts to promote a reduction in the number of children born to Indian couples. The early concept of population policy covered both mortality and fertility and did not exclusively focus on fertility. There was also recognition of the need to improve the quality of life of the people by lowering the burden of disease or morbidity, promoting universal primary education and eradicating illiteracy, exploitation and poverty.

- The effective date of the adoption and implementation of a clear family planning programme is often put at 1966, when the 'extension approach' to the promotion of family planning throughout the country replaced the earlier clinic-oriented approach. The earlier approach seeking to set up a large number of family planning clinics was based on the experiences of concerned social workers and professionals in urban areas who were trying to initiate a major programme of social engineering without any precedents to follow.

- A separate Department of Family Planning was set up in the Ministry of Health during the fourth five year plan period. Around the same time, a 'time-bound' target of reducing the crude birth rate from about 39 to 25 per 1000

population in 10 to 12 years was adopted.

- Slippages in the achievement of this goal and the resulting frustration led to the outburst of a special drive during the emergency period of 1975-77 to promote sterilization.

- In 1992, the Karunakaran Committee, set up by the National Development Council (NDC) partly in response to the 1991 Census results, recommended the formulation of a National Population Policy. In the meanwhile, the state governments have begun to follow the suggestion of the Swaminathan group to formulate state level population policies.

- In 1997, to avoid misconceptions and to direct the programme more towards addressing clients' needs, the Target-free Approach was renamed as the Community Needs Assessment Approach, and decentralised participatory planning was initiated. The government has provided broad guidelines for conducting community needs assessment and has given states the responsibility for working out the practical details of implementation. Thus a lot of changes were initiated in the Family planning scenario over the decades and paved a way to face the challenges in reproductive health.

- The National family planning policy adopted in February 2000 further legitimised the paradigm shift to client-based services. The National Population Commission was set up in May 2000. In March 2001, an Empowered Action Group was set up by the Government of India to facilitate focused efforts to promote the Reproductive and Child Health Programme in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal which have been lagging behind in a number of socio-demographic indices.

Objectives of National Population Policy 2000:

The immediate objective of the NPP 2000 is to address the unmet needs for contraception, health care infrastructure, and health personnel, and to provide integrated service delivery for basic reproductive and child health care. The medium-term objective was

to bring the TFR to replacement levels by 2010, through vigorous implementation of inter-sectoral operational strategies. The long-term objective is to achieve a stable population by 2045, at a level consistent with the requirements of sustainable economic growth, social development, and environmental protection.

1. Address the unmet needs for basic reproductive and child health services, supplies and infrastructure.
2. Make school education up to age 14 free and compulsory, and reduce drop outs at primary and secondary school levels to below 20 percent for both boys and girls.
3. Reduce infant mortality rate to below 30 per 1000 live births.
4. Reduce maternal mortality ratio to below 100 per 100,000 live births.
5. Achieve universal immunization of children against all vaccine preventable diseases. Promote delayed marriage for girls, not earlier than age 18 and preferably after 20 years of age.
6. Achieve 80 percent institutional deliveries and 100 percent deliveries by trained persons.
7. Achieve universal access to information/counseling, and services for fertility regulation and contraception with a wide basket of choices.
8. Achieve 100 per cent registration of births, deaths, marriage and pregnancy.
9. Contain the spread of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), and promote greater integration between the management of reproductive tract infections (RTI) and sexually transmitted infections (STI) and the National AIDS Control Organisation. Prevent and control communicable diseases.
10. Integrate Indian Systems of Medicine (ISM) in the provision of reproductive and child health services, and in reaching out to households.
11. Promote vigorously the small family norm to achieve replacement levels of TFR.
12. Bring about convergence in

implementation of related social sector programs so that family welfare becomes a people centred programme.

As a result of the Government's efforts, the successes achieved are enumerated below:

- The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) has declined from 2.9 in 2005 to 2.2 in 2017 (SRS).
- 25 out of 37 States/UTs have already achieved replacement level fertility of 2.1 or less.
- The Decadal growth rate has declined from 21.54% in 1999-2000 to 17.64 % during 2001-11.
- The Crude Birth Rate (CBR) has declined from 23.8 to 20.2 from 2005 to 2017 (SRS).
- The Teenage birth rate has halved from 16 % (NFHS III) to 8 % (NFHS IV).

Research shows that adequate attention to family planning in countries with high birth rates can not only reduce poverty and hunger but also avert 32 percent of maternal and nearly 10 percent of childhood deaths, respectively. There would be additional significant contributions to women's empowerment, access to education and long-term environmental sustainability. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) estimates that 'every dollar invested in family planning saves four dollars in other health and development areas, including maternal health, immunization, malaria, education, water and sanitation'. Thus, investing in family planning is the most intelligent step that a nation like India can take to improve the overall socio-economic fabric of the society and reap high returns on investments and drive the country's growth.

AGEING

Ageing is a process where over time an individual experiences a decline in performance, productivity and health. Traditionally, the care of the aged has been the responsibility of the family. But new trends have emerged to transform family structures which has reduced the capacity of

this institution to serve as the safety net for the less privileged. The emergence of the nuclear family has changed the pattern of life enormously. The institution of family as the shelter for aging is gradually being eroded. Ageing is the natural stage of human life, it brings with it innumerable problems for the people who have grown old. These problems can be distinguished under subheads health; economic, physiological, housing and elder abuse related India faces many challenges in welfare for its elderly population.

- The Indian senior citizen population is currently the second largest in the world after China. According to Census 2011, the senior citizen population is 8.6 percent of the total population. Between 2001 and 2026, because of decline of fertility, the proportion of population aged less than 15 year is projected to decline from 35.4 percent, the proportion of middle (15-59 year) and older ages (60 year and above) are set to increase considerably. With the declining fertility, along with increase in the life expectancy, the number of senior citizens in the population is expected to increase by more than double from 71 million in 2001 to 173 million in 2026- an increase of their share to total population from 6.9 to 12.4 per percent.

According to Economic Survey 2018-19, with TFR reaching low levels and longevity continuing to increase, India's population at the national level and in several states will begin ageing significantly in just a decade from now. The share of India's young, i.e. 0-19 years, population has already started to decline and is projected to drop from as high as 41 per cent in 2011 to 25 per cent by 2041. On the other hand, the share of elderly, 60 years and above, population will continue to rise steadily, nearly doubling from 8.6 per cent in 2011 to 16 per cent by 2041.

Social Transition and its impact on Senior Citizens

Indian society is undergoing rapid transformation under the impact of industrialization, urbanization and

globalization. Consequently Indian traditional values and institutions are in the process of erosion.

- With the rapidly increasing number of senior citizens, compound disintegration of joint families and ever increasing influence of modernization and new life styles, the care of elderly has emerged as an important issue in India.
- Providing care for the senior citizen has never been a problem in India where a value based joint family system was dominant. However, with growing trends towards nuclear family set-up, increasing education, urbanization and industrialization, the vulnerability of senior citizens is rapidly increasing. The coping of the younger and senior citizen family members are now being challenged under various circumstances resulting in neglect and abuse of senior citizens in many ways, both within the family and outside.

Problems of Senior Citizens in India

Senior citizen population faces a number of problems and adjusts to them to varying degrees. These problems range from an absence of secure and sufficient income to support themselves and their ill- health, absence of social security, loss of social role and recognition and the non-availability of opportunities for creative use of free time. The needs and the problems of the senior citizens vary significantly according to their age, socio economic-status, health, living status and other such background characteristics.

a) Health Problems:

It is often claimed that senior citizens are accompanied by multiple illnesses and physical ailments. Besides physical illness, the senior citizens are more likely to be the victims of poor mental health. Decline in mental ability makes them dependent.

- Senior citizens in general and in rural areas in particular are assumed to have some problems like cough, poor eyesight, anaemia and dental problems. There is lack of provision of medical aid, and proper familial care, besides insufficient public health services to meet the health needs of senior citizens.

- Most of the poor old age people have nutritional deficiencies which includes problems like iron deficiency, protein deficiency, calcium deficiency, blindness caused by vitamin A deficiency, anaemia etc.
- Failing health due to advancing age is complicated by nonavailability to good quality, age-sensitive, health care for a large proportion of older persons in the country. In addition, poor accessibility of health services, lack of information, high costs of disease management make reasonable elder care beyond the reach of senior citizens, especially those who are poor and disadvantaged.

b) Economic Problems:

Elderly people face several challenges and one of the most important among those is the problem of financial insecurity. Old age dependency ratio is increasing and it is projected to increase continuously, with higher share from rural areas than in urban areas.

- The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) in its 2006 report revealed that a higher percentage of males in rural areas (32 per cent) are found to be financially fully dependent as compared to that in the urban areas (30.1 per cent). Widows, poor and disabled elderly constitute more disadvantaged among elderly population.
- Elderly women, especially widows, face many disadvantages, like a substantial gender differential exists in the ownership of property and assets and in role and participation in the family as compared to aged men in both urban and rural India, which consequently affects their access to various basic necessities like food, housing and health.
- Pension and social security is restricted to those who have worked in the public sector or the organized sector of industry; however, many surveys have shown that even retired elderly people are confronted with the problems of financial insecurity and loneliness.

c) Social Problems

Sociologically, aging marks a form of transition from one set of social roles to

another and such roles are difficult. However, in modern society, improved education, rapid technical changes and new forms of organization have often rendered obsolete the knowledge, experience and wisdom of senior citizens.

- Once they retire, elderly people find that their children are not taking advice from them. This realization often results in feeling loss of status, worthlessness and loneliness. If senior citizens are economically dependent on children, the problem is likely to become even worse.
- Due to the generation gap the youngsters do not pay attention to their suggestions and advice. Instead of developing a sympathetic attitude towards the old, they start asserting their rights and power. This may create a feeling of deprivation of their dignity and importance.
- Older people suffer social losses greatly with age. Their social life is narrowed down by loss of work associated, death of relatives, friends and spouse and weak health which restricts their participation in social activities.
- Due to loss of most of the social roles they once performed, they are likely to be lonely and isolated. Severe chronic health problems enable them to become socially isolated which results in loneliness and depression.
- A higher proportion of elderly women than men experience loneliness and are dependent on children.

d) Psychological Problems

The common psychological problems that most of the senior citizens experience are: feeling of powerlessness, feeling of inferiority, depression, uselessness, isolation and reduced competence.

- The number of people in old age homes is constantly increasing and also most of the parents are now deciding to live in old age homes rather than living with their children. Nowadays these people are facing problems like lack of care, emotional support and economic support from the family etc.
- Today, children are not willing to take care of their parents, they do not want to spend money on them, they are treating their

parents as aliens, and they do not want to share an emotional bond with parents.

e) Violence against elders



f) Housing Problems

Housing for the senior citizens should be suitable not only to the living pattern which they have established in optimum health, but also to conditions of failing health and illness, commonly associated with later years of life such as, failing eyesight, hearing, slowing and upsurges, diminishing energy and more acute disabilities, such as blindness, forgetfulness etc.

- In this pattern, the housing available to the majority of the senior citizens may be found inappropriate and unsuitable to their requirement.

- Changing lifestyles and values, job culture, various means of distractions like the internet, television, societal shift such as nuclear family structures and redefined priorities have led to increased neglect of the elderly by families or communities, and with this isolation comes in. With it the problem of housing rises again. It is not only a terrible thing but also it leads to a detrimental quality of life.

Older persons are considered as most revered members of the society in our country but treated otherwise when it comes to practical behaviour with older people. The society

should be aiming is to create a world where people do not fear old age as a phase which they consider an inescapable prison but look forward to it as a phase of vacation where they can enjoy and have their loved ones to care of them after decades of having worked so hard and showered their loved ones with care and love. This aim cannot be achieved through administrative means only this requires the people of the society to understand the severity and urgency of the situation to be made known to the masses. The real solutions are not new laws and provisions, the real solution lies with the people themselves. If they start treating the old aged people as they deserve to be treated with respect and love then this problem will cease to exist.

National Policy for Elders

The foundation of the new policy, known as the "National Policy for Senior Citizens 2011" is based on several factors. These include the demographic explosion among the elderly, the changing economy and social milieu, advancement in medical research, science and technology and high levels of destitution among the elderly rural poor (51 million elderly live below the poverty line).

Focus of the policy

- Mainstream senior citizens, especially older women, and bring their concerns into the national development debate. Support promotion and establishment of senior citizens associations, especially amongst women.

- Promote the concept of "Ageing in Place" or ageing in own home, housing, income security and homecare services, old age pension and access to healthcare insurance schemes and other programmes and services to facilitate and sustain dignity in old age. The thrust of the policy would be preventive rather than cure.

- The policy will consider institutional care as the last resort.

- Being a signatory to the Madrid Plan of Action and Barrier Free Framework it will work towards an inclusive, barrier - free and age -

friendly society.

- Recognise that senior citizens are a valuable resource for the country and create an environment that provides them with equal opportunities, protects their rights and enables their full participation in society. Towards achievement of this directive, the policy visualises that the states will extend their support for senior citizens living below the poverty line in urban and rural areas and ensure their social security, healthcare, shelter and welfare. It will protect them from abuse and exploitation so that the quality of their lives improves.

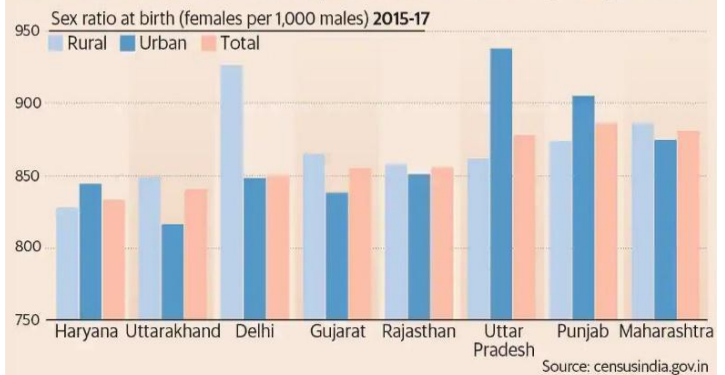
- Long term savings instruments and credit activities will be promoted to reach both rural and urban areas.
- Employment in income generating activities after superannuation will be encouraged.
- Support and assist organisations that provide counselling, career guidance and training services.
- States will be advised to implement the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007 and set up Tribunals so that elderly parents unable to maintain themselves are not abandoned and neglected.
- States will set up homes with assisted living facilities for abandoned senior citizens in every district of the country and there will be adequate budgetary support.

DECLINING SEX RATIO IN INDIA

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The Constitution not only grants equality to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. Women now represent 40 percent of the global labour force, 43 percent of the world's agricultural labour force. Empowering women as economic, political, and social actors can change policy choices and make institutions more representative of a range of voices.

Worst-performing states

With an overall sex ratio of 833, Haryana fares the worst among surveyed states.



Continuing preference for boys in society, for the girl child the apathy continues, the child sex ratio in India has dropped to 914 females against 1,000 males, one of the lowest since Independence according to Census 2011. Declining sex ratio is a silent emergency which cannot be accepted more. The crisis is real, and its persistence has profound and frightening implications for society and the future of humankind.

- As per a study by National Commission for Women; Delhi, Punjab and Haryana may be economically progressive but have a skewed sex ratio compared to other states. Even after immense struggles against gender discrimination a huge gender deficit continues to persist.

- According to the report, "Understanding Gender Equality in India 2012", a joint report by UN and National Commission of Women, Delhi, Chandigarh and Haryana have an adverse ratio though these states are economically quite progressive. The report also noted that the difference between the number of men and women is lesser in rural areas than in urban India, with the former being pegged at 919 women for every 1000 men and the latter 902 per 1000.

- The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) data in 2012 showed that India is the deadliest place in the world for girl children. It found that, for 150 countries over 40 years, India and China are the only two countries in the world where female infant mortality is higher than male infant mortality in the 2000s.

- The data shows that an Indian girl child aged 1-5 years is 75% more likely to die than an Indian boy, making this the worst gender differential in child mortality for any country in the world.

Reasons

a) Sex Selective Abortion: Many studies have shown that Pre Natal Sex Determination is the main reason of low sex ratio in India followed by abortion of female fetuses. Son preference is the main reason for this result. Sex selection and medical technology is misused in India for detecting the sex of unborn child and ultimately for the sex selection, Female fetuses, thus identified and aborted.

Missing Women:

Sen calculated how skewed sex ratios translate into absolute numbers of missing women. His computations permit us to derive the number of additional women who would have been alive in, say, China or India if these countries had the same ratio of women to men as in developed countries, where women and men presumably receive similar care. The majority of missing women are of adult age suggests that excess female mortality across the developing world is not just the result of gender-biased parental preferences. *On continuing son preference, the Economic Survey 2017 updated the Amartya Sen (1990) estimate of 40 million missing women in India (nearly 100 million women were missing in the world) to 63 million.*

b) Violence against females: Crimes against women including dowry deaths, honour killings, sexual violence etc. are also responsible for the low sex ratio. *In a study done by the Centre for Social Research in Haryana, fear of violence is a cause for female foeticide.*

c) Lack of political will: The state of local governments had a lack of will to take serious steps to control female foeticide, only after reaching an alarming state, the government has now taken serious steps.

d) Small family norms: For the sake of small families also parents do not want to more daughters, abortion of female foetus

preferred.

e) Problem of security of girls: As girls are more prone to crimes, problem security of girls is also a main problem of parents.

f) Traditional thought: Females only cause burden on parents may it be financial, social, emotional and mental. Patriarchy always maintains a strong hold on gender inequality. The major barrier in the way towards a balanced gender structure is gender inequality based on socio-cultural issues.

g) Under enumeration of females: Females not have been fully enumerated in the Census.

h) Migration: Males have left their females behind in the rural areas which have skewed the sex ration in urban areas.

i) Sex differentials in Mortality: Females in India are more exposed to the risk of death in younger ages or in child bearing ages. Maternal Mortality rate in India is 122/ lakh live births in 2015-17.

Consequences of Low Sex Ratio

a) Import of girls in other states: The ugly social practice of polygamy has made a comeback in certain areas as well as forcible marriages of widows and purchasing of brides from poor areas. Brides have been imported from poor states like Orissa to Haryana.

b) Crime against women: The shortage of women has led to a sharp rise in violence against them. This has led to a situation where, apart from the ingrained son preference, people don't want girls all the more as they feel that it is difficult to keep them safe. Also the women who produce daughters face much more domestic violence which makes them complicit in getting rid of the girl child.

c) Patriarchy system become so strong: If sex ratio is declined then the patriarchy system became so strong because the less representation of girls in homilies effects the social of women in society.

d) No proper recognition in Family Affairs: If sex-ratio is declined then many problem are created. Women coming from

other states are unable to relate with people around them. Social level of women in society is affected in social functions like marriage or sangeet ceremony in villages due to the language problem, communication problem barriers and cultural differences. So no proper recognition in family affairs

e) Economic Consequences: The economic consequences are grave for this means that a huge proportion of the productive population is missing and also the lack of women impairs the ability of men to work. According to the IMF, women's participation in the workforce to the level of men can boost the Indian economy by 27%.

f) Decrease in Net Reproduction Rate: Decreases in sex ration will ultimately result in the reduction of net reproductive rate as, less women will be available to give birth to the newer generations resulting in the vicious cycle of women problems related to skewed sex ratio.

Rural India is better than the Urban India

Bharat continues to outshine India in the treatment of females. Though the sex ratio in rural India declined from 902 in 2014-16 to 898 in 2015-17, it is still better than urban India's 890. Seven states had a poorer rural sex ratio than rural India's average, while 14 had a lower urban sex ratio than the average for urban India. A large section of Indian society prefers a male child, the affluent more so. People in urban areas are better positioned to exploit the system as they have access to more and better medical facilities. So, they often resort to neonatal tests, although these are banned in India. This allows them to abort a girl child.

Solution of Decline Sex Ratio

Some solutions related to improve the declining sex ratio are:

- In the school no gender discrimination should be followed.
- The laws related to women empowerment like anti-dowry act should be strictly implemented. Strict implementation of law in case honour killing must be followed everywhere.
- Motivation and assistance should be given

to the collective marriage system.

d) Society must break the vicious circle of poverty and female illiteracy.

e) Free and compulsory education for the female child. Beit Bachao- Beti Padhao approach is in the right direction.

f) Finally, behavioural change is required. Mentality of human beings needs to be changed.

g) Economic benefits related to girl child, like Sukanya Samridhi Yojana needs to be encouraged more.

h) Women participation in labour needs to be encouraged more. Financial independence is the utmost necessity to improve the situation of women.

i) Basic health care should be available free of charge, so that parents are not deterred by financial constraints from seeking health care for their daughters.

j) The regional variation is an important thing government schemes need to focus on. Some states have shown much improvement in implementing schemes aimed at reducing the disparity while some states such as Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, and Odisha etc. have been poor performers for a long time. Where the implementation has been to generate some positive results like Maharashtra and Rajasthan, the complaints about the paucity of staff members and equipment at hospitals and health inspectors need to be addressed.

DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDEND AND INDIA

Since 2018, India's working-age population (people between 15 and 64 years of age) has grown larger than the dependent population – children aged 14 or below as well as people above 65 years of age. This bulge in the working-age population is going to last till 2055, or 37 years from its beginning.

Demographic dividend as defined by the United Nations Population Fund means, "the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population's age structure, mainly when the share of the working-age population is larger than the non-working-age share of the population."

- India sits at the helm of this demographic dividend because half of India's current population of over 1.2 billion is under the age of 26 and the median age in India by 2020 is projected to be 29, making it the youngest country in the world. But with huge populations comes huge problems.
- In theory, this increase in working-age population should generate a "demographic dividend" that can power economic growth. However, according to research by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), this will depend on India addressing its declining labour force participation rate.
- This growth will depend on those in the working-age population actually working.
- In their study, *Atri Mukherjee, Priyanka Bajaj and Sarthak Gulati* examine how changes in India's population have influenced macroeconomic outcomes between 1975 and 2017. They find that while overall population growth is associated with lower economic growth, an increase in the working-age population is associated with higher growth. The authors highlight that India's labour force participation rate is declining, especially among rural youth (15- to 29-year-olds) and women. For India to harness the power of its favourable demographics, the authors argue it is critical that this is addressed. **They suggest that India's labour force needs to be empowered with the right skills for the modern economy.**

a) Education is must: Now that the first step of 100% enrolment in primary school is complete, focus must shift to keeping our children in school, and providing a quality education. Emphasis is needed in districts with low scholastic achievement. India's higher education base lags in both enrollment and quality. We lag in research and impact, international outlook, and industry outcomes.

b) There is a need to provide proper nutritional food to the children. India has the largest number of undernourished children. We have one of the highest child mortality rates. To reap the benefits of high demographic dividend there is a need for healthy youth and for that nutrition at the

child level is required.

c) Build expertise in specialised industries with high value-add.

d) Improve labour force participation: Only Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujarat are producing more formal jobs than graduates. India's coverage ratio is barely over 50%. There is an urgent need to provide mass employment as well as opportunities for highly skilled workers.

e) Ensure participation of women: With a forecast of a gradually shrinking workforce, India needs to ensure participation of women to reap the demographic dividend.

f) Improve alternative labour force training modes like vocational and skills training: Higher education is not the only workforce training mode. South Korea, Japan, and Germany have built robust industries, like electronics manufacturing and automobile design, with a highly skilled workforce trained through vocational programs. Meanwhile, China is a great case study in imparting skills to a large population, and providing mass employment in labourintensive industries. India must study these paradigms and deploy the same to build a robust workforce that can be converted into a massive economic and export trade advantage.

The demographic dividend is not available in all the states at the same time. This is because different states have behaved differently in the past and are projected to behave differently in terms of population parameters in future also. The fertility decline across states and regions has been different. Some states, especially in southern India, started seeing the fertility decline earlier than other states, especially the states in the hinterland. When all the states in India are mapped in terms of fertility levels, one sees a predominantly youthful north and a maturing south and west. The states will have their demographic dividend opportunity at different times because of the staggered nature of demographic transition. As a result, India will enjoy a longer span of demographic dividend because, as the window closes in some states,

it will open in other states. Fine-tuning the planning and implementation of schemes and programmes by factoring in population dynamics is likely to yield greater socio-economic impact and larger benefits for people.

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS IN INDIA

Although India was among the first countries in the world to develop legal and policy frameworks guaranteeing access to abortion and contraception, women and girls continue to experience significant barriers to full enjoyment of their reproductive rights, including poor quality of health services and denials of women's and girls' decision-making authority.

- Historically, reproductive health-related laws and policies in India have failed to take a women's rights based approach, instead focusing on demographic targets, such as population control.

The Indian Scenario

- Nearly one lakh women die from pregnancy related causes each year
- A fifth of all pregnancies are unplanned
- Of the 4 million infected by HIV/AIDS nearly one million are women
- Over a third of these women are adolescents

- It implicitly or explicitly undermines women's reproductive autonomy through discriminatory provisions such as spousal consent requirements for access to reproductive health services.

- Despite a national law penalizing marriages of girls below 18 years of age and policies and schemes guaranteeing women maternal healthcare, in practice India continues to account for the highest number of child marriages and 20% of all maternal deaths globally.

- Although India's National Population Policy

guarantees women voluntary access to the full range of contraceptive methods, in practice state governments continue to introduce schemes promoting female sterilization, including through targets, leading to coercion, risky substandard sterilization procedures, and denial of access to non-permanent methods.

- In addition, although abortion is legal on multiple grounds until 20 weeks of gestation and throughout pregnancy where necessary to save the life of the pregnant woman under the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (MTP Act), 56% of the 6.4 million abortions estimated to occur in India annually are unsafe and result in 9% of all maternal deaths. The broad components of reproductive health care are:

- Accessibility to good quality family planning services, counselling to suit the reproductive needs of individuals and couples, and prevention of unwanted pregnancy.
- Provision of safe motherhood services and infant care during and after pregnancy.
- Provision of services related to infertility.
- Prevention and management of the consequences of unsafe abortion.
- Prevention and management of reproductive disorders, including sexually transmitted disease, and prevention of HIV/AIDS.
- Empowering adolescents by giving them reproductive and sexual health information and education in a comprehensive and sensitive way.
- Ensure regular and uninterrupted availability of contraceptives, and quality family planning services, including counselling to individuals and couples.

The Right to Sexual and Reproductive Security
The Right...

Everyone has the right to a life free of gender based

The Right to Equality in Reproductive Decisions
The Right...

Everyone has the right to choose whether and when to

violence. Everyone has the right to protection of physical and mental integrity.

The Reality...

Women are subject to violence in many forms: rape, sexual harassment, incest, female foeticide, pre-natal sex selection, trafficking, prostitution and dowry related domestic violence. Most of these go unreported due to social stigma, lack of support and an insensitive criminal justice system.

The Remedy...

Create fora to educate communities, especially women, on their rights regarding sexual security and provide sensitive, fair, and early redressal through the legal system.

marry and start a family. Marriage should be with the full, free and informed consent of both individuals. Everyone should have the right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children.

The Reality...

The legal age for marriage is 18 yrs. Two third of girls marry below the age of 18. This deprives girls of their childhood and forces them into a role for which they are biologically and psychologically unprepared.

The Remedy...

Design and implement policies and programmes that empower and enable women to exercise their choices.

that can be used effectively to disseminate information on Reproductive Rights. Sensitizing representatives of the media to Reproductive Rights will result in a paradigm shift in the way the Rights are perceived in India, and thereby create an active forum for debate, discussion and progress.

CHILD AND INFANT MORTALITY

With the birth of 25 million children each year India accounts for nearly one fifth of the world's annual child births. Every minute one of those babies dies. Nearly 46 per cent of all maternal deaths and 40 percent of neonatal deaths happen during labour or the first 24 hours after birth. In 2017 it was revealed that India's under five mortality rate had fallen by 66 percent since 1990. This is a considerable amount of progress, though still falls short of current goals. Currently the mortality rate stands at 39 deaths per 1,000 live births, far higher than the SDG of 25 deaths per 1000 births.

Although India has shown significant progress in the reduction of child mortality, now the focus needs to be on reaching the most marginalized, with special focus on the girl child.

India is the only large country in the world where more girl babies die than boy babies (U5MR). The gender difference in under 5 mortality is 3 percent.

Fostering gender equality and further reproductive rights requires:

- Effective enforcement of laws relating to reproductive rights, such as the Child Marriage Restraint Act (1978) and the Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques Act (1994)
- Sensitization of law enforcement agencies
- Constant review and revision of existing laws from a gender perspective.
- Both government and civil institutions must become more accountable for protecting rights.
- Documentation of the violation of rights.
- Education in the field of human rights and alliances between concerned institutions.
- India has a large and vibrant media network

Reasons

- Differences at the birth itself:** In many cases, girl new-borns are denied their right to proper care especially in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Despite the availability of free service, less than half (41 per cent) of admissions to the SNCUs are of girls. In many cases, girl new-borns are denied their right to proper care especially in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Despite the availability of free service, less than half (41 per cent) of admissions to the SNCUs are of girls.
- Poverty:** A major factor believed to influence the rate of infant mortality is

poverty, resulting in the lack of nutrition to the mother and child.

c) **Low birth Weight:** Low birth weight is the leading cause of neonatal death, which drives up the under-five mortality rate. Low birth weight can be caused by many factors. Foremost among these are poor nutritional intake during pregnancy and a lack of healthcare, both before and during the birth.

d) **Mother's Health:** In India, marriage before 18 years of age are conducted. The female is not mentally or physically prepared to give birth to a child, resulting in infant mortality. Lack of nutrition to mother at birth time

e) **Lack of Healthcare:** In India, there are great disparities in the levels of access to healthcare. A UNICEF report notes that 'newborn deaths are difficult to address with a single drug or intervention – they require a system-wide approach.' It identifies 'increasing access to affordable healthcare' and 'improving the quality of that care' as being 'critical'. Lack of access to healthcare both during and after the pregnancy can have severe consequences to the health of the child.

f) **Diseases and Lack of Vaccination:** Around 3.6 million episodes of the disease occurred in children under five over the course of a year in India. This was revealed during the last large scale study of underfive pneumonia, conducted in 2010. More recent records indicate 178,717 children below the age of five died due to pneumonia. Immunisation coverage in many areas remains low. This limits the benefits the entire population receives from vaccination.

Ending preventable child deaths can be achieved by providing immediate and exclusive breastfeeding, improving access to skilled health professionals for antenatal, birth, and postnatal care, improving access to nutrition and micronutrients, promoting knowledge of danger signs among family members, improving access to water, sanitation, and hygiene and providing immunizations. With the anticipated "Modicare" – India's potential new health

insurance scheme – on the horizon, infant mortality rates could potentially alter significantly. The National Health Protection Scheme (NHPS) seeks to provide healthcare coverage to around 100 million economically vulnerable households.

6. CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Neither society nor social problems are static. Social problems are closely linked with social structure, ideologies, values, attitudes, institutions, power, authority and interests of society. The process of social transformation brings about change in these different aspects of social life and side by side generates new social problems.

'Social transformation' is a broad concept used to indicate social dynamics. The ideas, conveying the meanings of evolution, progress and change on the one hand and the meanings of development, modernisation and revolution, on the other, are incorporated within the concept of transformation.

Social transformation and social problems are closely linked with each other. Society is not static but the dominant groups in society sometimes want to perpetuate their hold over society and protect their interests by repressive methods. Thus, in a negative manner, if the process of social transformation is suppressed, it generates new social problems. On the other hand, if the process of social transformation is taking a natural course, the society faces the problems of adjustment during the transitional phase of the decline of the old system and the emergence of a new system.

CRISIS OF DEVELOPMENT- DISPLACEMENT, ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND SUSTAINABILITY

Development is a procedure of arranged institutional change to achieve better alteration between human needs and goals at one side and social plans and projects on other side. It is translating economic progress into better living conditions for people in society. It is declaring war on poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, inequality, irrationality and oppression prevalent in society. It aims at not merely uplifting the weak, the under privileged and the disadvantaged people but also at improving the quality of life of all citizens.

- *Development is a procedure of social change. Development additionally requires assets such as capital, innovation, and supporting infrastructure.*
- Development is a systematic process in which there are four major stages which include assessing needs of people in society, introducing some structural changes in society, making institutions responsive to people so that they

serve not few selected individuals or groups but benefit all sections of society and associate people with decision making process i.e. taking planning to grass root level.

Development envelops social, economic, political and cultural procedure of progress in human societal order. Current ways to deal with development support frequent large scale change of natural and built in environments. The development activities, such as dams, commercial enterprises, streets, irrigation system, pipelines, and transportation system and energy assets go for creating and supporting both agriculture and industrial growth, bringing about expansion of both national and per capita incomes. However, the developments of infrastructure and commercial enterprises have led to displacement of large number of people.

- Development has made across wide spread inequalities in society while dissolving customary sources of employment, uprooting people from their long establishments.
- It additionally formed a consumer culture bringing about exhaustion of natural resources, increased economic dependence on outside financial and innovative organization and diminished political autonomy of host society.

There are certain important indicators which determine development of any region such as change in level of living, elimination of poverty, expansion in education, increase in level of employment, social justice which means equal distribution of opportunities, to uplift the weaker group, providing security against various contingencies of life, improvement in social welfare amenities, reducing disparity, safeguarding environment as well expansion of programme involving both qualitative and structural changes.

In developing countries, the scale of development related population displacement has grown rapidly over the past few decades due to the compelling need for infrastructure to meet the demand of fast growing population. As the developing countries have to provide the basic amenities to the people, investment in infrastructure is expected to shoot up over the next couple of decades. As the investment in infrastructure grows, the challenge of solving "**resettlement dilemma**" may also become bigger.

Some of the major perspectives on development which are mentioned below:

1. **Economic Growth Perspective**
2. **Human Development Perspective**

The indicators, which have been identified to measure level of human development includes life expectancy, literacy rate, birth rate, death rate and infant mortality rate. India's position is very sad as it ranks 129 out of 189 countries of the world.

3. **Social Development Perspective**

The idea of social development is comprehensive of economic advancement however varies from it in the sense that it emphasizes the advancement of society in its totality- including economic, political, social and cultural aspects.

- Social development and economic development are mutually complimentary processes wherein the progress in one is the necessary condition for the progress in other.

4. **Sustainable Development Perspective**

Alarming conditions of environmental degradation, ecological imbalance, air and water pollution as well as energy crisis forced scholars' world-wide to contemplate about an approach to development which would minimize these threats. This led to the emergence of concept of sustainable development. The term Sustainable Development was authored in the paper "Our Common Future", published by the Brundtland Commission.

- Sustainable Development is the sort of development that addressed the issue of the present without bargaining the capabilities of future era to address their own issues.
- Amid the 1990s, Development Induced Displacement rose as a noteworthy concern and a challenge to the sustainable economic development and strength of monetary administrations and approaches. The worry emerged as a result of sensational rise in development induced displacements in the 1970s and 1980s reinforced for the most part with difficult and deplorable results in resettlement experiences.
- A corresponding retaliation to public policies and economic regimes in the form of protests, campaigns and resistance develop, scrutinized the power of policy framers and planners at diverse levels. The creating obstacles and feelings of resentments requires fresh insights into the life of affected individuals.
- Sustainable development should enhance the prosperity of people over time. A sustainable

society is a well articulated society with productive learning and the capacity for mutual self-help.

Development induced displacement is caused due to decision of Government to acquire land for the development or decision of state to change the use of land owned or changes in the use of land owned by state machinery or by introduction of some new restrictions on current use of land. This issue is currently being debated in the context of development versus

Displacement is a multidimensional phenomenon of which physical movement is one of the most critical consequences. Nonetheless, it not only limits itself to physical relocation, but also lessens the life quality of the communities to sub human conditions as well as affects multiple aspects of life, covering economic, social and cultural spheres.

Internally displaced people are those "persons" who have been forced or obliged to flee from their home or places of habitual residence in particular, as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situation of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural as well manmade disasters, and who have not crossed the internationally recognized state border.

displacement. Displacement refers to not only those who are forced to physically relocate in order to make way for the project and its related aspects but also includes those who are displaced from their resource base and livelihoods.

- Project affected people are group of persons who are forced to leave their lands or their possessions as a result of development process. It include the landless, seasonal farmers, the fishermen, those engaged in work of art, culture and handicrafts etc.
- Displacement is not just physical transfer of displaced people but is associated with social and economic consequences that disrupt the lives of people. As a result the affected population suffers from mental trauma and other social issues.
- *Displacement needs to be redefined in view of emerging concerns about resettlement and rehabilitation. The definition should focus on change in norms of compensation and calculation of non –monetary items. It is equally important to recognize the customary*

rights and use of common property and natural resources. Compensating to displace people should consider reconstruction of livelihood that has to be the main objective along with ultimate goal of rehabilitation.

- Most uprooting has been involuntary with no significant participation of the affected masses in the preparation and execution of development task, including the 23 resettlement and rehabilitation aspects.

Causes of Displacement

Displacement may result from environmental degradation to natural disasters and man-made disasters to internal conflicts. Implementation of development projects, outflow of migrants and external forces can also result in displacement.

The following are the causes of displacement:

1. **Natural disasters** force many to leave their homeland. They move out of their region because of earthquakes, cyclones, floods, and droughts. They are called disaster displaced persons.
2. People who get displaced because of **man-made disasters**, like gas disaster in Bhopal.
3. People get displaced from their habitats due to **wars, civil unrest and social conflicts**. They become refugees. For ex. Migrants from India to Pakistan and vice versa during partition in 1947.
4. Changes in **economic policies** also sometimes force people to relocate to new place to sustain their livelihood. In recent decades, lakhs of traditional fishing families, millions of tribal and Dalit have been rendered jobless due to certain reconstruction on economic activities.
5. Majority of people in India, are displaced because of **construction of large dams, mines, highways, metros as well due to process of urbanization**. Land is also acquired for the development of industrial, educational and other infrastructure projects.

In India, Displacement because of developmental activities has been occurring from a long while in the in 19th century. During the colonial era, coal mines in Jharkhand, tea gardens in Assam, coffee plantations in Karnataka and other 25 schemes elsewhere were introduced. In India people are frequently involuntarily dislocated and the objective of resettlement remains exceedingly hard to accomplish.

- Post Independent India has witnessed a large number of development projects for fulfilling the socio economic needs of different categories of population residing in different parts of country.
- India has kept the rationale of development pretty much unaltered and has held the colonial laws as well as has even reinforced them to make land acquisition less demanding. Subsequently, people keep on being uprooted for the sake of National Development that included expansive scale interest in plans like dams, businesses, streets, mines and power plants. Various projects by public sector, private sector and on mode of public private partnership uprooted millions of people for the sake of development. Forest resources, river systems and mineral base were most alluring zones for the development activities. Tribal and backward areas were focus of the earlier 26 developmental projects. Tribals remain largely a neglected group.
- According to *Patnaik*, the first and second five-year plans mainly focused on industrialization, irrigation projects, dam projects and so on and the displaced people were neglected under such planning.
- It was then followed by a '**new development paradigm**', which promotes poverty reduction, environmental protection, social justice, and human rights. But such development not only brings benefit, rather it impose cost on some section of society. Among its greatest costs has been the involuntary displacement of millions of vulnerable people.
- Efforts were made by government authorities for the promotion of major, medium and small scale developmental projects in sectors like irrigation, industries, power, transportation etc. Development, especially large scale development, whether at the national or state level, has always been seen to incur national cost.
- The various development projects have displaced about two crores of people primarily as a direct consequence of land acquisition. In addition to it, numbers of people are not included in list of project affected people.
- India has one of the highest rates of development induced displacement in the world. Large dams, huge industrial and mining projects, communication & transportation

network as well as power projects have uprooted millions of people in many cases; instantly depriving them of their cultural identities and livelihood. Literature shows that, in majority of cases the numbers of persons displaced by development projects were underestimated.

- Studies point that displaced people were impoverished and marginalized. One can observe class and gender dimension in such involuntary shift, wherein the most affected ones are subaltern and women.
- With the globalisation lots of development activities are planned for the beautification and development of cities and rural communities. Although ample of people got displaced but the most critical part to be mentioned in this note is that till recently no aggressive resettlement and rehabilitation plans were ever made for the welfare of displaced people. Rather in majority of cases these project affected people were being left on their own resources, thereby, causing impoverishment and marginalization in their lives.

Concerns and Issues

The problem of displacement is not merely economic; it is also a socio-cultural problem.

- It disturbs the entire social network relationships and thus disturbs a particular way of life. It also affects the traditional activities and an already established social order. According to Advani (Jaipur study), displaced people are forced to change their social patterns, without getting any compensation for social costs and, thus, they are under pressure, causing a situation of socio-cultural stress
- It forces people to adopt new occupations along in an unknown environment. As such, the process leads to replacement in a new position or new location.
- The displaced people are forced to change their life style, without really being compensated for their social loss and thus they remain under pressure leading to socio-cultural stress.

The two reasons why displacement is viewed as a problem is that, first it is seen as both compulsory and involuntary and second that only in rare cases; fair compensation is given to the displaced.

Martin Orans said that on one hand the development projects have destroyed the tribal

institutions and on the other hand they have not got any benefits of that.

- Displacement caused through involuntary actions creates the scenario where people are rendered without land, shattered homes and with no job to rely upon. *Mohanty* in an EPW article in 2005 said that people (tribals) dependent upon land, forest and other natural resources for their livelihood have been dispossessed of their substance through land acquisition and displacement
- It results into loss of daily earnings and having no vocation to support the livelihood. The people who are losing on their livelihood are primarily labour class and artisans without any land, workers in industry and small and medium business class. *Becoming outcast in one's own land, is not only problematic temporarily rather it carries with it risk of becoming poorer than before displacement, economically vulnerable and socially disintegrated.*
- Involuntary shift from long establishments imposes lots of mental pressure to start a life afresh. An additional cause of stress is the fear of abandoning the places of worship and community living.

People undergo with the process of disempowerment and dispossession. It also disturbs their production system and income sources. Long established social standing and kinship linkages are broken. Thus from social and cultural point of view displacement is a disruptive process and it creates high risks of impoverishment among displaced.

- Those living in camps, especially women, have to endure outrageous invasions of their privacy. *Such forced shifts disrupt the lives of women adversely. The loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood – land, forest, sea, river, pasture, cattle or salt pan land –renders additional burden on women. It is only when land and other sources are replaced that women at least partially regain their economic status. Women not only suffer in terms of health and nutrition, they also lose the capacity to provide a secure future for their children.*

Koushal in 2009 study found that forced displacement increases the rate of domestic violence; productive economic activities of women decrease or cease and as they do not

remain productive contributors, their social status is lost; their authority and right in decision-making weakens

- *Asthana* in the study of Gender Analysis of Tehri Dam, found that that after displacement, family conflicts arise with regard to their personal expenses because after displacement most of the women depended on their husbands' income.
- *Rao* in 2013 study found that after displacement most of the women were forced into the labour market for earning their livelihood and contributing to family income.
- Basic health care for all and education of children are virtually non-existent. By resorting to seasonal migration they have unwittingly denied their children access to school, health care, child welfare, and other welfare services.
- Displaced people's right to participate and contest in the political processes is difficult. *Mohanty* reported that most of the displaced people were small and marginal farmers, scheduled castes (SCs), scheduled tribes (STs) and other vulnerable sections of the society.

Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model

This model of *Michel Cerena* is an attempt to identify the impoverishment risks intrinsic to forced resettlement. Without well planned and targeted policies, involuntary shift can end up in impoverishment and marginalization of the displaced. He proposed following eight pointers:

- 1) **Landlessness:** Land acquisition can result into de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people. It disrupts the basics of displaced people by affecting their system of production, earnings and commercial activities.
- 2) **Joblessness:** Involuntary shift threatens the wage employment of affected people working in industries, service sector or agro industries located at rural or urban areas. Discomfort of physical relocation is short lived but the negative impact due to unemployment or underemployment may linger long.
- 3) **Homelessness:** Displacement at times deprives the displaced of their shelter. Temporary homelessness is common feature in such cases and some faces this problem for longer periods.
- 4) **Marginalization:** Downward mobility is also one of the consequences of forced and

involuntary shift, reason being the change in economic conditions due to relocation. The trend of slipping to the lower levels is called as marginalization. Reduced social, psychological and economic statuses are the visible impacts of marginalization. Felling of injustice and inequality lowers the self-confidence of affected masses in society and themselves.

- 5) **Food Insecurity:** At times forced uprooting may result into temporary or chronic under-nourishment. It can obstruct normal growth and work.
- 6) **Increased Morbidity and Mortality:** Involuntary shift imposes social stress and psychological trauma which at times are accompanied by outbreak of vector borne diseases such as malaria etc, supply of unsafe water, filthy drainage system. All these negatively affect the health of the family members and most vulnerable children and elderly.
- 7) **Loss of access to common property:** Many traditional activities are dependent on common property resources of particular locality. With the loss of it income and livelihood sources too deteriorates. Upon that usually displaced are not compensated for these losses by Government.
- 8) **Social Disarticulation:** Involuntary relocation ends up into number of social changes at individual, family and community levels. Fragmentation of families, scattering of kinship network, uprooting of communities and dismantling of social and interpersonal ties are some of the major social changes associated with the involuntary displacement and relocation. It disperses informal life supporting social network.

Such outcomes lead to the necessity of enactments of laws that address the issue of fair and just compensation as well as of resettlement & restoration and additionally in recommending the options by the affected individuals which can facilitate them to lead better life. People have been aware more about the difficulties of rehabilitation and settlement. Lot of oppositions can be now seen for the unwarranted projects. Peoples protest led to the rejection of the bauxite mine project in Orissa's Niyamgiri Hills. Laws like Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 were enacted, which proposed for comprehensive outcome of compulsory acquisition so, that affected persons become partners in the development which can enable and empower them to

improve their socio-economic status post displacement.

The country needs a policy change so that displaced people can receive proper benefits. Before the construction of any development project, a proper survey should be conducted and women's concerns should be addressed.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND SUSTAINABILITY

Any country's environmental problems are related to the level of its economic development, the availability of natural resources and the lifestyle of its population. In India, rapid growth of population, poverty, urbanization, industrialization and several related factors are responsible for the rapid degradation of the environment. Environmental problems have become serious in many parts of the country, and hence cannot be ignored.

Major Environmental Concerns

A country's environmental problems vary with its stage of development; structure of its economy, production technologies in use and its environmental policies. While some problems may be associated with the lack of economic development, others are exacerbated by the growth of economic activity.

- 1. Soil Degradation-** In India out of the total geographical areas of 329 million hectares, 175 million hectares are considered degraded. Erosion by water and wind is the most important factor to soil erosion with other factors like water logging, mining, incorrect setting of development projects, deforestation etc.
- 2. Deforestation-** India showed an increasing trend in the forest and tree cover as against the global trend of decreasing forest cover during the last decade, but the five northeastern states saw their forest cover shrink. Rapid growth in population and urban sprawl is one of the major causes of deforestation. Delhi has lost around 112,169 trees since 2005, a data released by Delhi government showed. This means it lost a tree every hour. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) issued notices to the Centre and the state governments of Rajasthan and Haryana over deforestation in the Aravallis, which has led to air pollution in the Capital.
- 3. Biodiversity-** Biodiversity is one of the major environmental concerns in India, now India is in the tenth position in the world and fourth in Asia in plant diversity. The biodiversity in

forests, non-irrigated lands, irrigated lands and hill areas deserts and marines ecosystems is subject to many pressures. One of the major causes of the loss of biological diversity has been the depletion of vegetative cover in order to expand agriculture.

- 4. Pollution-** The main factors contributing to urban air quality deterioration are growing industrialization and increasing vehicular pollution. Twenty-one of the world's 30 cities with the worst air pollution are in India, according to data compiled in IQAir AirVisual's 2019 World Air Quality Report, with six in the top ten. Coastal and marine pollutions are most contributing factors to environment. An important impact of climate change and global warming may be the rise in sea level. The primary effect of sea level rise will be increased coastal flooding, erosion, storm surges and wave activity.
- 5. Poverty-** Poverty is also one of the reasons for environmental degradation in India. The circular link between poverty and environment is an extremely complex phenomenon. Inequality may foster unsustainability because the poor, who rely on natural resources more than the rich, deplete natural resources faster as they have no real prospects of gaining access to other type of resources. Acceleration in poverty alleviation is imperative to break this link between poverty and environment.
- 6. Overpopulation:** Rapid population growth puts strain on natural resources which results in degradation of our environment. Mortality rate has gone down due to better medical facilities which has resulted in increased lifespan. More population simple means more demand for food, clothes and shelter. You need more space to grow food and provide homes to millions of people. This results in deforestation which is another factor of environmental degradation.

Impact of Environment Degradation

The main environmental problems in India relate to air and water pollution particularly in metropolitan cities and industrial zones, degradation of common property resources which affect the poor adversely as they depends on them for their livelihood, threat to biodiversity and inadequate system of solid waste disposal and sanitation with consequent adverse

impact on health, infant mortality and birth rate. In India, efforts are being made on for the environmental management in a sustainable manner.

- It has been estimated that the process of deforestation, bad soil and water management, submergence of and in dam reservoirs, industrial and urban expansion, overgrazing, wind and water erosion, salination, flooding, water logging and so on, contribute to a **loss of productivity in roughly one million hectare of land annually**. The above process results in **desertification** and creation of drought prone conditions, leading to the immersion of those dependent on land for their daily subsistence.
- It is feared that the biggest environmental crisis to strike our planet will be availability and quality of water - by 2025 at least 3.5 billion people will face water crisis. Perhaps, the incidence of water crisis will be remarkable for India. As has been observed in World Bank Draft on India's Water Economy : Bracing for a Turbulent Future (2005), "**India faces a turbulent water future**". This can be seen by the recent stress level for water in Shimla.
- Given these processes and the resultant, **decline in livelihood** for the millions critically dependent on these resources, there are few options but to cultivate increasingly marginal lands, thereby compounding the sustainability crisis.
- The **impact on women** is even more severe, as the loss access to fuel, fodder and water forces them to walk miles to collect the essential necessities for their subsistence.
- The consequent escalation in the pressure on available arable land is so enormous that it has contributed to the **growth of criminalization** in the country side with illegal occupation of community lands, the formation of land armies by land lords to oppose any demands by marginal farmers for land, as well as increasingly militant movements to assert local control over productive resources like land and forests. The latter process most often results in state repression, compounding the climate of **social unrest**.
- Much of these have severally **strained social relations within communities and between communities and the state**. For instance, every year, over five lakh people are forcibly displaced by development projects

alone. Most of them are not rehabilitated, and alternatives are rarely provided. In the process, communities and families are broken up, destroying structure of social and economic support.

- **Loss of cultural diversity** is an inevitable consequence. For instance, a report based on a comprehensive survey of people displaced by the Rihan Dam stated that, "Many of the oustees, particularly the tribals, have fallen into the typical cycle of debt bondage, coupled with increasing destitution and intermittent employment as contract labourers in coal mines and elsewhere ... most were simply kicked out with nothing left to fend for themselves."

India and Sustainability

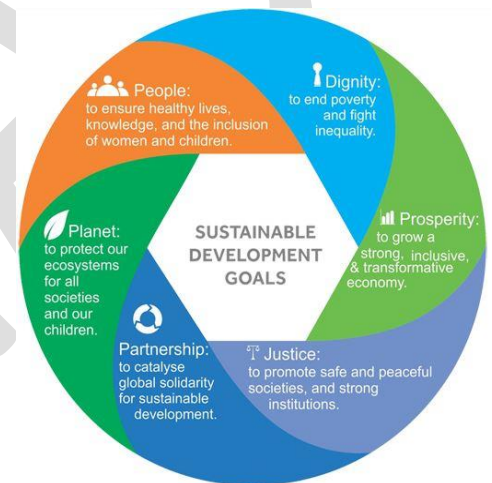
Sustainable development aims at the creation of the sustainable improvements in the quality of life for all people and this should be the principal goal of development policy. We

are starting to witness the penalty for unsustainable lifestyles and patterns of production and consumption. As the human population is exploding, resources are shrinking.

Concerns loom everywhere, from declining pollinators affecting food security, to air and water pollution affecting the quality of life, and land shortage and degradation affecting both agriculture and biodiversity.

India is home to one-sixth of the world's people and it has the densest population. It also has the second-largest population after China, which it will surpass in less than a decade if current trends continue. India is a country full of diversity and contradictions.

- While per-capita emissions are amongst the lowest in the world, it is also the third biggest generator of emissions. Despite being the third largest economy in the world, India also has the largest number of people living below the



international poverty line. Because of this sheer size and rapid growth, sustainability is a challenge.

In spite of these challenges, India is a conscious aspirant. It has shown leadership in combating climate change and meeting the Sustainable Developmental Goals (SDGs), as is reflected in many of its developmental schemes.

- Sustainability has always been a core component of Indian culture. Its philosophy and values have underscored a sustainable way of life. A great example is of the Bishnoi community in the Jodhpur region, Rajasthan, for whom the protection of wildlife is part of their faith. Yoga and Ayurveda are perhaps among the most well-known ways of holistic Indian living.
- Sustainable and environmentally friendly practices and psyches still continue to be part of the lifestyle and culture. India has both a culture of hoarding (in case something might come in useful), and thriftiness (re-use and hand-me-downs). It is not an uncommon sight in an Indian household to witness an old cloth being used as a duster. Culturally, there is also an aversion to wasting food.
- Rural communities, which constituted about 70% of the Indian population as of 2011, live close to nature and continue to live a simple and frugal lifestyle.
- According to Greendex report Indian consumers are most conscious about their environmental footprint and are making the most sustainable choices.
- At all levels of education provisions have been made for the knowledge of environment and its conservation. In the country many centres are providing special training for environmental management. The programmes of environmental awareness have been launched through media. India is an active member of International Organizations concerning environment.
- Laws like Environmental Protection Act etc. have been passed for sustainable development. Environmental Impact Assessment with the inclusion of Gram Sabha has been made mandatorily for many projects to increase participation of people. National Green Tribunal

was made to provide to judicial backing to the environment protection.

India and the world have a long and challenging way to go in dealing with environmental problems, and learning to live together in sustainable communities. We need to realize that development is more than economic, and sustainable development is a collective responsibility. There are still grave concern related to environment protection; Air pollution level in India is increasing (Delhi is one of the most polluted cities in the world), issues related to water scarcity have become grave, Ganga still did not get its life back even after so many years of Ganga clean mission. There is a need for coordination between government agencies, NGOs and the public for the proper management of environment quality and to achieve sustainable development in the country.

POVERTY, DEPRIVATION AND INEQUALITIES

“Poverty is pronounced as deprivation in well-being, and comprises many dimensions. It includes low incomes and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one’s life”

- Poverty can be defined as a social phenomenon in which a section of the society is unable to fulfill even its basic necessities of life. *Ruddar Datta*, in India the generally accepted definition of poverty emphasizes minimum level of living rather than a reasonable level of living.
- Amarty Sen-“Poverty as consisting of a deprivation of a capabilities”, So that the poor have inadequate resources (financial, information, and so on) to participate fully in society in short, they are socially excluded.
- The Concept of poverty is multi-dimensional (viz. income poverty and nonincome poverty). It covers not only the levels of income and consumption, but also health and education, vulnerability and risk, and marginalization and exclusion of the poor from the mainstream of the society.
- Poverty is a relative concept. No individual or country is absolutely poor or rich. A man is poor or rich in comparison to the others.

Poverty in India, as is the case in other countries, is measured in terms of the poverty line. This line is defined as the minimum expenditure that an individual has to incur to meet his/her basic needs. In other words, the poverty line reflects the ex-ante capability to fulfill a basket of basic human needs translated into a basket of goods and services evaluated at a given set of prices.

- The incidence of poverty in India is a matter of key concern for policy analysts and academic researchers both because of its scope and intensity. With a population of over 1.2 billion India is home to the largest number of poor in the world. About 42 per cent of the Indian population lives under the global poverty line of \$1.25 per day⁷ (Rangarajan, 2014). Using a broader definition of the poverty line which includes other dimensions of human capabilities, over half of the population is poor (Kannan, 2014).
- India had redefined poverty to include access to six basic amenities, in addition to consumption of food. Poverty is now defined more comprehensively as deprivation of access to facilities like education, health, infrastructure, clean environment and benefits for women and children, in addition to food consumption.
- The Suresh Tendulkar Committee estimated over 430 million (37.2 percent) below the poverty line based on a bundle of deprivations. The recently introduced Multi-dimensional Deprivation Index (MPI) also places about 645 million (55.4 percent) Indians below the poverty line. *In terms of non-income dimensions of poverty too, such as infant and maternal mortality rates, literacy levels and gender inequalities, India continues to display 'intense poverty'.*
- Many social indicators such as infant, child and maternal mortalities in many Indian states including Gujarat, one of the richest, are worse

K. Nageswara Rao - Poverty conventionally refers to inability of the people to attain certain predetermined minimum consumption needs. But in a wider sense, poverty is the constraint which restricts people to enjoy certain facilities of life. This is regarded as capability poverty. Thus, capability poverty is defined as the lack of basic capabilities. When people are unable to reach a certain level of essential human achievements of functioning, they suffer from capability poverty.

than in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite sustained high growth rates, while some aspects of social inequality have weakened, 'new heightened imbalances such as economic inequality and poverty have developed during the past two decades'.

- *India is a unique mixture of fundamental divisions and disparities. Few countries have had to contend with such 'extreme economic and social inequalities, characterized by deeply entrenched hierarchies, defined by major disparities of caste, class and gender'. Amrtya Sen & Drèze in 2013 said that it is precisely for this reason that Indian inequality is deeper and more pernicious than that of many other emerging nations.*
- Along with marginalized social groups such as SCs and STs, women and children too are highly vulnerable to exogenous shocks and persistent poverty. For instance, gender discrimination in access to health, nutrition, education and security is considered to perpetuate poverty among women over generations.

Poverty and Women

According to the Human Development Report, of the 1.3 billion people worldwide who live in poverty, 70 percent are women. That poverty in India, as elsewhere, has a gender dimension is evident from gender inequalities that exist in the sex ratio, child infanticide, literacy rates, health and nutrition, access to productive resources, etc.

- In India, inferences about poverty among women can only be made on the basis of household data. One finds that the incidence of poverty among females has been marginally higher than that of males both in rural and urban areas. As of 1999–2000, in rural areas, the percentage of female persons living in poor households was 27 compared to 26 percent for males, while in urban areas the corresponding percentages for females and males were 25 and 23. Females accounted for slightly less than half (49 percent) of the poor both in rural and urban areas.
- Such disparities or gender inequalities may be significant if one considers intra-household inequalities in consumption or other measures of deprivation related to food insecurity, malnutrition, health, wage differentials and access to productive resources like land.
- In general, a gender bias in poverty is found to exist if the household data is characterized not

only by sex but also by marital status; not currently married Female Headed Houses appear to be more vulnerable to poverty primarily on account of the fact that such heads have less education arising from a gender disadvantage existing within the households.

Poverty and Children

Child poverty has been an increasing concern for policy makers both in developed and developing countries. In India, child poverty has been widespread both in rural and urban areas.

- As the Human Development Report 2004 noted, India, along with Bangladesh and Nepal has the highest level of child under-nutrition in the world. According to the NSS estimates, as of 1999–2000, the percentage of children aged below 15 years living in households below the poverty line constituted 33 percent in both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, the share of children among poor persons increased from 44 percent in 1993– 1994 to 46 percent in 1999–2000. The corresponding percentages for urban areas are 41 and 42 percent.

Poverty- Rural v/s Urban

BHARAT	INDIA
Rural poverty is the main problem in India. Poverty studies deal mostly with rural areas. This is because the vast majority of the chronically poor in Asia are living in rural settlements. In the year 2000, the planning commission of India estimated that around 70 percent of the poor including both transient and chronically poor lived in rural areas.	India is a part of the global trends where an increasing number of people live in urban areas. Varying projections place urban population at about 590 million – 600 million in 2030.
<i>Main Reasons of Rural Poverty</i>	<i>Main Reasons for Urban Poverty</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Rapid population growth Lack of capital Excessive population 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Migration of rural youth towards cities Lack of vocational education or training Limited job opportunities of employment in the cities Lack of housing facilities Rapid increase in population
	Urban poverty is

pressure on agriculture	on	<i>intimately connected with rural poverty. Urban growth is a result of</i> <i>a) Natural increase in population</i> <i>b) Net migration from rural areas to urban areas and</i> <i>c) Reclassification of towns</i>
4. Illiteracy		
5. Regional disparities		
6. Lack of alternate employment opportunities other than agriculture	of	
7. Lack of proper implementation of public distribution system		
8. Indifferent attitude towards investment		

Urban poverty is linked to the aspects of social inclusion, city-wide infrastructure and basic service delivery systems, opportunities for skill development and employment, responsiveness of local governance structures and policies and programmes impacting on urban environment, Development and management. The bulk of the urban poor live in extremely deprived conditions with insufficient physical amenities like low-cost water supply, sanitation, sewerage, drainage, community centres and social services related to health care, nutrition, pre-school and non-formal education.

According to *Rumki Basu*, Urban Poverty leads to 1) Proliferation of slums and bustees 2) Fast growth of the informal sector 3) Increasing casualization of labour 4) Increasing pressure on civic services 5) Increasing educational deprivation and health contingencies.

Different aspects of Urban Poverty

- Inadequate income** (and thus inadequate consumption of necessities including food and, often, safe and sufficient water, often problems of indebtedness)
- Inadequate, unstable or risky asset base** (non-material and material including educational attainment and housing) for individuals, households or communities.
- Inadequate shelter**
- Inadequate provision of 'public' infrastructure** (piped water, sanitation, drainage, roads, footpaths, etc.) which

increases the health burden and often the work burden.

- **Inadequate provision of basic services** such as, day care/schools/vocational training, healthcare, emergency services public transport, communications, law enforcement.
- **Limited or no safety net to ensure basic consumption**
- **Inadequate protection of poorer groups rights:** including laws and regulations regarding civil and political rights, occupational health and safety, pollution control environmental health, protection from violence and other crimes, protection from discrimination and exploitation.
- **Poorer groups voicelessness and powerlessness**

There is a close relationship between growth and poverty and inclusive growth is the key to effective poverty eradication. Indeed, economic growth is believed to be the most successful tool for poverty eradication in any region. Higher overall growth in the economy will generate more employment opportunities for the unemployed and will increase the income levels of those already employed. However, the poverty-reducing effects of higher growth may get neutralized if the increase in a state's income is restricted to groups which are already above poverty levels. In such a case, growth is often associated with increase in the levels of inequality. While India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world, it is also one of the most unequal countries. Inequality has been rising sharply for the last three decades. The richest have cornered a huge part of the wealth created through crony capitalism and inheritance. They are getting richer at a much faster pace while the poor are still struggling to earn a minimum wage and access quality education and healthcare services, which continue to suffer from chronic under-investment. These widening gaps and rising inequalities affect women and children the most.

- Kaushik Basu has noted, "the bulk of India's aggregate growth is occurring through a disproportionate rise in the incomes at the upper end of the income ladder".
- Quality and distribution of the high growth that India has experienced are causing widening inequalities between classes, regions, rural and

urban areas, **a classic growth-inequality paradox**. Wealth created by sustained high rates of growth remains unevenly distributed at macro-level as well as in terms of significant inter-state and intrastate regional disparities. Low growth rates and poor public services in poorer states have further widened the disparity. *Bandopadhyay in 2011 said that, the polarization has divided the country into two distinct groups of rich states and poor states.*

- It is not only that the new income generated by rapid economic growth has been unequally shared, but also that the resources newly created have not been utilized adequately to relieve the marked social deprivations of large sections of the population.

At the policy level, poverty needs to be conceptualised in relative terms. It needs to be seen as inextricably linked to inequality. There is a need to account for inequality to effectively deal with poverty.

1. ***Inequality Determines the Level of Poverty***

Radhicka Kapoor argued that if economic growth automatically meant a reduction in poverty, India should have witnessed a steeper decline in poverty. Poverty is a function not just of mean incomes but also of income distribution. Importantly, the relationship between growth and poverty is mediated by inequality. The level of inequality determines what the share of the poor in the growth process will be.

2. ***Inequality is Not Measured Accurately in India***

In India the inequality data collected most frequently and most systematically—by the National Sample Survey (NSS)—involve the distribution of expenditure on consumption rather than income. Because the rich tend to save a significant fraction of their income, while the poor tend to use all of their income—and often some borrowed money as well—for consumption, the distribution of consumption is considerably less unequal than that of income.

3. ***Inequality is Rising at an Alarming Rate***

Ishan Anand and Anjana Thampi analysed the trends in wealth ownership in India between 1991 and 2012. From their study, they hypothesised that the rising levels of wealth inequality were deeply linked to the neo-liberal growth process in India that resulted in a concentration of wealth in the urban areas.

4. ***Inequality Compounds Over Time***

Vamsi Vakulabharanam analysed India's macroeconomic growth statistics for the period 1994–2005 and found that over that period, the class structure was witnessing a shift owing to rising inequality. From a loose coalition of dominant classes in the 1980s, India witnessed the emergence of the urban elite as the singular dominant class after liberalisation.

There is a need for economic growth- Inclusive growth is economic growth that is distributed fairly across society and creates opportunities for all.

- The instrumental role of Inclusive Growth comes from the recognition that equal access to opportunities increases growth potential, while inequality in access to opportunities diminishes it and makes growth unsustainable because it leads to inefficient utilization of human and physical resources, lowers the quality of institutions and policies, erodes social cohesion and increases social conflict.
- ***It is imperative for India to develop holistic and integrated solutions for solving the long term problems of poverty, inequality, social exclusion, weak governance structure and widespread corruption in all stages of public service delivery.***
- The new solutions, with an emphasis on sustainable inclusive growth, should pay attention to four points in formulating public policies: opportunity, capability, access and security. Opportunity aspect means generating opportunities to people to succeed economically as well as socially. Capability concentrates on providing means to people to create/enhance their capabilities in order to take advantage of opportunities. Access of course simply implies providing the means to bring the first two together.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Violence against women dates back to the history of mankind. Several forms of abuse have been described in our ancient epics, like *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana*. There have been efforts at global level to eliminate this. The United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) states that "It is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement

of women, and that it is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men."

Violence against women is rooted in the unequal power relations between men and women in society and it will be better understood in gender framework. While sex is a biological category, gender is a social construct. The gender roles prescribe a strict division of labour wherein women are expected to perform largely reproductive functions- maintenance of household, child care, serving the elderly etc. Women are being judged in the society if they go against the prescribed norms of behaviour made for them. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA), 2005 recognizes four types of violence against women in domestic relationships: Physical, sexual abuse, emotional or verbal abuse, and economic violence.

- The construction of Gender roles imply that women have far lesser access to productive resources and decision making compared to men, resulting in unequal balance of power.
- Unequal treatment and discrimination in child rearing, in family care; male preference and denial of rights to health care and education to girls are some of the factors that make women vulnerable and susceptible to different forms of violence.
- Gender based violence exists in all stages of women's lives- from infancy to old age and manifests in several forms of violence.

PRE NATAL	Pre-Birth elimination of females Physical labour during pregnancy
INFANCY	Female Infanticide Differential Access to care, nutrition, healthcare, education
CHILDHOOD	Child Marriage Child Sexual Abuse Child Prostitution Differential access to care, nutrition, health care, education
ADOLSCENCE	Molestation/ Eve Teasing Rape Sexual Harassment at Work Place Forced prostitution Trafficking/Kidnapping and Abduction Differential access to care, nutrition, health care, education
	Domestic Violence Marital Rape

YOUTH AND ADULTHOOD	Dowry related abuse and murder Coerced Pregnancy Sexual Harassment at Work Place Molestation/Sexual Abuse/Rape Differential access to care, nutrition, health care, education
OLD AGE	Abuse of Elderly Women Abuse of Widows Threats of Sexual Violence Lack of Access to care, nutrition and medical facilities

Factors of Violence Against Women

There are many factors which are responsible for the prevalence of violence against women in India:

1. Socio-cultural traditions (deep rooted)

Patriarchy, traditions like dowry, family honour, witnessing family violence etc., have continued through the ages and have put women in disadvantaged positions. According to *Uma Charavotry*, despite liberal legislations condition of women remains unimproved because culture and patriarchal social structures dominate statutory norms in day to day life.

2. Family factors

Exposure to harsh physical discipline during childhood and witnessing the father beating the mother during childhood is a predictor of victimization and perpetration of violence against his wife in adulthood. Women, who reported experiencing harsh physical punishment during childhood and had witnessed their fathers beat their mothers, were at increased risk of spousal physical violence

3. Socio-demographic

Early and young age, illiterate or low level of literacy, poverty, urban domicile, and women with no income of their own, unmarried, separated or divorced status or being in a live-in relationship have been cited as risk factors for domestic violence. India ranks at 101 position in the list of 136 nations in the disparity index in terms of economic, political, health care, and educational opportunities for women and their participation in such services (Times of India, October 26, 2013).

Women engaged in small business and farming were more likely to be abused than women who were housewives or who had occupational status equal to that husbands. Where women have a higher economic status, than their husbands and are having sufficient power to change traditional gender roles, violence is at its highest. In predisposed persons, marriage can contribute to mental health problems. Mentally ill women are subjected to different forms of violence in a marital unit without the appropriate steps being undertaken for the management of their mental illness, further contributing to marital disharmony and limited family functioning.

4. Addiction

Easy availability of addicting substances (especially alcohol, bhang, and ganja) is also responsible. There is robust evidence to suggest that alcohol has been the factor associated with perpetration of several forms of violence against women. A recent

In India, despite the many positive developments in securing women's human rights, the reality of the situation on the ground for women continues to be extremely harsh. Strong patriarchal values govern formal as well as informal institutes of the country. A majority of Indian women face nutritional discrimination within the family, eating last and least.

- The situation in India with respect to violence against women is alarming. The prevalence figures of India, during the year 2011, as reported by National Crime Records Bureau are: Cruelty by husband and their relatives - 43.4%; molestation - 18.8%; rape - 10.6%; kidnapping and abduction - 15.6%; sexual harassment - 3.7%; dowry death - 3.8%; Immoral Traffic Act - 1.1%; Dowry Prohibition Act - 2.9%; and others - 0.2%.
- *The Thomas Reuters Foundation expert poll in 2011, reported that India is the fourth most dangerous country in the world after Afghanistan, Congo, and Pakistan.* "Female foeticide," child marriage and high levels of trafficking and domestic servitude make India the world's largest democracy the fourth most dangerous place for women.
- According to *Madhukar Gupta* former Indian Home Secretary, One hundred million people, mostly women and girls, are involved in trafficking in one-way or another.
- Up to 50 million girls are "missing" over the past century due to female infanticide and foeticide. 44.5% of girls are married before the age of 18.
- The "Children in India, 2012 - A Statistical Appraisal" study reported that during 2001–2011, the share of children to total population declined; the decline was sharper for female children than male children in the age group of 0–6 years."

meta-analysis provided a strong evidence for association between alcohol and intimate partner violence among women.

5. Media and pornography

Media plays a pivotal role. Repeated exposure to violence in the media has been associated with increased incidence of aggression, especially in children. Television and cinemas are portraying sexual material for making fast money. Pornographic material is easily available to many on the internet and through other ways.

6. Psychosocial stress

Psychosocial stress relating to poverty, education, career, unemployment, work, marriage, and corruption etc., can contribute to violence by resulting in maladaptive coping responses and/or triggering mental illness in vulnerable individuals.

7. Recreation and sports

Lack appropriate facilities for recreation/sports and development of creative abilities and social networking also have some role.

8. Law enforcement machinery

An insensitive, inefficient, unaccountable and corrupt law enforcement machinery (including administrators, police, and judiciary) loses its role as a mechanism for redress of complaints and deterrent for commission of crimes. Often, it has rightly been said that “justice delayed is justice denied.”

9. Religious and ethical values

Deterioration of religious and ethical values are also important. In India it has been often observed that the violence is perpetuated on the name of religion. Male is considered as superior to the female according to the religion.

10. Multiple risk factors

Multiple risk factors may be present in some individuals making them at risk for perpetrating violence or of becoming victims of the same. For example, men living away from home, residing with an unhealthy peer group, facing multiple stresses, and having access to pornography and alcohol, may be particularly vulnerable.

11. Loopholes in legislations

Several laws in India are seen with the angle of gender biased ness and result in to more violence against women.

Consequences and Implications

Violence against women has serious social, economic and health consequences. It not only affects women as individuals, but also their families including children, their entire communities, economic conditions and

overall development. The National Population Policy of India, 2000, recognises violence against women as a deterrent to their ability to make decisions around child bearing and use of spacing methods.

1. Violence- A Public Health Issue

Violence against women is a complex public health problem. It affects women’s physical and mental health, their social and reproductive health, self-esteem, and ability to work and to make decisions about their fertility. Violence can have far reaching mental health consequences including post-traumatic stress disorders, suicidal ideations depression, sexual dysfunctions etc.

2. Violence- A Economic Issue

Violence against women can be a very serious economic impact on the economy with in a house hold as well as nation. Violence leads to decrease in productivity and efficiency.

3. Violence- A Development Issue

Violence against women is an obstacle to the alleviation of poverty as it impedes equitable distribution of resources. It also results in high direct costs for the law enforcement and judicial systems, as expansion of facilities is required and litigation cost is quite high.

Violence against women obstructs her participation in public sphere, which is necessary for the development and planning.

Prevention of Violence Against Women

Various laws have bene passed by the government to prevent violence against women but still can be seen in various forms. Laws like Domestic Violence Act. Etc. were passed for this. It is preventable and need some measures:

1. Gender sensitization

Gender sensitization should focus on the sensitivities and boundaries of man-woman relationships, code of conduct with respect opposite gender in different settings, and strategies to prevent violence at unusual places and times. Awareness and education can be done by parents at home, teachers in school and colleges, employers at work place and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the community. Workshops, lectures and street plays, videos can be organized in schools, colleges, and public gatherings for this purpose. A national workshop was organized by Maitri (NGO) on April 5, 2012 in Delhi on violence against women. Medical and para-medical workers and medical students should be sensitized on the topic for tackling gender sensitive issues. Sex education needs to be taught at the level of schools, colleges,

and community. Training of different stakeholders like police personnel, judiciary, administrators, and legal professional is also needed.

2. Restriction on the use of addicting substances

Concerted efforts must be made to restrict the use of alcohol, bhang, and ganja especially in young people.

3. Media

Media campaigns can help to reverse social attitudes that tolerate violence against women. Collaboration with the media needs to focus on creating new messages and new responses to prevent domestic violence.

4. Pornography

The role of computers and internet is worth mentioning. Pornographic sites should be blocked. India has blocked the accessibility of porn websites.

5. Law enforcement machinery

24 × 7 helplines for women like Maitri (a New Delhi-based NGO), and Vandrewala in Mumbai are needed. Victims of violence can directly go to the hospitals, can seek referrals from the community centers, and access 24 × 7 helpline numbers. Maitri (NGO) through its project “Samvedna” offers free counseling and mediation services to victims of domestic violence and their families. The organization also facilitates legal services for those who opt for legal solutions.

- Fast track courts are strongly recommended.
- Special cells in police stations with the help of women police officers should be empowered with manpower, latest gadgets like CCTV footage and phone help lines, etc.

6. Legislation

- Mind set of judiciary- patriarchal mindset of the judiciary must change toward being gender neutral. Indira Jaising, stated “It's time for India's courts to gaze inward and throw out deeply embedded patriarchal notions that stop judgments from being fair to women. Sexism within the system has to go before it does more damage in the country.” “It was not possible for a man, acting alone to rape a woman in good health” was stated in a judgment by an Orissa High Court judge.
- Amendments legislations- Assessment for mental illness should be incorporated in the code civil procedure so that the mental health needs of the victim and the perpetrator are addressed and violence prevented.

- It is evident from many judgments of matrimonial disputes that mental illness is often present in one of the parties, petitioner or respondent. However, it is often missed by the judiciary.
- There should a panel of experts (1 or more psychiatrists) for family and civil courts dealing with matrimonial disputes who may be consulted.

7. Code of conduct

All institutions should have some guidelines (code of conduct) on how much of closeness is permitted between the two sexes. Adherence to the prescribed code of conduct will prevent sexual misconduct. Also, if the same is violated, it can be easily detected and appropriate measures can be taken.

8. Improving the socioeconomic status of women

Empowerment of women through improving their education, job opportunities, representation in different sectors, and awareness about their rights and legal provisions would be a step in the right direction.

9. Lifestyle

Promotion of healthy lifestyle including management of stresses of daily living is recommended.

10. Religious leaders and scholars

Religious leaders and scholars need to re-examine interpretations of religious texts and doctrines from the perspective of promoting equality and dignity for women.

11. Social organizations

NGOs/social activists/communities/resident welfare organizations (urban)/village panchayats need to be actively involved and sensitized to promptly act if the incidents come to their notice. These services can be utilized in minimizing violence by putting social pressures on the perpetrators of crime. Such organizations can also provide leadership in the local community to oppose violence against women.

CASTE CONFLICTS

According to Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2006, in India every day two dalits are murdered and three dalit women raped. The news is, in this regard, horrifically repetitive: dalit women assaulted and abused in the broad daylight, dalits beaten up or lynched, shot or mutilated, usually with no consequences for the offenders. We often read news, of pregnant dalit women that died because of

not being able to pay bribes at governmental hospitals (recently seen in UP), of a boy that had beaten to death by the relatives of an upper caste girl he was in love with (seen in Telangana), of an outcaste boiled to death for having dared to argue with his boss.

- Abolished by law, caste hate is far from having been overcome in the real, daily life. To know how resilient and pervading is the caste culture and its related racism, one could just have a look at the advertisements for arranged marriages, specifying not only caste, but even the wished sub caste.
- In a country where land is the primary asset, dalits are in great majority landless. They still live in separated, usually disadvantaged parts of the villages and even to walk in caste Hindu streets is dangerous for them. Their segregation is reinforced by the lack of electricity, sanitation facilities, and water pumps, present only in the upper caste section. The same applies to medical facilities. Dalits are neither granted access to common wells nor to burial grounds. Dalit schoolchildren usually sit separately, in the back of classrooms. In many villages separate glasses continue to be used for serving dalits in tea stalls, dalits are often banned entry into temples, barbers refuse to cut them the hair.
- Women, traditionally perceived as bare properties, are often assaulted and sexually abused. Dalit children have to work from a very early age to pay off generation-old debts and the devadasi practise, forced prostitution of a girl dedicated to a temple god and eventually auctioned into a brothel, is still common practice, notably in the south.

Since the origin of caste system, caste conflict has been an inevitable phenomenon in all spheres of life. The obvious reason is that it is the root cause of social inequality. In the social hierarchy, castes are graded not based on one's accomplishment but on one's birth. This resulted in ranks such as higher caste, lower caste and untouchable caste. In the course of time, the social distance between higher and lower castes widened and led to thorough social discrimination. The caste people in the apex of social hierarchy started exercising privileges, power and supremacy over the lower caste and untouchable caste people. The latter were subjected to all sorts of discrimination, exploitation and humiliation.

- The term 'Caste Conflict' generally refers to a fight, struggle, collision or clash of opponent caste groups. *Lewis Coser* contends that social

conflict is "a struggle over values and claims to secure status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralise, injure or eliminate their rivals". However, from a sociological point of view, *John Rex* says that conflict is not a random disorder; rather it refers to a meaningful action in pursuit of goals.

- *Jayaram and Satish Saberwal* observe that the processes like resistance, protest, rebellion, revolt and revolution are associated with relations of dominance. The elements of power and authority are an integral part of the relations of dominance. The tendency of suppressed caste people to turndown their relationship with dominant caste people may result in open rebellion, revolt, or revolution. Therefore, the caste conflict in such circumstances is inevitable.
- The inter-caste conflict in India has become a potential area for sociological research. The opposition between any two caste groups (rival caste groups) is found all over the country. For instance, the Reddis and the Kammas in Andhra Pradesh.
- The anti-Mandal agitation in the 1990s are also expressions of Pan-Indian caste conflict, reflecting the agitation of Backward Castes against Forward Castes.
- *The rise of caste conflict may be due to the imposition of one's will on others, jealousy about the development and progress of opponent groups, and narrowing down of the gap between high and low status of the conflicting castes and the like.*

The development and progress registered by the Scheduled Caste people especially in the socio-economic and political spheres has posed a challenge to the Caste-Hindus all over India. As a result of this, the conflict between the Scheduled Caste people on the one hand and the Backward Caste people on the other, has become an inescapable phenomenon across India. Especially, in Bihar State, this sort of conflict is rampant, resulting in gruesome murders and loss of property. Since the formation of the Ran-Bir-Sena by upper caste people in 1994, there have been more incidents of caste violence. Similar caste conflicts and violence have often been reported in some other States of India including Tamil Nadu.

The main reasons for Caste Conflicts

1. Socio-religious rules

The social discrimination based on the religion and caste rules have been the main reasons for the caste

conflicts. In Haryana and UP Dalits still can't ride horses in their marriages.

2. Land Reforms

Dalits and the lower rung of backward castes, who constitute an overwhelming majority of agricultural labourers, remain completely assetless. According to a study by the AN Sinha Institute, Patna, roughly 61 per cent of the lower backward castes and 69.5 per cent of the schedule castes in Bihar's central plains are landless.

One of the declared top priorities of states has been to break up large feudal landholdings and divide the surplus land among the poor. Yet successive governments have lacked the political courage to do so. Caste organisations like Ranvir Sena he Ranvir Sena wants to stall land reforms and push the clock back on land redistribution that has already been carried.

3. Political Patronage

Political support and political patronage to the caste based organisations has aggravated the situation in opposite to the Dalits. In Maharashtra Bhima Koregaon incident happened, Rallies for the removal of Prevention of Atrocities against SC/ST Act were organised.

4. Lack of police support or legal support

Several cases on the atrocities on SCs are going on all over the country. On the first place there is lack of sensitisation in the police officials to register cases under appropriate acts. Later due to lack of resources Dalits are not able to fight cases for the long time.

5. Cast Mafia

Upper caste have made their mafias with the support if the political parties. These group are more organised in comparison to the groups of the SCs. Backward class groups have also organised for their demands and these are the main perpetrators of violence against the Dalits. Eg. In Maratha and Dalit tussle on the allegation of rape of a Maratha girl, in Haryana Mirchpur incident etc.

The consequences of the inter-caste conflicts

Physical and Material	Loss of human life Grievous injuries Destruction of buildings Destruction of agricultural crops Destruction of vehicles
Social	Displacement of families Setback of children's education Cancellation or

	postponement of marriages Proliferation of caste-based settlements
Economic	Theft, robbery and damage to property Huge expenditure incurred by State exchequer
Religious	Religious conversions
Governmental	Non-availability of police force to perform regular policing Long-drawn out and destabilizing court cases

ETHNIC CONFLICT

The term ethnic is originated from the Greek term ethnos usually termed as nation. The term ethnic in the broader sense, distinguishes between communal (that is, religious) and linguistic categories, but ethnicity is simply the set to which religion, race, language, and sect belong as subsets.

According to Oxford dictionary (2005), ethnic means connected with or belonging to a nation, race or a person that share a cultural tradition and ethnicity means the fact of belonging to a particular race. Ethnic group is defined as a group with common cultural tradition and a sense of identity which exists as a sub-group of a larger society.

According to Nnoli (1978), ethnicity has four characteristics:

- It exists only within a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups;
- It is characterized by a common consciousness of being one in relation to other relevant groups;
- It tends to be exclusive acceptance and rejection on linguistic and cultural grounds characterize social relations; and
- It is characterized by conflict.

- However, ethnicity may be the cause of ethnocentrism and prejudices against members of other ethnic groups. Thus, it can create conflicts and wars (Paranjpe, 1986).
- Ethnic groups may act selfishly in their own interest, because they may receive only spillovers from the human capital or knowledge of those in their own ethnic or neighbourhood group (Borjas, 1995). Most of the time ethnic groups pursue their interests peacefully through well-known political channels. But when ethnicity is linked with severe social

uncertainty, it leads to fracture in societies due to history of conflict, and fear of what the future might bring (Newland, 1993).

- Ethnic conflict, in the recent years, has become the most fatal form of collective violence in the world. It means conflict among groups who differ from one another on the basis of their religion, culture, physical features or language. There are also non-violent conflicts today, but which may turn into open conflicts and violence.
- Hence the term 'ethnic conflict' is often misused or used loosely to describe a wide range of intra state conflict that may not be, in fact, ethnic in character. *Conflict, that is ethnic in nature, may involve dispute about important cultural, social, political and economic, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities.*

Indian social structure itself is based on caste and ethnicity. India is characterized by more ethnic and religious groups than most other countries of the world. Aside from the much noted 2000-odd castes, there are eight "major" religions, 15-odd languages spoken in various dialects in 22 states and nine union territories, and a substantial number of tribes and sects.

- D. Muni, in his article, "Ethnic Conflict Federalism and Democracy in India" mentions two commonly accepted features of the spectrum of Indian ethnic diversity. To him, firstly- the pattern of conflicts and contradictions between ethno-communities vary along the scales of time and places as there is no subordinate dominant pattern between the ethnic groups. Secondly, people belonging to one ethnic group and found scattered in various territorial regions. So, the ethnic groups do not have territories marked out for them because the cultural markers identifying such groups do not co-inside with the territorial boundaries. Such features of the social spectrum of ethnic diversity have led to the collaboration of the ethno communities as well as confrontation among different groups of ethno communities in different times and places in India.

India also bears witness to various ethnic conflicts in different parts of its territory. Ethnic conflicts have been resolved and reduced, but also re-created. Major Dimensions of the Ethnic Conflicts in India:

- a) **Linguistic Identities:** The conflict arising out of the demand for the Tamil language and land

during the early 1960s was resolved, although potential tension between Tamil and the declared national language, Hindi, still exists. Assam was one of those states where linguistic issues have emerged as dominant issue in the post-independent period. States like Punjab have been bifurcated on the basis of language only.

- b) **Religious Identities:** The growth of Hindu revivalism which has caused much ethnic conflict and violence in other parts of India. The growth of Hindu revivalism has been dramatised in recent years by the emergence of the Right Wing Political Parties as the leading parties in the parliament. The destruction of a medieval mosque after a decade long agitation to build a Hindu temple on the site where the mosque was located is responsible for nationwide riots which arose in its aftermath.
- c) **Regional Identities:** Ethnic conflicts in the region of North East has not been solved yet. They have considered themselves deprived of the larger state support and want an independent region for themselves. The situation is also same like that in the region of Jammu and Kashmir.
- d) **Tribal Identities:** The movements of Tribal's in the Jharkhand region. In Jharkhand, even after the state was formed out of Bihar, still movements are continuing by the locals in the form of DOMACILE MOVEMENT, for their predominance. The north-eastern region of India also bears witness to the problem of ethnic conflict. In fact, the region is often called as conflict ridden area. The last decade of the twentieth century is best remembered in Manipur for the violent ethnic clashes between Kuki-Naga which was started in 1992 and continued till the year end of 1998. It was followed by clashes between Meiteis and Muslims in May 1993, Kuki Paite clashes in 1997-1998. Nagaland has also experienced numerous ethnic conflicts which includes the Chakhesangs - Tangkhuls conflict in Phek district during 1995-19967.

Since the Independence of India, the ethnic conflict between various ethnic groups has become a common phenomenon. And the 'ethnic factor', which previously occupied a peripheral space in Indian politics, has now become embedded in its core. *Ethnicity has emerged as a major instrument for the political parties to share in and access to political*

power. In fact, ethnicity has become a heavy weapon to political parties in their struggle for power. Politicisation by the political parties takes place at two levels- at one level, politicisation of people's cultural, linguistic and most importantly ethnic sentiments resulting in ethnic conflicts and at another level, politicisation by the political parties to find a solution to the conflict.

- Ethnic conflicts arise because these are grist to the political mill of electoral campaigns. Political leaders appeal to pride, historic achievements and current injustices—real and imagined—to win elections, to deny the same to opponents and to gain office, position and power. Indian politicians have become extremely adept at mobilizing ethnic mass support for all kinds of political and personal objectives.
- This is evidenced by the existence of a large number of regional and provincial political parties, which regularly win elections and form governments in India. For instance, by the emphasis on race, language and territory in the evocation of Tamil ethnicity, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party has emerged in Tamil Nadu. Similarly, for mobilising the Sikhs, the Siromani Akali Dal combines religion and territory in such a way as to dilute the linguistic marker as well as the long drawn cultural affinities between the Punjabi Sikhs and Punjabi Hindus.
- Again, the ethnic leaders such as Lalo Prasad Yadav in Bihar, Chandrababu Naidu in Andhra, Jayalalita in Tamil Nadu and Prafulla Kumar Mahanta in Assam have prevailed because of their appeals to respective fellow ethnic groups.

As the ethnic identities have been used by the political parties it has also helped the people of the region. The separate identity and its support later changed the nature of the conflicts towards the democratic process. States like Manipur are now become the part of mainstream Indian political sphere. Difficulties are still there in accommodating the voices of all the people but the solution can be found only in democratic process.

COMMUNALISM

Communalism is a serious threat to the integrity and economic development of the countries, which have diverse religions, communities and linguistic groups.

Louis Dumont states that “communalism is an affirmation and assertion of the religious community as a political group.”

According to *Ratna Naidu*, it is characterized by tension or conflict between culturally distinct, but geographically mixed communities.

Communalism can be considered an ideology which states that society is divided into religious communities whose interests differ and are at times even opposed to each other.

There are numerous definitions of communalism, which have emerged from different political and ideological orientations. Scholars have elaborated this concept from socio-economic, cultural, political and historical angles. The essence of their views conveys that communalism is a multi-faceted phenomenon, in which each factor has a close relationship with the other.

- India has a variety of cultures and religions, with conceptual differences. These differences have created antagonism and distrust among them. The burden of the argument is that in India, a religious community, is an economic as well as political community at the same time. This complex phenomenon of communalism, dominates Indian political discourse.
- The communalism has not emerged suddenly or developed by chance. *Zenab Banu* said that it is rather deep rooted in pre-partitioned India. Its seeds were sown by Britishers as part of their political policy of “divide and rule” and it largely changed the whole political landscape of India.
- Unfortunately after partition, the socio-economic conditions in the country, continued to favour the breeding of communalism. The Indian economy has grown at less than the required rate. Such a critical situation gives birth to the new problems, like unemployment, inequality, as well as a large gap in the distribution of wealth. The whole situation breeds frustration and social anxiety, among the people. The political parties have used these situations to breed communalism among the people for their vote politics.
- The concept of communalism in India, generally, has been used to explain the

confrontation between the Hindus and the Muslims, as they are the major religious groups and their numbers really matter in the elections. There had been many conflicts and riots emanating from Hindu-Muslim communalism, most recent ones are Muzaffarpur riots in UP, riots in North East Delhi in 2020.

Causes of Communalism

Communalism is a modern phenomenon and its fundamental causes are secular like competition for share in political power or government jobs. Religion is not its fundamental cause but an instrumental cause because it has great mobilizing power. The various causes for spreading communalism are:

- 1) **Religious indifferences and misconceptions:** The two religions of India which are accounted for the communal problems are having opposite faith and belief. Hinduism is a religion giving importance to outward experiences in worship. Islam rejects all types of rituals. Some principles of Hinduism and Islam are viewed as very contradictory. The Hindus consider Islam a religion of foreign origin and views it as a creed highly intolerant to other religions. Islam is a strict monotheist religion and keeps condemn towards the polytheistic nature of Hinduism.
- 2) **Economic Disparities:** Economic disparities between the two religions also contribute to conflict. The early British period was something which paralyzed the economic structure of Muslim society. Deprivation of government jobs and the transfer of traditional powers enjoyed by Muslims to Hindus such as collection of land revenue etc. made a widened gap between the two. In the post partition period the economically sound and well placed Muslims who held major offices and having ownership over land assets fled to Pakistan. The Muslim minority who stayed in India were not economically secure. The progress of one community was viewed with unpleasantness and the collapse of the opposite side was gladly welcomed in the communal atmosphere. The Hindu advancement is observed as a domination and exploitation over Muslims and the Muslim advancement is seen with suspicions. *Rafiq Zakaria* said, an analysis of communal riots brings out the true motive behind their outbreak; in most cases this view is not so much religious as economic.

- 3) **Historical Distortions:** The Historical distortions and the false interpretations of history which created hostile thought in the minds of both the communities, Hindu and Muslim. The Ramjanma Bhoomi – Babri Masjid issue is a recent example of the result of distorted history and its use for political fortunes by the power hungry communal politicians. Such historical incidents lead to a situation of communal violence, repression and revenge.
- 4) **Majority-Minority Relations and the Insecurity Feeling of the Minorities:** The strained relations between majority and minority and the insecurity feeling of the minorities in a majority dominated society develop the atmosphere for communal conflicts. The identity of majority community and minority community has been the product of British colonial period. In Democracy the majority holder is the ruler and the law maker.
 - In a country like India where Hindus account for the 80 percent of population, the minorities mainly Muslims do feel insecurity. To ensure the social well-being and unity, the majority community should not turn against the minorities.
 - In the words of *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar*: “It is for the majority to realize its duty not to discriminate against minorities, the moment the majority lose the habit of discriminating against the minority, the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish.”
 - The majority communalism openly staging their adversity against minorities and condemning them as foreigners and traitors further complicates the problem. The communal grouping of fanatical Hindu communalist like Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal etc., and their programmes and propagandas against Muslim had given rise to the phenomenon of Muslim fundamentalism.
 - The attitude of some Muslim leaders and organizations supporting Pakistan in a cricket Match against India, Hailing Osama Bin Laden, Saddam Hussain etc. as heroes, call for observance of Jan-26-1987 as black day by Delhi `Imam, the Muslim terrorist acts killing innocent peoples through suicidal bomb attacks, printing Indian maps in which Kashmir deleted from it, all these are enough for the Hindu

communalist to demoralize the minority community.

- The rigidity of Islam in practices and the lack of communication with the other communities raise suspicion about the religion. The Muslim gathering under fundamentalist organizations with Arabic names and their propagation of ideas secretly through Madrasas have also helped to raise the fingers of Hindu communalist against them.

5) **Social Problems:** The behaviour of the society is based on the culture prevailing in that society. Social imbalance due to unequal growth of population can be pointed as a factor constructing the growth of communalism.

- A reason for the Hindu distrust towards Muslims is that the latter's refusal to use family planning measures and the subsequent result of the growth of Muslim population. The Hindu communalists propagate the view that the hesitation of Muslims to adopt measures of family planning is because they are having a hidden Agenda to multiply their strength.

- The practice of polygamy in Muslim society is another offense in the eyes of Hindus points out this practice as a measure to increase Muslim population. Social relations are strained when inter-religious marriage is attempted. Muslim boys marrying Hindu girls are starting to be seen by the communal angle giving it a name of LOVE JIHAD.

6) **Political Factors:** The political parties are using religion as stepping stone for political power. They utilize it for political clout or to preserve hold on their vote bank. The party tickets in elections are ensued, keeping in view the particular caste, creed, language or religious group, so as to enhance the chances of victory. It is this process that actually prepares the ground for communalization of politics.

- *Bipin Chandra* said that, the tragedy of the recent Indian politics is that the people are more religious than communal, while the political leaders are more communal than religious. Some political parties of India are too much communal in nature. The mainstream parties like the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party, have theoretically liberal ideology for minority communities, just to attain power.

- *Asghar Ali Engineer*- Communalism can be defined as the art of skillfully manipulating the religious sentiments and cultural ethos of

people, by its elites, to realise its political, economic and cultural aspirations, by identifying these aspirations as those of the entire community.

- According to *Prabha Dixit*, on the basis of false community consciousness, elites incite the people to wage movements, to avail more resources and encourage separate identity on communal lines.

7) **Conversion and Religious Reformist Movements:** Conversion and religious reformist movements also made the division between the Hindu and Muslim community wider. The Hindu revivalist movements emphasizing on the glorification of Hindu culture and religion sometimes crossed the limit to humiliate other faiths by praising the Hindu Kings and picturing the Muslim kings as invaders.

- To the communalist Hindus conversion seemed so intolerable. The high caste Hindus who declared themselves as the apostles of Hinduism could not bear the adivasis, Harijans and other Scheduled Caste Hindus converting them to Islam or any other religion. The mass conversion of the so called scheduled caste Hindus to Buddhism Jainism or Christianity is common, nowadays.

- The missionary works undertaken by the Catholic Church especially in the tribal areas and the Protestants and Evangelists operating their institutions in South Indian states are said to have involved in conversion. The conversion made from one faith to another by means of persuasion and material inducement invites communal conflict. Rejecting the faith in which one previously believed and embracing another faith accompanied by open declaration that the previous was inferior and the latter one superior naturally arouses communal animosity.

Dimensions of Communalism

Various groups practice communalism in different ways. The extreme level of communalism which is destructive, taking shape of terrorism and the isolated practice of communalism which limits to one's own community is an example. In the opinion of *T.K. Oommen* there are many dimensions of communalism and he suggests six important dimensions;

- a) *Assimilationist communalism* is one in which small religion groups are assimilated/integrated into big religious groups. Such communalism claims that scheduled tribes are Hindus or that

Jains, Sikhs and Budhists are covered under Hindu Marriage Act.

- b) *Welfarist communalism* aims at the welfare of a particular community, say improving living standards and providing for education and health; for example, Christian associations working for the betterment of Christians or Parsi associations working for the uplift of Parsis. Such communal mobilization aims at working only for the members of one's own community.
- c) *Retreatist communalism* is one in which a small religious community keeps itself away from politics for example, Bahai community which proscribes its members from participating in political activities.
- d) *Retaliatory communalism* attempts to harm, hurt, and injure the members of other religious communities.
- e) *Separatist communalism* is one in which one religious group wants to maintain its cultural specificity and demands a separate territorial state within the country; for example, the demand of some Mizos and Nagas in North east India or Bodos in Assam.
- f) *Secessionist communalism* is one in which a religious community wants a separate identity and demands an independent state. A very small militant section of Sikh population demanding Khalistan is engaged in practicing this type of communalism.

Secularism as an Antidote to Communalism

Communalism has been understood as the antagonism kept against another community. The opposite of communalism in India is considered to be secularism. Secularism emerged in the Western Europe as an opposite ideology to the church hegemony and as a protest against wars and massacres in the name of religion. Secularism in the west is originated as an anti-religious principle.

- In Indian context, secularism means equal respect for all faiths and the state keeping itself impartial in not preferring to one another. Secularism in India does not stand for the abolition of religion, but only for the separation of state and religion.
- Majority communalism is more dangerous when it takes on virulent forms because the state's coercive apparatus may often be controlled by a majority in a democracy. Minority's communalism is equally anti-secular and fraught with potential for explosion.

- The secularist idea in India is highly tolerant towards other religions, does not deny the freedom for individual to practice religion and ensures equality for all religions. The Indian constitution guarantees the fundamental right to the citizens of India that everyone will be given equal protection before law.
- Secular governments are entrusted with the duty to protect each and every citizen's right to uphold his religious identity. When the governments consciously or unconsciously fail to perform this duty, its secular nature fades and communal colours appear.

Secularism is an essential factor which should be practiced in the political arena. Secular politics ensures the protection of the nation's unity and integrity. But bringing religion to politics and using religious connections to gain in politics is contrary to the spirit of secularism. Protection and fearless living ensured to minorities and other depressed class is an essential requisite for a society to term it secular. The concept of secularism in India is the best antidote to communalism. In a society where secular values prevail, it's hard for the communalist to sow the seeds of religious fundamentalism. The uniqueness of Indian secularism is that it admits the freedom of religion unlike its western type of avoiding religion. This religious freedom granted in the secular concept, makes the consolidation of religious people under one umbrella.

RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM

Revivalism of religion indicates the renewed interest in religion. Ben Bellah said that revivalism indicates more observance of religious rituals and people become religious practitioner. There is external symbolism and behaviour which shows a renewed interest in religion. For example Hindus having Tikka on their forehead, Christians wearing cross, Muslims growing beard etc.

- In revivalism the values of religion are accepted by the people who are practising it. All their life values and goals are decided on the basis of religious values.
- Religious revivalism according to some is a world phenomenon. And is also definitely affected by revivalism. Now there is more interest, discussion and participation in religion among the people. There is a change in outward behaviour of people and there is symbolism as far as religious behaviour is concerned.
- In India religious revivalism can be tracked back to the British times. Socio religious movements

like Arya Samaj etc. clubbed religious revival with the social issues.

- Growth of the nationalism was also a reason for the religious revivalism In India during freedom struggle. Religious festivals like Ganesh Chautharhi and symbols were widely used to mobilise the people against British rule.

Reasons for Religious Revivalism in India

- Politics:** In India the role of religion has been integral to the Indian Politics. Political parties like Shiv Sena and Shrimoni Akali Dal etc. were formed on the basis of religion only. Indian politics has inhabited religion in it. *Ashish Nandi* said that caste and religion are often used for political gains in India
- Increasing Desperation and Frustration among People:** Increasing social problems like unemployment, poverty and rising inequality have increased the renewed interest in religion among people. It is seen as a medium to decrease the people's tension and a moderating medium.
- Media and Communication:** Media has also played its role in reviving the religious beliefs among people. The clashes between different communities have been given religious colours by the media houses. It has increased the religious divisions among society.
- Secularism:** Secularism has also been believed as the factor to give birth to religious revivalism. Secularism has been seen as the opposition to the religious beliefs and practices. Various organisations like RSS, Bajrang Dal etc. has attempted to revive religion as an antidote to the ideology of secularism.

Religious revivalism is a reality in India among all the religious communities. In Sikhism also there is a renewed interest in religious beliefs, so as in Buddhists, Parsis and among other religious communities.

ILLITERACY AND DISPARITIES IN EDUCATION

According to the 2011 Census, any person aged seven and above and has the ability to read and write is considered literate. The average literacy rate in India stands at 74.04%. While Kerala has the highest literacy rate in India at 93.91%, Bihar has the least literacy rate in India of 63.82%.

- India has the largest population of illiterate adults in the world – 287 million, which is 37%

of the global total. India's literacy rate has increased six times since Independence. Though the literacy rate has increased from 12% in 2001 to 74% in 2011 yet India has the world's largest population of illiterate adults. India is ranked at 123 out of 135 countries in female literacy rate.

- 47.78% out of school children in India are girls. They will be calculated as illiterate women in the next census and this will have an impact on the education of their children. 60 lakh children in India are still out-of-school.
- Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh are amongst the bottom five states in terms of literacy of Dalits in India.

Illiteracy affects an individual in all areas of their life. An illiterate individual cannot read and write, and thus cannot join the workforce or may work as unskilled labour, lack awareness to make an informed decision which affects them and their community. Further, children of illiterate parents do not receive the same education as children of educated parents. Even if they go to the same school, children of illiterate parents lack the kind of awareness educated parents can give to their children. Hence, illiteracy becomes a vicious cycle affecting the social and economic development of India.

India has the largest population of illiterate adults, which further contribute to this vicious cycle of illiteracy in India. Illiteracy in India is because of a complex web of social and economic divide in the country. Economic disparities, gender discrimination, caste discrimination, and technological barriers lead to illiteracy in India.

- Economic disparities:** There is a strong relationship between illiteracy and poverty. Literacy is defined as the "ability to read and write". Thus, an illiterate person, who cannot read or write, is unable to get a skilled job and is forced to take up an unskilled job. This has an impact on his wages, the standard of living and ultimately his ability to provide proper education to his children. This would also mean that his children will not be able to improve their skills and get a better job and eventually come out of poverty. An unlettered person is unable to access proper healthcare, understand their fundamental rights and demand for the same.
- Gender Discrimination:** In India, High gender disparity in literacy is the main concern in 21st century. According to IAEA Newsletter (2014) a large gap exists between the male and

female population if you inspect their levels of literacy. As per Census 2011, the male female literacy gap is approximately 16%. According to *Katiyar*, the problem of illiteracy, in particular among women, is a huge area of concern not only in India but also across the world and it directly impacts development efforts. There are huge disparities in the economic, social, cultural and schooling opportunities available to men and women in India. Illiteracy is also a threat to learning various skills and also prevents refinement in natural skills. Illiteracy in women is more dangerous in comparison to that in men as women are more concerned with a child's education, health and social well-being.

c) **Discrimination due to Lack of Funds for education:** A skewed allocation of education implies a huge social welfare losses resulting from underutilization of potential human capital. After Independence in 1947, the expenditure on education was minimal during first plan to seventh plan because Indian economy was engaged in fulfilling the basic need of its citizens. After post liberalization Indian economy, per capita total expenditure per five year plan shows an increasing trend of financial expenses for education through different government policies and programmes for reducing illiteracy in order to achieve the Millennium development Goals. Most importantly, 9-11 five year plan expenditure on education has rapidly increased from Rs.7000 to Rs. 33000 per person. Resultantly, it has positive impact on increasing literacy against prevailing mass illiteracy in order to its elimination. Evidentially the literacy has been increased from 52 percent in 1991 (Census of India, 1991) to 74 percent literacy in 2011(Census of India, 2011). But the initiatives are still lacking behind to bring the suitable positive results.

d) **Urban-rural disparity:** According to census of India, 2011, approximately one third rural population of the country (31.09 percent), is still illiterate. Andhra Pradesh has the highest illiteracy rate (38.86 percent) followed by Arunachal Pradesh (38.41 percent) and Bihar (38.17 percent). Approximately one fifth rural male population (21.43 percent) is still illiterate. According to census of India, 2011, approximately one sixth urban population (15.02 percent) of the country is still illiterate. Uttar Pradesh has the highest illiteracy with

22.99 percent followed by Jammu & Kashmir (21.81 percent) and Bihar (21.25 percent).

- e) **Rich-poor disparity:** The National Sample Survey Office's Key Indicators of Household Consumer Expenditure showed that in 2011-12, average monthly expenditure on education for those in the 50th-60th percentile of income distribution (the real "middle class") in rural India was Rs31.47. For those in the same percentile in urban India, the figure was Rs125.49. Such a big difference is likely to be reflected in the quality of education too.
- f) **Caste Disparities:** Caste-based differences in education, income and other aspects of wellbeing have long been recognised.
- g) **Religious Disparities:** Religion-based imbalances have also been observed where Muslims are particularly vulnerable when compared with other religious groups such as Jains, Zoroastrians, Hindus, etc. Literacy rate among various religious groups- Jain (94%)> Christian (80%)> Buddhists (72%)> Sikhs (69%)>Hindus (65%)>Muslims (59%).
- h) **Private school vs Public school:** Between 2010-11 and 2015-16, student enrolment in government schools across 20 Indian states fell by 13 million, while private schools acquired 17.5 million new students, according to a new study that offers insights into India's public-school education crisis. There is a belief among parents that private schools offer better value for money and better teaching than government schools. However, the preference for private school education and the differences in learning outcomes of private and government schools vary between states. In 2016, in Kerala, the proportion of children (aged 11-14) enrolled in government schools increased from 40.6% in 2014 to 49.9%. The Private education sector in the top 20 states account for nearly 55% share of enrollment at the secondary and higher education.
- i) **Disparity in quality of teaching:** Despite the Rs 1.16 lakh crore (\$17.7 billion) spent on Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)—the national programme for universal elementary education—the quality of learning declined between 2009 and 2014, IndiaSpend reported in March 2016. Less than one in five elementary school teachers in India are trained, IndiaSpend reported in May 2015. In Delhi, India's capital city and its richest state, by per capita income, half of all government-school

teachers are hired on temporary contracts. These teachers are likely to be less motivated and accountable than teachers with full-time jobs.

- j) **Primary education vs higher education:** The basic literacy is increasingly available to all, the gulf between the poor and the rich widens as you go up the educational ladder. Only 6% of young people from the bottom fifth of the population attend educational levels above higher secondary in urban India, but that proportion is five times higher, at 31%, for young people from the richest fifth of the population. The access to education at the primary level has become widespread, glaring inequalities in enrolment exist at the secondary and higher levels. As Reserve Bank of India governor Raghuram Rajan said in a recent speech, "skills and capabilities have become much more important in well-paid jobs, and those born in good circumstances have a much better chance at acquiring these."

Ways to improve literacy

Illiteracy creates several hurdles in the development of a country and affects every person in that country. Here are some ways by which we can end illiteracy in India:

- a) **Inclusive Education:** The RTE Act (2009) has resulted in increased enrolment of children in schools, but the Act is applicable for children between 6-14 years of age. Children, especially girl children, who drop out of school after 14 years of age, find it almost impossible to continue their education. The purview of the Act must be increased to make education accessible to every individual.
- b) **Increased investment in government schools:** Due to lack of funds, the government schools are unable to invest in providing basic facilities to children. Lack of functioning toilets, hand-washing area, and drinking water compels children, especially girl children to drop out of school. On the other hand, private schools with high-end facilities charge exorbitant fee making it impossible for those from the marginalised communities to access services. Increasing government expenditure in public schools will make them more accessible.
- c) **Vocational Training:** Often school education alone does not provide the skills required to enter the workforce. The current system of rote learning without practical

training affects the quality of education and fails to develop employable skill sets. Thus, vocational training is important to fill this gap. Carpentry, plumbing, stitching, and nursing are some of the skills which can help individuals seek fulfilling employment.

- d) **Teacher training:** The education system cannot be enhanced without trained and educated teachers. Lack of qualified teachers in both public and private schools impact learning outcomes of children. There is a need for drastic changes to ensure that schools hire qualified teachers, availability of qualified teachers, and opportunities for individuals to be trained as teachers.
- e) **Changing social norms:** Social norms play a huge role in determining the growth of a country. Regressive social norms result in girls dropping out schools or children not being sent to school at all, and this creates a vicious cycle of illiteracy and patriarchal norms for even future generations.

Though India face problem with education system and the inequalities it carries, significant progress can be seen as well. India is one of the youngest nations to have achieved a literacy rate gap-closing to 70 percent and studies say it should be able to achieve over 85 percent literacy by 2020. We too share a certain responsibility in this goal. We also need to know that for the most common problems in our country, education is the answer to all. It has the potential and will provide equality amongst everyone and propel us forward. Education is a right and this right should be fiercely guarded.