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TRADITIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

M. A. Sociology First Year

Semester – I, Paper-II



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102SO21: TRADITIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Course Objectives: This paper will enlighten and educate the students: To understand the various theories developed by thinkers such as Auguste, Comte, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and their views on evolution of society.

Course Outcomes: To prepare the students to enlighten about social thinkers and their theoretical ideologies on evolution and changing aspects of society.

UNIT I: Auguste Comte

1. Sociological Thought: Nature Development and the Social Context
2. Founding father of Sociological Thought Auguste Comte: Law of Three Stages, Human Progress, Hierarchy of Sciences
3. Social Statics and Dynamics and Positivism.

UNIT II: Herbert Spencer

1. Classification of Societies.
2. Social Evolution Theory
3. Organic Analogy

UNIT III: Emile Durkheim

1. Division of Labour
2. Suicides Theory
3. Social Facts, Elementary forms of Religious life

UNIT IV: Max Weber

1. Typology of Social action
2. Authority – Bureaucracy
3. Protestant Ethics and the spirit of Capitalism

UNIT V: Karl Marx

1. Historical and Dialectical Materialism
2. Class Struggle Theory
3. Surplus Value and Alienation

REFERENCES BOOKS:

1. Bogardus : The Development of Social Thought
2. Cohen, Percy : Modern Social Theory
3. Raymond Aaron : Main Currents in Sociological Thought
4. Margaret Vine : Sociological Theory
5. Timasheff, N.S. : Sociological Theory, Nature and Growth

TRADITIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT – 102SO21

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Lesson 1

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Indian Society: Indo logical and Structural

1.0 Objective:

The objectives of this lesson is to explain Indian society and indo logical and structural approaches.

Structure:

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Indological Approach
 - 1.2.1 Srutis
 - 1.2.2 Smritis
 - 1.2.3 Itihasas
 - 1.2.4 Puranas
 - 1.2.5 Agamas
 - 1.2.6 Dharshans
- 1.3 Structural Approach
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 Technical Terms
- 1.6 Self Assessment Questions
- 1.7 Reference Books

1.1 Introduction

Study of Indian society is of recent origin. Its origin goes back to the days when the British officials and the Christian missionaries discovered that knowledge of Indian society and culture was essential for the smooth running of the administration and to work among the natives. The necessity to know the Indian society drove the British officials and the missionaries to collect the accounts of the life and culture of the people with the help of the local scholars. Those accounts were the fore-runners of the more systematic accounts written several decades later.

With the beginning of the 20th century, the study of Indian society assumed professionalism. Studies based on direct empirical investigation and analytical studies provided a professional touch to the study of Indian society. The salient features of the Indian society and social events were analyzed in a professional manner. Later, the professional touch given to the study of Indian social phenomena was refined with the introduction and application of specific approaches.

1.2 Indo logical approach

Indological approach is based on the notion that Indian social institutions and ideologies have relevance only to the Indian setting. They are exclusive to the Indian soil and so they

cannot be understood in a broader perspective, but only in an exclusively Indian perspective. Their relevance, significance and meaning are exclusive to India and outside the realm of Indian setting, they cannot properly be understood. Removed from the Indian setting, the Indian social institutions and ideologies lose their identity and significance. It is only when they are put up against the Indian social background that their significance can be grasped. If put within the broader framework of the universalistic theories and concepts, their originality and identity cannot be grasped.

Indology, more specifically, the branch dealing with interpretation of ancient texts, and linguistic studies of problems of ancient Indian culture would be more fruitful if supplemented by archaeological, sociological, anthropological, numismatic and ethnographic evidence and vice versa.

The Indo logical approach rested on the assumption that historically, Indian society and culture are unique and that this contextual specificity of Indian social realities could be grasped better through the texts. It may also be viewed that Indo logical approach refers to the historical and comparative method based on Indian texts in the study of Indian society. Therefore, Indologists use ancient history, epics, religious manuscripts and texts etc. in the study of Indian social institutions.

The texts basically included the classical ancient literature of ancient Indian society such as Vedas, Puranas, Manu Smriti, Ramayana, Mahabharata and others. Indologists analyse social phenomena by interpreting the classical texts. Apart from Sanskrit scholars and Indologists, many sociologists have also used extensively traditional texts to study Indian society. Therefore, it is called as "textual view" or "textual perspective" of social phenomena as it depends upon texts.

An Indological and culturological approach has also been the hallmark of several sociologists. They have hammered against the acceptance of theoretical and methodological orientations of the western countries. These scholars emphasized the role of traditions, groups rather than individual as the basis of social relations and religion, ethics and philosophy as the basis of social organization.

The Sanskrit literature has a rich variety of texts and they include Srutis, Smritis, Itihasas, Puranas, Agamas and Darshanas.

12.1 **Srutis**

Srutis are the basic scriptures found in the form of Vedas. The Vedas are the divine revelations of truths about the universe and life through great seers and saints.

There are four Vedas – Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharvana. Each of these Veda is divided into four groups, namely, (a) Mantra Samhita, (b) Brahmana, (c) Aranyaka, and (d) Upanishad. Mantra Samhitas are the Vedic hymns addressed to the deities for peaceful and happy life. Brahmanas are the books of guidance for the performance of rites and ceremonies to appease the gods. Aranyakas are the forest books which provide philosophical interpretations of rituals. The Upanishads are the concluding portions of Vedas and designated as Vedants. They are philosophical speculations revealing profound spiritual truths.

12.2 **Smritis**

Smritis are scriptures known as Dharma Shastras. They are known as the sacred law codes. They supplement the ritualistic rules in the Vedas and lay down a host of norms to regulate the individual conduct and social behaviour.

12.3 **Ithihasas**

Ithihasas comprise the two great epics – Ramayana and Mahabharata, written by Valmiki and Vyasa respectively. They are known as Mahakavyas revealing the life and activities of the people in ancient India. The customs and values of the people, their ways of life, art and other cultural forms are nicely depicted in these two epics.

12.4 **Puranas**

Puranas belong to the same class of Ithihasas. Ithihasas and Puranas together constitute the fifth Veda. Puranas provide religious knowledge tracing the history of creation, dealing with cosmology and explaining philosophy of life, through stories, legends, myths and narratives.

12.5 **Agamas**

Agamas are theological treatises dealing with the forms of worship. They are practical manuals detailing the ways and means to knowledge.

12.6 **Dharshanas**

Dharshanas are the embodiment of philosophy. They furnish the modes of reasoning and interpretation.

These scriptural texts deal with the values, ideologies and institutions of the Indian society and furnish knowledge about the ideological and valuational foundations of the social organization of India. As the texts were composed by the great sages, they are accredited and accepted as the unquestionable authority for the knowledge of the Indian society and its elements.

Indological approach seeks to understand and interpret the features of the Indian social organization in terms of the conceptions and explications given in the textual literature. Whether it is marriage, family, education, social stratification, status of women or any other subject concerning Indian society, the Indological approach turns to and banks on the references or explanatory details given about them in the textual literature.

Of course, the textual literature in Sanskrit contains adequate informatory materials for the knowledge of the different aspects of the Indian society. So to say, for the understanding of the subtleties of certain concepts, the Sanskrit literature proves itself to be of immense use. For instance, the concept of 'dharma' is a unique concept. The English equivalent for this is justice or morality. But this equivalent does not connote the import of the concept. 'Dharma' is more than justice or morality. It is a comprehensive term connecting a living tradition, imperative obligation and supreme duty. Various aspects of morality, conduct and cultural unity are combined in it. These multifarious dimensions of the concept can be understood only from looking into the Sanskrit literature.

1.3 Structural Approach

No doubt, the Indian society has its own peculiarities and unique features. Some of its institutions and ideational phenomena are exclusive to it. Anyhow, this does not take the Indian society out of the social galaxy. It has the same basic features as the society in general does. One such basic feature is structure.

Society has several parts. They do not lie scattered and disconnected. They are interconnected and arranged in relation to one another. It is this aspect that is called structure. Sociologists, right from Auguste Comte to Talcott Parsons, emphasize this aspect as for the society. Indian society, being a part of the social universe, is not different from its whole. It has a structure, with its parts remaining interconnected with one another.

Structuralists emphasized the study of the structure for the understanding of the Indian society. In their view, structural analysis will provide a better understanding of the Indian society in the midst of its heterogeneity and diversity.

Structural analysis is distinct from cultural analysis. Cultural analysis is made in terms of particularities of customs, values and ideational phenomena, their interrelationship and change. But structural analysis is focused on the network of relationship formed by the interrelationships between the parts of society.

Each part of society comprises a field of social interaction. Social relationships occurring within one part are culturally distinct from those of other parts. At the substratum of each part are innumerable peculiarities of values, customs or cultures. It is for this reason that the social relationships are culturally distinct from one another. Although culturally diverse, the network of social relationships share common and comparable attributes at a higher level of abstraction called social structure, providing room for structural analysis.

Thus, the parts of society, by way of comprising fields of social interaction, become structural realities. For example, family, kinship, caste, class, factory and political units are the structural realities. At the substratum of these structural realities, there are numberless particularities of customs and cultures and they determine the social relationships occurring in the social realities. Although cultural aspects underlie structural realities, structural analysis does not cover cultural aspects, but only the patterned relationships abstracted from the different structural realities. It is focused on how the different structural realities are interconnected and interrelated so as to constitute a network relationship.

Structural analysis may be employed even for a structural reality. In such case, the analysis will cover the bearings of the structural reality on the social structure at large. Not only a structural reality, but any social phenomenon may be subjected to structural analysis. Even a phenomenon which appears to be a cultural process may be studied within structural framework. How such a phenomenon may be studied within structural framework is hinted by Richard Lambert through illustration. Normally when modernization is analysed, the analysis is made in cultural perspective, that is, in terms of changes in the life styles of the people. But Lambert adopts structural frame of reference in his approach to modernization. He explains modernization in terms of reference in his approach to modernization. He explains modernization in terms of five accompanying changes: "Status is superseded by contract as the predominant basis of interpersonal economic relations; primary group-organized production processes are supplanted by a more complex division of labour, finer job specifications, and interdependence of separate economic roles; ascribed status gives way to achieved status; immobility surrenders to rapid vertical and horizontal mobility; and belief in the durability, inevitability, and propriety of one's status is replaced by aspirations for improving one's lot." Lambert thus explains modernization in a structuralist perspective as a process of movement of society "from one end of the polarity to another, tradition-bound, primary-group-oriented,

particularistic, fatalistic society into one that is rapidly changing, achieved-status-dominated, progressive, secondary-group-oriented, universalistic and aspiring”.

1.4 Summary

An approach to the study of Indian social institutions, ideologies values, customs, etc. within the framework of Indian society through the Indian textual literature composed in a pervasive language. Indological approach is based on the notion that Indian social institutions and ideologies have relevance only to the Indian setting. Structuralists emphasized the study of the structure for the understanding of the Indian society. In their view, structural analysis will provide a better understanding of the Indian society in the midst of its heterogeneity and diversity.

1.5 Technical Terms

Cultural Analysis
Varnas
Structure
Informatory

1.6 Self Assessment Questions

1. Evaluate the role of Indological approach in the study of Indian society.
2. Explain the nature of structural approach to sociological study.

1.7 Reference Books

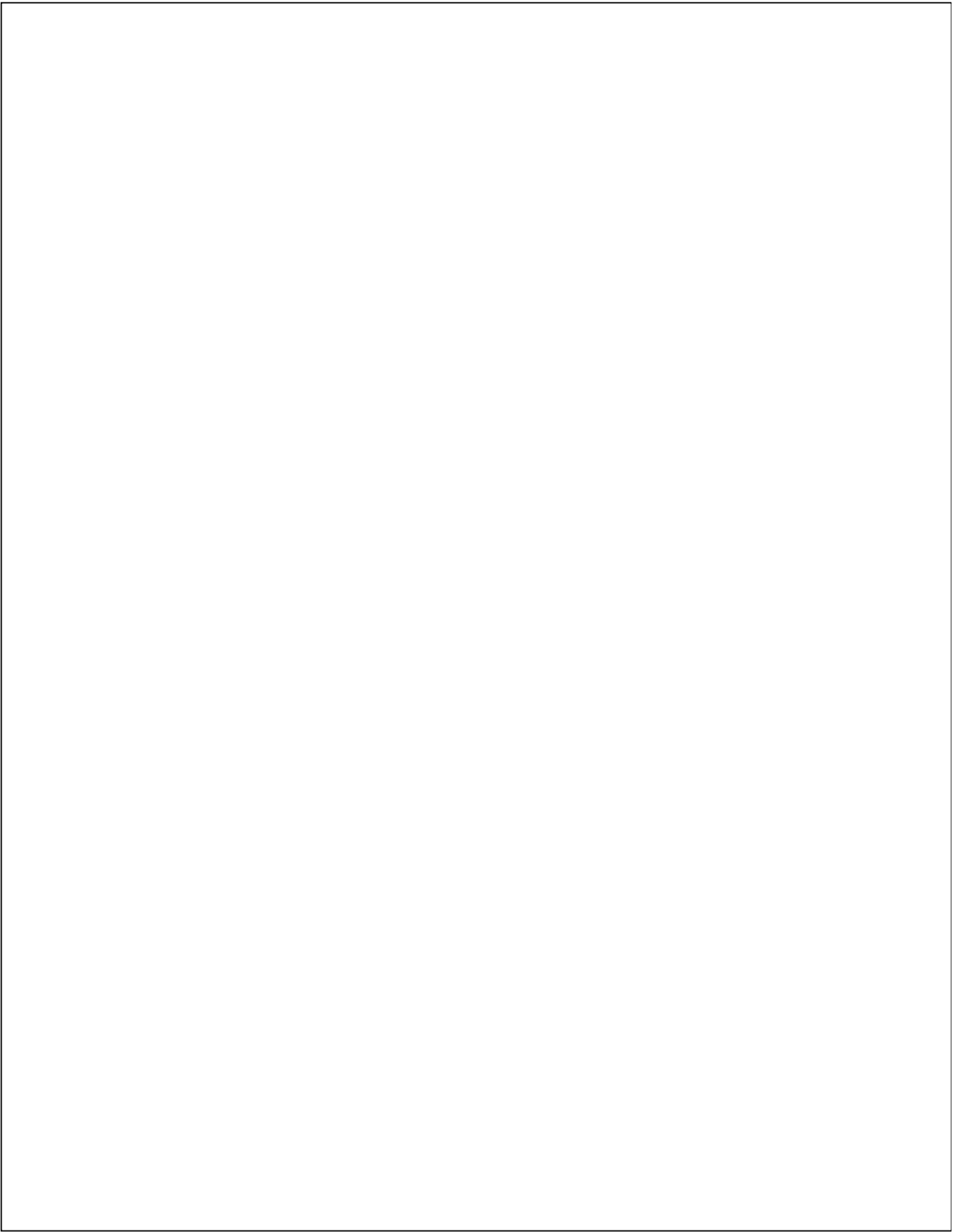
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Lesson no. 2

Functional, Dialectical and Subaltern Approaches

2.0 Objective:

The objectives of this lesson are to explain the various theoretical approaches.

Structure:

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Functional Approach
- 2.3 Dialectical Approach
- 2.3.1 Dialectical Studies in India
- 2.4 Subaltern Approach
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Technical Terms
- 2.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 2.8 Reference Books

2.1 Introduction

Study of Indian society is of recent origin. Its origin goes back to the days when the British officials and the Christian missionaries discovered that knowledge of Indian society and culture was essential for the smooth running of the administration and to work among the natives. The necessity to know the Indian society drove the British officials and the missionaries to collect the accounts of the life and culture of the people with the help of the local scholars. Those accounts were the fore-runners of the more systematic accounts written several decades later.

With the beginning of the 20th century, the study of Indian society assumed professionalism. Studies based on direct empirical investigation and analytical studies provided a professional touch to the study of Indian society. The salient features of the Indian society and social events were analyzed in a professional manner. Later, the professional touch given to the study of Indian social phenomena was refined with the introduction and application of specific approaches. Among them the important were indological, subaltern, structural, functional and dialectical approaches.

2.2 Functional Approach

Structural approach presupposes that a society is structurally integrated since its parts/units are interconnected and arranged in relation to one another. A similar assumption is held by another approach, called functional approach.

Functional approach basically implies two assumptions about society:

1. That every part of the society, by virtue of its existence or operation, has a function for the society, that is, makes a contribution to the maintenance of the total social system.
2. That all parts of a society work together in unison and make contribution to the functioning of the total social system as a functional unity.

The notion of function was formulated in the nineteenth century, most explicitly by Herbert Spence. It was based on an age-old analogy between a society and an organism. Spence, however, like most of those influenced by biological conceptions, was most concerned to work out a theory of social evolution and his analysis of social structure and social function, though of some interest, are brief. It was Durkheim who first gave a rigorous formulation of the concept of social function in *The Division of Labour in Society* and in *The Rules of Sociological Method*. He defined the function of a social institution as the correspondence between it and the needs of the social organism.

The extreme form of functionalist approach was propagated by Bronislaw Malinowski. His functionalist approach involved the dogmatic assertion of the functional integration of every society. In his view, every social activity has a function for the society and every activity is so completely integrated with all the others that no single phenomenon is intelligible outside the whole social context.

A refined version of functionalist approach was developed by Robert Merton. He made the functional approach less dogmatic and more useful by introducing a number of qualifications. One of these, the distinction between manifest and latent functions, is the exposition of the principle that the functions of social institutions may of course be obvious, but are not always what they seem to be.

Those who subscribe to functionalism are for the application of functional approach to the study of Indian social institutions. In their view, every social institution in India has a function for the society by way of its existence and contributes to the maintenance of the society. Further, they hold that all social institutions work together in harmony with one another and make contribution to the total social life.

But functional approach is criticized that its view of society is inherently conservative. As it views society as composed of parts that function together contributing to the maintenance of the whole, critics charge that it does not reflect the reality. By focusing heavily on consensus and unity, functionalism, the critics charge, distorts the true nature of society. Unlike the parts of organism, argue the critics, the parts of the society do not always function together for the benefit of the whole. Some parts are in conflict, some parts benefit at the expense of others.

Anyhow, in India, functional approach has turned out to be useful in the analysis of rural society and its institutions. It has provided new insights into certain institutions like caste, kin marriage, family, and religion.

2.3 Dialectical Approach

The logical concept of dialectics also finds place in the study of Indian society. Basically, the concept refers to the method of intellectual discussion by dialogue. A philosophical treatment was meted out to it by German philosopher, Hegel. He used the notion as a logical process. He held a view that in every category of human thought, there are two opposite strands which exist side by side. When one strand seeks to perpetuate the old form, the other strand strives for change in the form. It is this tension between the two strands that leads to a new development, that is, the change in the form of thought. In this way, development occurs in sequence as a result of the hidden tension between the co-existing, but mutually opposite strands of thought.

Drawing upon Hegel's concept of dialectics, Karl Marx developed his own version of dialectics called dialectical materialism. In contradistinction to Hegel, Marx held matter to be supreme and not consciousness or thought. However, he accepted the basic dialectic philosophy of Hegel and held a dialectical view about matter.

His dialectical view about the matter was elaborated by his colleague, Friedrich Engels in his laws of dialectical materialism. In any object or phenomenon, there are internal tendencies or forces which are mutually exclusive and opposite to each other. There is not object or phenomenon in the world without this internal contradictoriness. Although the contradictory tendencies or forces are mutually exclusive and opposite to each other, they exist side by side. One does not exist without the other. They presuppose each other. It is this inseparable interconnection between them that constitutes their unity. However, these opposites cannot co-exist peacefully in one object: it is this inseparable interconnection between them that constitutes their unity. However, these opposites cannot co-exist peacefully in one object: the contradictory, mutually exclusive character of the opposites inevitably causes a struggle between them. The old and the new, the obsolescent and the nascent must come into conflict. Here it is important to note that the unity, that is, co-existence of the opposites is a necessary condition of the conflict, because it takes place only when the opposites is a necessary condition of the conflict, because it takes place only when the opposites exist together in one object or phenomenon.

It is the contradiction, the conflict of the opposites that is the main source of development of matter. More often than not, one of the two tries to maintain the status quo and the other counterpart tries to radically alter the situation. It is this conflict between the two that leads to a new situation, stage, object or phenomenon, when the mature conditions come into existence after several quantitative changes.

2.3.1 Dialectical Studies in India

The Marxist form of dialectical approach is considerably used in sociological interpretation in the academic world. In India also, the Marxist theory has influenced sociology. However, the influence of the Marxist approach is not strong. This is probably due to the dominant influence that British sociology and social anthropology with its functional orientation exercised on its methodology and scope. Despite this, a few sociologists were influenced by the methodology of dialectical or Marxist sociology.

One of them is D.P. Mukerjee. In his writings, one can find his concern with the analysis of Indian processes from a dialectical frame of reference. He mainly focuses upon the encounter of the Indian tradition with that of the West which, on the one hand, unleashed many forces of cultural contradiction and, on the other, give rise to a new middle class. The rise of these forces, according to him, generates a dialectical process of conflict and synthesis.

Mukerjee believes that the value systems and class interests tend to clash with one another. The dialectical interplay and conflict between these contradictory forces results in the ultimate in the synthesis which marks social change. This process, he notes, did not start with the encounter with the West during the British rule. It started with the impact of Islam on India. The British rule created a new historical contingency in India by creating a middle class with its roots neither in tradition nor in modernity. Thus, the Indian society ceased to be closed without being open.

2.4 Subaltern Approach

As the Indian society has its own peculiarities and unique elements, some analysts of Indian society emphasize the need for adopting Indological approach for the study of the Indian society. As the Indological approach is particularistic and exclusive to the Indian society, it is believed that it will facilitate proper, comprehensive understanding of the Indian social institutions and ideologies. But as it is oriented towards the Sanskrit literature, reservations are raised about its objectivity and coverage. As the Sanskrit literature is the creation of the elite sections (higher varnas/jatis) that exercised complete control over the language and education, it can only be reflective of such sections and not of the cross section of the society. It is for this reason that the validity of the Sanskrit literature oriented Indological approach as the source of understanding the Indian society is questioned. As an alternative to the elitist-biased Indological approach, an approach called 'subaltern approach' is adduced.

Subaltern approach consists in viewing of the Indian society from the prism of masses. Throughout the history, the Indian society remains divided broadly into two sections, namely, the elites and masses. The labels may vary at different points of time, yet the divisions remain dichotomous at all times. Whether the basis is varna, birth, literacy, power or any other source, the divisions remain broadly dichotomous, with one being in the elite and dominant position and the other being in non-elite and downtrodden condition.

The elites are in minority, yet dominate every sphere of social system. Although the non-elites are in majority, they are downtrodden and kept in lower and powerless positions. As they are sidelined and relegated to the lower positions, they constitute the substratum of the society.

For any society, the substructure or substratum is the foundation. Even though it may not be visible, it constitutes the soul of the entire society. The identity and character of the society can be understood only by reference to it. By looking at the superstructure or superstratum constituted by the upper sections, one cannot understand the character of the society.

By the pursuers of elitist approach take the elite sections as representative of the Indian society and look at every phenomenon or even in the Indian society from the prism of elite sections. For instance, the scholars having the elitist historiographic orientation tend to represent Indian nationalism as primarily an idealist venture in which the indigenous elite led the people from subjugation to freedom.

But the writers like Ranjit Guha attack historical writing of this kind. For it fails to acknowledge, far less interpret, the contribution made by the subaltern classes and groups constituting the mass of the laboring population, on their own, independently of the elite, to the making and development of Indian nationalism. The subaltern classes engaged in vast numbers, sometimes in hundreds of thousands or even millions in nationalist activities and ideas. Whether it was the anti-Rowlatt upsurge of 1919 or the Quit Indian movement of 1942 or any other uprising against the colonial rule, the subaltern classes and groups participate en masse in such nationalist activities on their own accord. But the historiographers with elitist orientation underrate involvement of the subaltern classes and groups in the nationalist activities and give importance to the participation of certain elite leaders in the nationalist activities. They even credit the mass involvement of the subaltern classes in nationalist struggles to the influence and initiative of elite leaders.

Ranjit Guha asserts that the subaltern classes had their own domain of politics. They evolved themselves political strategies and organized political activities independently. Their domain of politics existed parallel to the domain of elite politics. It functioned autonomously. Guha feels that it would be unfair to ignore the subaltern rebellions and to deny their originality.

Following on the footsteps of historiographers, some writers view the Indian society and culture in terms of the notions, styles of life and customs of the upper sections of the society.

They take the upper sections as representative of the Indian society and regard their notions, beliefs and practices as the essence of Indian society and culture.

Actually, it is the other way round, the advocates of subaltern approach argue. Constituting the masses of the society, it is the subaltern classes that form the substructure of the society and their ways of life represent and reflect the Indian social life and culture. In the view of the pro-subaltern authors, the elite constitute merely the top layer of the society; the substance is constituted by the subaltern classes. To understand the Indian society, they argue, one should look not at the layer, but below the layer.

2.5 Summary

The salient features of the Indian society and the social events were analyzed in a professional manner. Later, the professional touch given to the study of Indian social phenomena was refined with the introduction and application of specific approaches. Among them the important were indological, subaltern, structural, functional and dialectical approaches. In India, functional approach has turned out to be useful in the analysis of rural society and its institutions. It has provided new insights into certain institutions like caste, kin marriage, family, and religion. Dialectical approach is the tension between the two strands that leads to a new development, that is, the change in the form of thought. Subaltern approach consists in viewing of the Indian society from the prism of masses. Throughout the history, the Indian society remains divided broadly into two sections, namely, the elites and masses.

2.6 Technical Terms

Dialectics
Elites
Historiography
Mass
Subaltern Classes

2.7 Self Assessment Questions

1. Bring out the importance of subaltern approach for the study of Indian.
2. State why subaltern approach is emphasized for the understanding of the Indian society.
3. Explain the concept of dialectical approach.
4. Explain how functionalist approach serves to understand the Indian society.

2.8 Reference Books

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Lesson - 3

TRADITIONS OF INDIAN SOCIETY

The main objective of the lesson is to discuss the Values, Norms, the Ashrams, the Purusharthas and Tradition of the Indian society.

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Hinduism and Hindus
 - 2.2.1 Hindu Philosophy
 - 2.2.2 Basic tenets of Hinduism
- 2.3 Impact of Post-Vedic Tradition
- 2.4 The Ashrams
- 2.5 The Purusharthas
- 2.6 Meaning of Values
- 2.7 Meaning of Norms
- 2.8 Summary
- 2.9 Key Words
- 2.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 2.11 Reference Books

2.1 Introduction

The society at times appears to be chaotic, when there is a hysterical rush from an impending crisis: but soon order is restored and the society gets going. Indeed order rather than disorder is the rule of the world. Social order as it is called, is obtained through regulation of human behaviour according to certain standards. - All societies provide for these standards specifying appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. Traditions will define a belief system. The passing down from generation to generation of beliefs, laws, doctrines and customs that help that particular group make sense of their world and the cosmos. It also refers to the reasons why these are passed down. This continuity gives society stability.

2.2 Hinduism and Hindus

The term "Hinduism" has to be understood in terms of its indigenous meaning, in its meaning of medieval period, and in its contemporary meaning. In its indigenous meaning, the view of Hinduism was derived from the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, etc. then came a period when some Brahmin acharyas (teachers) reinterpreted the religious literature and described some practices and beliefs as significant and decisive. Some of such practices and beliefs were: sati, human sacrifice, devadasis, child marriage, worship of

village goddess with the slaughter of an animal, belief in Shakti cult, and so on. Later on, specifically after the Mughal period, some educated Hindus described these beliefs and practices as crude and barbarous, and became critical of these features of Hinduism. They even talked of reform and started reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission, and so forth.

2.2.1 Hindu Philosophy

The Hindu view of life in the Vedic thought is that man is altogether and throughout composed of desires (Kama). Its other feature is that it believes in unity.

As are his desires, so is his discretion. As is his discretion, so are his deeds; as is his deed, so is his destiny. Hence, if a man has left any desires in him while he lives, he takes birth again, but if no desires are left in him, he becomes one with Brahma (God). Under the circumstances, one must eradicate discretion (Kratu) in order to destroy his desires. It is desire that binds a man to this world and makes him liable to birth and death. Karma (Deed) is, thus, only a connecting link between desires and rebirth. Hence, on getting rid of desires, the mortal becomes immortal and attains salvation (moksha).

It will be wrong to hold that this is the only view of the Vedic thought/religion or the Hindu philosophy. In fact, the Hindu literature presents varied approaches to ultimate reality. One approach was made at a later stage in Gita to the problem of dispensing with the desires. Gita is believed to be part of the Mahabharata, which depicts the great war between Pandavas and Kaurvas, fought somewhere about 1,000 B.C. Gita is supposed to have been compiled by about 400 A.D. it presents a new philosophy of life – the philosophy of karma. The Gita insisted on the sublimation rather than the eradication of desires and that was to be done by knowing the true nature of karma.

The Hindu philosophy believes in the continuity of the present with the past in which it is rooted, and its projection into the future. The Hindu respect for tradition has a purpose. It seeks to achieve homogeneity and harmony of thought. The different phases merely represent differences in emphasis at different historical periods.

2.2.2 Basic Tenets of Hinduism

Focusing on the tenets and the normative principles of Hinduism, could it be said that Hinduism believes in equality and egalitarianism? Are Karma and rebirth ideas acceptable to all Hindus? Is Moksha the ultimate goal of all? Is toleration its character? Is non-violence its important feature? Do all Hindus believe in the merger of individual soul into the ultimate soul?

Yogendra Singh (1973:31) is of the opinion that the normative principles of Hinduism are based on beliefs, ideals and logic of permissiveness, liberalism being and becoming, creation and destruction, hedonism (belief that pleasure is the chief goal), utilitarianism, and spiritual transcendence (outside the range of human experience, reason and description, etc.)

2.3 Impact of Post-Vedic Tradition

The Vedic philosophy of early Hinduism was influenced by Buddhism and Jainism. Though both developed as separate religions but they had deeper roots in the Hindu tradition. Jainism had the patronage of urban-mercantile community while Buddhism had princely patronage. Both emphasized the value of continuity and the significance of

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

Hindu beliefs and values were further affected by the preaching of Shankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, and Madhavacharya, who established monasteries in different corners of the country for propagating monotheism. Ramanuja founded Vaishnava sect and got followers from Jains, Shaivites and low castes. The Lingayat sect in South India converted many non-Brahmins to the exclusive worship of Shiva.

The devotional school emerged between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century which attempted to popularize some new values in the Hindu religion. Saints like Kabir, Guru Nanak, Ramananda, Chaitanya, Mira, Tulsidas, Tukaram and Ramdas, etc., emphasized on equalitarian and non-hierarchical valued system in Hinduism. They also made efforts towards liberalization of the Hindu tradition and its synthesis with Islam.

2.4 The Ashrams

According to the Hindu philosophy, life is divided into four stages or ashrams: Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vanaprastha, and Sanyasa. This scheme of division has scriptural sanction, though ideally it is meant for all the males of the twice-born castes, that is, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Each stage has definite duties and functions. The first stage of Brahmacharya or studentship under a teacher and strict celibacy came to an end at about sixteen years of age when the boy married and entered the second stage of Grihastha or householder's life. In that situation, he had to perform sacrifices and have children for the perpetuation of his lineage. At the approach of the old age, the householder enters the stage of Vanaprastha or relative withdrawal where he was expected to detach himself from his family gradually (but not leave the family) and devote more time to the study of religious books and meditation. Ultimately, he was to renounce the world or take Sanyasa and preach the truths in society which he had experienced in his life. In this stage, he led to wandering and mendicant life.

Today, Hindus no longer believed in the ashram system and the ideals of isolation and renouncement. Nobody detaches himself from the family life in the old age and nobody takes to sanyasa.

2.5 The Purusharthas

Hinduism talks of four goals of life which human-beings ought to pursue. If moksha (liberation from life and death) is the ultimate goal of a person, the wish for a long span of life on this earth is his immediate desire. The harmony between the two aims is unfolded in the theory of purusharthas. There are believed to be four purusharthas or aims of life: Artha, Kama, Dharma, and Moksha. Artha (Wealth) refers to acquisition and enjoyment of wealth; kama (satisfaction of biological desires) refers to the satisfaction of sex drives and temporal interests and aesthetic urges; dhama (right conduct) refers to the acceptance of the prescribed discipline and obligations in social, religious and cultural realms; and moksha refers to the ideal of spiritual realization. While the first three goals are all external to man and therefore attainable (Sadhya or means), the last one is imminent in him and it has only

to be given a chance for achievements (Siddha). Hinduism does not deny the pursuit of any of these goals to any individual because of his low status ascribed by birth.

The significant thing in Hinduism was that no full commitment was prescribed for the pursuit of goals of life (Purusharthas) and dividing life in four stages (Ashramas) for the achievement of these goals. People were given greater permissiveness in this regard. For example, the conformity to these values and goals was expected only from the twice-born upper castes. Most of these values were ideological-motivational phenomena and many of them were ethico-religious in nature. A great deal of flexibility was allowed in the expectation of conformity to the prescribed values and obligations. The obligations were relative to space (desha), time (kala), ability to make shrama (effort), and innate qualities (gun of the individuals.).

2.6 Meaning of values

In sociology our concern is with social values. Social values are cultural standards that indicate the general good deemed desirable for organised social life. These are assumptions of what is right and important for society. They provide the ultimate meaning and legitimacy for social arrangements and social behaviour. They are the abstract sentiments or ideals. An example of an important social value is, "equality of opportunity". It is widely considered to be a desirable end in itself. The importance of such a value in social life can hardly be exaggerated. A social value differs from individual value. An individual value is enjoyed or sought by the individual which a man seeks for himself. Even though these values are commonly shared, they do not become social values. As distinct from Individual values, a social value contains a concern for others' welfare. Social values are organised within the personality of the Individuals. They regulate his thinking and behaving. The process of socialization aims to include these values in his personality, the ethos or fundamental characteristics of any culture are a reflection of its basic values. Thus if the American culture is dominated by a belief in material progress, the Indian culture is marked by spiritualism, the forgetting of self, abandonment of personal desire and elimination.

2.7 Meaning of Norms

Norms are standards of group behaviour. An essential characteristic of group life is that it is possessed of a set of values which regulate the behaviour of individual members. As we have seen already, groups do not drop out of the blue with stabilized relationships among members. Groups are the products of interaction among individuals. When a number of individuals interact, a set of standards develop that regulate their relationships and modes of behaviour. These standards of group behaviour are called social norms. That brothers and sisters should not have sexual relations; a child should defer to his parents and an uncle should not joke with his nephews and nieces are the illustrations of norms which govern relationships among kinsmen.

Norms incorporate value judgments. Secord and Buckman say "A norm is a standard of behavioural expectation shared by group members against which the validity of perceptions is judged and the appropriateness of feeling and behaviour is evaluated."¹ Members of a group exhibit certain regularities in their behaviour. This behaviour is considered desirable by the group. Such regularities in behaviour have been explained in terms of social norms. Norm, in popular usage, means a standard. In sociology our concern is with social norms, that is, norms accepted in a group. They represent "standardized generalizations" concerning expected modes of behaviour. As standardized generalizations they are concepts which have been evaluated by the group and incorporate value

judgments. Thus it may be said that norms are based on social values which are justified by moral standards or aesthetic judgment.³ A norm is a pattern setting limits on individual behaviour. As defined by Broom and Selznick, „The norms are blueprints for behaviour setting limits within which individuals may seek alternate ways to achieve their goals.” Norms do not refer to an average or central tendency of human beings. They denote expected behaviour, or even ideal behaviour. Moral values are attached to them. They are model practices. They set out the normative order of the group.”

2.8 Summary

India is the seventh largest and the second most populous nation in the world. Indian culture has a long and continuous history. It extends over 5000 years. India is great for his tradition, culture, norms and values. India is also called as Hindu country, according to the Hindu philosophy, life is divided into four stages or ashrams: The first stage is Brahmacharya or studentship, the second stage is Grihastha or householder's life, the third stage is Vanaprastha, the last stage is Sanyasa. There are believed to be four purusharthas or aims of life: Artha, Kama, Dhama, and Moksha. Social values are cultural standards that indicate the general good deemed desirable for organised social life. These are assumptions of what is right and important for society.

2.9 Key Words

INDIGENOUS
MOKSHA
PATRONAGE
EXAGGERATED
PURUSHARTHAS

2.10 Self Assessment Questions

1. Elaborately discuss about Hinduism and Hindu Philosophy
2. Explain the impact of Post-Vedic Tradition
3. What is meant by Social Norms and Social Values
4. Write a short note on “the Ashrams and Purusharthas”

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Lesson - 4

PURUSHARTHAS - HINDU VIEW OF LIFE

3.0 Objectives:

The main objectives of this lesson are to explain the introduction, meaning, and kinds of Purusharthas.

Contents

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Meaning of Purusharthas
- 3.3 Kinds of Purusharthas
- 3.4 Dharma
- 3.5 Artha
- 3.6 Kama
- 3.7 Moksha
- 3.8 Conclusion
- 3.9 Keywords
- 3.10 Questions
- 3.11 Reference books

3.1 Introduction: Hinduism-The Ancient Religion of India

Hinduism represents neither a dogma nor just a collection of some belief. It is a living religion. It denotes not only a way of life but also way of thinking. It gives more importance to spiritual and moral principles than to religious norms; rituals and ceremonies. Hence moral and spiritual principles always encompass the Hindu view of life.

Hinduism as a religion is the most ancient and most influential one. It has contributed in no small measure to the enrichment of the major religions of the world such as Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism. Hinduism which has a long long and an unbroken tradition of wise and perfect men still continues to guide the lives of millions of its followers.

Hinduism is based on and supported by abundant literature in the form of "*śrutis*" and "*smritis*". In the vast mass of Hindu religio-philosophical literature the Vedas, Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita have assumed importance. The Vedas constitute the fountainhead of the entire Indian culture, whereas the Upanishads form the basis of Indian philosophy and socio-religious thought. They are also known as the earliest treasures of knowledge. The Gita which provides the philosophical basis of popular Hinduism, seems to be very influential in guiding the lives of people.

The Hindu socio-philosophical thought also includes the theory of "*purusharthas*" which exemplifies Hindu "*life purposes*". The four purusharthas – dharma, artha, Kama and moksha reflect the Hindu attitude towards life. The theory of purusharthas gets its concrete expression in the twin co-ordinated systems of social

It is very well known that Hinduism is more a way of life than a religion. For understanding Hinduism one must understand the characteristic way of life of the Hindus. Let us know try to study how the main fields of human life are ordered and organized according to the traditional Hindu conception. The Hindu attitude to life and daily conduct is oriented towards four noble ends of man. These four noble ends exemplified in the Hindu Dharmashastras as the “*purusharthas*.”

3.2 Meaning of “*purusharthas*”:

The concept of *purusharthas* is a fundamental principle of the Indian social ethics. The word *purusharthas* implies attainments or life-purposes. According to this concept the aim of every person is to attain four noble ends or *purusharthas*. They are Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha. These *purusharthas* govern the Hindu way of life. They are the guiding principles of life for the Hindus at all the stages of their development. The entire Hindu social organization is built on the foundation of the *purusharthas*.

3.3 Kinds of Purusharthas

The four *purusharthas* are: Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha.

3.4 Dharma (The principle of Righteousness):

DHARMA is the supreme principle of the life. It is the major end in human life. The word dharma is derived from the Sanskrit root “*dhri*”. Meaning to hold together the whole universe. Therefore, our shastras say that “*dharma dharma ityahuh*”. It is essential for maintaining the stability of society.

- As Dr. S. Radha Krishnan has pointed out “.....every form of life, every group of men has its dharma which is the law of its being. “*adharma*” or vice is opposition to it.”
- The Veda, Upanishad, and Gita equated Dharma with Rta or truth and treated it as a cosmic principle.
- From the point of view of **Mimamsa philosophy**, dharma means moral code of conduct to be observed by all human beings in every sphere of their activity and it holds good for all times to come.

The Dharmashastra also insists on the universal form of dharma. In the words of **Kane**, the writers in dharma shastras meant by dharma not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct which regulated man's work and activities as a member of a society and as an individual. “Dharma was intended to enable man to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence {that is liberation}.

*According to Mahabharata, Dharma is created for the well-being of all creation. “All that is free from doing harm to any created being is essentially Dharma...” Thus Dharma protects all. It is capable of preserving the universe.

*According to the **Bhagavad-Gita**, “He, who protects [follows] dharma, is protected in turn by Dharma.” [“Dharma Rakshati Rakshita...”]. That is the highest ideal in the Hindu philosophy. Thus, dharma is the holder of balance. The basic principle or Dharma is the realization of the dignity of the human spirit. It is the law of nature which helps man to attain the supreme end of life.

a) **Dharma is Not Religion**

The Sanskrit word “Dharma” should not be equated with the English word “religion”. Religion basically indicates a system of dogmas and a particular way of worshipping. Dharma is the living experience. It is the guiding principle of life; a complete rule of life. It leads way towards ultimate reality. It is not supernatural belief but a way of rational thinking. It consciously aims at achieving the highest perfection of human life namely “Moksha”.

Dharma is often connected with happiness and liberation. “Dharma is what Dharma accomplishes.” It involves knowledge of reality and performance of duties. Non-performance of duties produces sins. The Mimamsa philosophy has tried to explain Dharma in terms of moral law. Philosophy with the Hindus is not a view of life; it is also a way of life. Hence, ‘Dharma’ means the righteous way of living. It is intended to provide guidelines in all social actions. It harmonizes relations between Kama and Artha. It is corrective of social evils. Dharma is the foundation of social structure. It has universal application. “It enjoins the members of the society to subject themselves to obligations. And responsibilities regardless of individual differences...”

b) **Kind of Dharma**

Scholars have spoken of different types of Dharma. Shastrakara **Manu** speaks of what are known as “sapta dharmas” [seven types of Dharmas]. They are as follows:

1. **Samanya Dharma:** consists of general rules and duties which are almost universal in nature ex: truth, non-violence, non-stealing, control of sense, etc.
2. **Raja Dharma:** Duties and responsibilities of the king.
3. **Stree Dharma:** Concerned with the duties, responsibilities, and character of woman.
4. **Damatya Dharma:** Duties of husband and wife towards each other, towards their family children and the larger society.
5. **Varna Dharma:** Duties of different Varnas – Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vyshyas and the Sudhras towards each other and society.
6. **Ashrama Dharma:** This refers to the rules relating to different stages of Ashramas in the life of a man such as Brahmacharya, Grihasta, Vanaprastha, and Sanyasa.
7. **Apaddharama:** This refers to certain specific rules to be followed by the individuals when they are caught in a crisis or great critical situation. These rules would act as guides and help them to overcome or face the distressing situation without sacrificing the dharma.

c) Sources of Dharma:

According to the Smritikars, the nature of the Dharma can be better understood only if one knows the sources from which it emerges. Smritikara Gautama, Apastambha and others have said that Vedas constitute the main source of the Dharma. Manu who accepts the superiority of the Vedas, mentions of four other sources of Dharma in the second chapter of his Smriti.

3.5 Artha [Wealth]

The term 'Artha' refers to worldly prosperity such as wealth and power. It is acquiring wealth by honest means. A man is unable to conduct his life so long as the material means of living are not available. Without 'Artha' desire ['Kama'] can be satisfied. Living, means living well. It is not mere existence. Poverty is no ideal. Hungry stomach knows no virtue. Economic insecurity and individual attainments do not go together. Economic stability is the basis of social stability, individual advancement, and spiritual attainment. The pleasure of giving charity comes only when there is something to give. Hence 'artha' or wealth helps to sustain and enrich life.

The Hindu thinkers gave proper importance to this material world and to its goods. The importance of wealth in social life was fully realized by **Kautilya**, the author of "Arthashastra". He says that wealth is the basis of human requirements and that social well-being depends ultimately on material prosperity." He however, insists on following the principles of the Dharma in acquiring material prosperity. Thus the early thinkers never looked down upon the worldly prosperities. They had recognized the aspirations of man for wealth and power. By providing 'artha' a place in the scheme of life, the Hindu thinkers had recognized the pursuit of wealth as legitimate human aspiration. But they laid much emphasis on the path of righteousness through which 'artha' is to be secured.

a) Sources of Dharma, According to Manu, are as follows:

- a. The whole Vedas constitute the first source of the sacred law. They constitute the supreme authority.
- b. The second source constitutes the tradition and the practices of those that know the Vedas.
- c. Smritis or the Dharmashastras which are written on the basis of the Vedic ideas and knowledge constitute the third source. Though the Vedas are unchangeable the Dharmashastras are subject to change depending on the need of the time.
- d. The usages and practices of virtuous men – constitute yet another source. Matters relating to religion could be adjudged on the basis of the life-principles and practices of the great men of our culture like **Sri Ramachandra, Sita, Lakshmana, Hanumantha, Vibhishana** of Ramayana ; and **Bhishma, Vidura, Dharmaraya** of Mahabharata, and so on.
- e. Finally, the truth and self-satisfaction of the great saintly people – constitute one

more source of Dharma.

Yajnavalkya declares the sources in a similar strain – “the Veda, tradition, lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one’s self and desire born of due deliberation – this is traditionally recognized as the sources of dharma.” [P.V.Kane in “History of Dharmashastra” – Vol. 1. Part I. Page- 6]

Of these five sources of the Dharma mentioned by Manu, which one must be considered supreme and ultimate? Whether the things stated in the Vedas are final or the interpretations given by the scholars which are often different from those of the Vedas, are ultimate? How can one resolve this confusion? – These questions do arise in the minds of even honest persons who follow the Dharma. As far as Manu is concerned, for all confusions and controversies relating to the Dharma, Vedas are the ultimate authority. In this way Manu has expressed complete faith in the Vedas.

3.6 Kama [Pleasure or Desires]

Kama refers to the desires in man for enjoyment and satisfaction of the life of the senses. It refers to some of the innate desires and urges in man. It springs in human mind, the moment one is born. It is the essence of life. With the passing of time desires increase. These desires influence and determine social action in many ways. The desire to live and enjoy becomes foremost and remains the strongest one. Without it living would appear to very cruel and meaningless. The theory of Purusharthas makes sufficient provision for the enjoyment of life. The pleasures of life need not be discarded for the sake of the other world.

Kama does not mean only instinctive life. It involves sexual, emotional, and aesthetic life as well. The aesthetic life expresses itself in both the creation and appreciation of all that is fine, beautiful, and sublime. The healthy development of personality calls for the expression of emotions. Kama represents such an emotional expression. At its lowest manifestation, ‘Kama’ is referred to as sex drive. It is often regarded as one of the six “enemies” of human being. But it is equally true that the human beings cannot continue as a race without the realization of Kama which help the propagation of species. Therefore, the Hindu thinkers never regarded sex as sinful. They have recognized its importance as a basic human instinct which must be satisfied in proper time. But they stressed self-control and respect for the Dharma.

3.7 Moksha [Spiritual Freedom or Liberation or Self-Realization]

‘Moksha’ according to the Hindu thinkers, is the ultimate aim. When the end of human action is salvation or liberation from the bondage of the world, it is called “Moksha”. When ‘dharma’ becomes the absolute concept, it gets the name of “Moksha”. It is the supreme aspiration of man. It is the summum bonum of human existence. All our activities are directed to the realization of this end. The other three Purusharthas namely, Dharma, Artha and Kama are called the “**trivargas**” and they constitute the means for the attainment of this, supreme end. “Moksha” alone is called the “**chaturvarga**” which symbolizes the release of the soul from the bondage of ‘Karma’.

Ways of Attaining ‘Moksha’: Hinduism offers four ways of attaining ‘moksha’ or salvation. These are the paths of 1. ‘Meditation’ [Yoga Marga], 2. ‘Knowledge’ [Jnana Marga], 3. ‘devotion’ [Bhakti Marga], and 4. ‘Correct action’ [Karma Marga]. The individual is free to choose the path that suits him.

Purusharthas constitute the basis of "Varnashrama Dharma"

The early Hindu society had developed two co-ordinate systems of social organization, namely: 1. Ashrama Dharma, and 2. Varna Ashrama. Of these, the former regulates the individual's conduct while the latter has a reference to the social stratification system. The principles of Purusharthas govern both these organizations. They constitute the very basis of the "Varnashrama Dharma."

India is a land of multi-religions, Hinduism continues to be the major religion of Indian society. Though India is a nation has been subject to foreign invasions and servitude for several centuries, it has been able to protect and preserve its main "Dharma," that is Hinduism. Majority of the people in India, thus remain Hindus and follow the Hindu culture. The Hindu tradition still remains the dominant traditional Hindu society has some broad features which are common throughout India. In fact, their influence can be seen even in communities professing religions of alien origin.

3.8 Conclusion:

In this concept of "purusharthas" is the fundamental principle of the Indian social ethics. The concept refers to the Hindu "life-purpose." According to this concept, the aim of every person is to attain noble ends or purusharthas. They are: Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha.

3.9 Keywords:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) Aithidi Yajana | kama |
| (b) Papakarma | karma |
| (c) Punesa karma | karma hala |
| (d) Purusharthas | Bharhmayajana
Bhyta yajana |

3.10 Questions:-

- (1) Write an essay on Hindu view of life?
- (2) Write an essay on purushardhas?
- (3) Explain, what are purushardhas?
- (4) Explain how the doctrine of Karma is interlocked with the notion of rebirth?

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Lesson - 5

ASHRAM DHARMAS

4.0 Objectives:

The main objectives of this lesson are to explain the concept and meaning of Ashrams.

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Concept of Ashrama Dharma
- 4.3 Meaning of the word Ashrama
- 4.4 Conclusion
- 4.5 Keywords
- 4.6 Questions
- 4.7 Reference Books

4.1 Introduction:-

The Hindu texts emphasize that a Hindu, in his life journey, shall pass through four stages and these stages are called ashramas. The term ashrama is derived from the Sanskrit word shram which means exertion. When an individual who finds himself at one stage (ashrama) has to exert and train himself in order to qualify himself for the next stage of life. The four ashramas that one passes through in this way are:

1. Brahmacharya or the life of a student,
2. Grihastha or the life of a householder,
3. Vanaprastha or the life of a hermit, and
4. Samnyasa or the life of an ascetic.

It is said that in the early stages of the Hindu society, there were only three ashramas. As samnyasa ashrama was not regarded as an ashrama proper, it did not find a place as an order in the ashrama scheme. It was rather considered as outside the meaning and therefore beyond the limits of an ashrama. As he ceases to exist altogether both for himself and for the rest of the world in a formal way, a samnyasin is supposed to be dead. Since, for a dead man, there can be no life nor any scheme of life, a samnyasin is beyond the ashramas which hold good only for the living persons. Hence the life of samnyasin was not included in the ashrama scheme in the early period.

Indeed vanaprastha ashrama and samnyasa ashrama were not considered separate. They were combined and treated as one state. As the span of life was normally divided into three stages, namely, balya or childhood, yauvana or youth and sthavira or old age, for each of these stages in the life span, there was a corresponding ashrama. As childhood was meant for education, brahmacharya ashrama was associated with that stage. As youth was meant for enjoyment and pleasure, grihastha ashrama was associated with the stage. As old age was meant for renunciation of worldly desires and striving for the attainment of mukti (liberation from the earthly bondage), vanaprastha-cum-samnyasa ashrama was associated with it.

Later, the vanaprastha ashrama and samnyasa ashrama were distinguished and separated. As a result, the number of ashramas came to be four.

Initially, except for the samnyasa ashrama, the individuals were not enjoined to follow

compulsorily the ashramas in a sequential order one after another. A man could become a household^{er} after finishing student life, or they could live the life of both a student and a household^{er} together, or he could turn to hermit's life after finishing his student's career, without becoming a household^{er}. The four ashramas came in a sequential form when the later Upanishads like Jabala S^{rut}i put the ashramas in a sequential form according to which the order of student must precede that of household^{er} and that of household^{er} must be followed by the order of hermit (vanaprastha), while the order of ascetic must come last after those of household^{er} and hermit.

4.2 The Concept of Ashrama Dharma

The Ashrama Dharma or system represents one of the well established socio-religious institutions of ancient India. It denotes the Hindu scheme of life according to which different stages [ashramas] in the life of an individual are well ordered. It is in this Hindu scheme of ashramas, the theory of Purushartha gets its concrete expression. The ashrama system is also related to the wider social system called "Varna System" which regulates the individual's social life and responsibilities.

4.3 Meaning of the word "Ashrama"

The Sanskrit word "Ashrama" literally denotes a halting or resting place. The word also means 'stages' monastery', duties, etc. The word "ashrama" comes from the Sanskrit root "srama" which means "making an effort". In this way, "ashrama" literally means a step in the journey of life. According to the Hindu ethics, the final aim of life is liberation or 'Moksha'. Every ashrama is a step in the long journey towards the realization of that aim.

Brahmacharya Ashram: Brahmacharya ashram is the first stage of life. It is a stage of learning and entails student life. Mere desire or capacity to learn does not help a person to enter educational career. One can enter the brahmacharya ashrama and start Educational career only when one attains spiritual birth. The initial birth is merely a physical birth from the parents. It must be superseded by a second birth – spiritual birth. Because before this second birth, the life of an individual is undisciplined and unregulated, and without a purpose. The life is undisciplined because a man follows his own inclinations in behavior, speech, and eating. It is only upon this second birth – spiritual birth that a man starts a disciplined life. Unless a man enters the disciplined life and has a disciplined character and conduct, he cannot enter the educational career. As the spiritual birth marks entry into disciplined life, a man then becomes qualified to enter educational career.

To have spiritual birth, a boy has to go through a ceremony called upanayanam ceremony (ceremony of donning sacred thread). This is an initiation ceremony and through it, the boy attains second birth and becomes 'twice-born' (dvija). It is upon becoming a dvija that the boy becomes a full-fledged member of the Varna in which he was born and thereby acquires the right to enter the brahmacharya ashrama and to start educational career.

But the initiation ceremony of upanayanam is allowed only for the first three varnas, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who constitute the upper stratum of the society. The initiation ceremony normally takes place for a Brahmana at the age of 8 years; for a Kshatriya, at the age of 11 years; and for a Vaisya, at the age of 12 years. Through the initiation ceremony, the three varnas attain second birth (spiritual birth) apart from first birth (physical birth) and

become dvijas so as to be qualified for entering the brahmacharya ashrama.

After the initiation ceremony was over, the education begins at the residence of a teacher (guru). It starts with Vedic texts and dharma shastras. The young man does not begin his studies immediately; he is supposed to perform various duties in service to the teacher. He has to look after the cattle, fetch firewood, perform duties regarding sacrifices and collect alms for the teacher. As Yajnavalkya says, the pupil "should always promote guru's interest by all acts of body, mind and speech." Only as and when the teacher is pleased with the pupils' conduct, the studies start. Even then the student has to prove his desire and capacity for learning and only after this, the study of Vedic texts and dharma shastras begin.

The Vedic texts and dharma shastras are supposed to be the treasure of culture and traditions of the Hindu society. As it is essential to perpetuate and preserve the cultural heritage of the society, education is oriented to the Vedic to survive through the ages.

The education consists not merely in the study of Vedic texts and dharma shastras. It comprises moral and spiritual training as well. The student is trained in the habit of simple and austere life. He should be simple and calm in appearance and character. He should not use any ornaments, scents, umbrellas, and even shoes. He is not to enjoy dancing, music and playing on the instruments and indulge in gambling. He is to preserve his vow (vratya) of brahmacharya; he is not to talk with women unnecessarily. He is to speak the truth, to be modest, to exercise control over senses and to keep himself free from lust (kama), anger (krodha) and greed (lobha). He should also behave without causing any harm to any being. In short, he should keep his tongue, arms, and stomach under control and discipline. Whatever the social position or economic status of the students' families is – whether they come from rich family or poor family – they have to practice the same mode of life.

There are rules about taking meals prescribed for the brahmachari (pupil). Manu says that a student should take meals only twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening and must avoid the third meal between the two. The student must not overeat. He should not touch flesh or honey and must avoid taking stale sweets and betel leaf.

There is a dressing code also for the pupils. Manu says that a student shall wear a simple cloth – a cloth that is just enough to cover the body. When a pupil happens to be of higher varna, say Brahmana, the less Luxurious piece of cloth in regard to its quality is to be worn by him.

The educational system, being based on gurukula model, is built around the teacher and devoted student. The teacher is respected by his students. No student is to sit carelessly in the presence of the teacher. He is supposed to go to bed only after the teacher went to bed and to get up before him. The student is not supposed to criticise the teacher. Should he criticise the teacher, he would be born as an ass in the next life. If he would defame the teacher, he would be born as a dog in the next life. The pupil-teacher relationship is meant to cultivate in the pupil a deep sense of reverence for the teacher.

Gruhasrama:

Gruhasrama the second stage of life is the life of a house holder. This stage is entered

at marriage, when the student has completed his studentship and is ready to take up the duties and responsibilities of household life. The individual in this state gets married, earns money and begets children. In this stage, the individual pursues wealth (Artha) and pleasure (Karma) within the limits of the moral law (Dharma). A householder should earn money by honest means and enjoy and distribute it in a proper manner. Marriage which is regarded as a sacrament for the Hindu provides for the enjoyment of sex life. The person has to consider his wife from his real partner in life; she is his 'ardhangini'. He cannot do any religious ritual without her.

Importance of Gruhastashrama: of all the ashramas, this is the most important one for the following reasons.

- (1) All the other orders or ashramas exist because of the support given by Gruhastashrama. As Manu Smriti points out. "As all streams and rivers flow to rest in the ocean, so all the ashramas flow to rest in the householder."
- (2) This stage helps the householder to perform the religious rites (Dharmasampatti). It also enables him to perform the basic duties of a married person namely, the Panchamahayajnas or five great sacrifices along with the wife: Daiva Yajna, Rishi Yajna, Pitri Yajna, Bhuta Yajna and Nara Yajna. (or Atithi Yajna)
- (3) In this stage, the individual fulfils his obligations towards the society. He earns money, protects his own family and never makes it a parasite on the society. He begets children and assures the race. He takes care of the Brahmacharis, Vanaprasthis, and Sanyasis who are not supposed to earn their living.

Vanaprastha Ashrama:

At this stage, as the name itself suggests, the individual leaves the shelter of the family and the village, and goes to forest and lives there, striving to control the senses of enjoyment. In the forest, he lives a life of self-control and austerity. He takes only vegetables and fruits as his food. He does not touch sweetmeats. For his clothing, he uses deer-skin or bark of tree. He should make no deliberate attempts to obtain comforts, and he has to lead a celibate life, sleeping on the floor, residing under a tree, without any attachment to, where he happens to reside. He should utilize his time in studying Vedas and shastras and practice penance for the purging of his body as also in order to elevate his soul to higher and higher levels.

Even though a vanaprasthi lives in the forest leaving the shelter of the family, his wife can come and live with him. She provides necessary help to him in the performance of his duties. Even though a vanaprasthi has left the shelter of the family, he is expected to continue to discharge the obligations engulfing him in his earthly life. So, he continues the performance of five great sacrifices (brahma-yajna, pitri-yajna, bhuta-yajna and nri-yajna) which he was used to perform during the stage of householder. The wife assists the vanaprasthi in the sacrifices.

A vanaprasthi shall not accept charity from others. So to say, he must not accept vegetables or fruits from other even when he is extremely hungry. He has to meet his needs himself. However, his life is characterized by friendliness and charity to others. If guests would visit him, he has to offer them food out of whatever he collects for eating.

If the individual dies while he is fully absorbed in meditation, he is supposed to have attained moksha that is he has passed the samnyasa ashrama while during the vanaprastha while during the vanaprastha stage itself. If he survives, he has to enter the next and final stage

SamnyasaAshrama:

The man who enters samnyasa ashrama should possess nothing. He must not have any belonging or property of his own. He must completely sever the family bond. In short, he must renounce completely everything with which he has connection. That is why he bears the name of sam-nyasin, meaning 'a person who has made complete (sam) renunciation (nyasa) of everything.

The aim of becoming a samnyasin is to attain the ultimate goal of moksha, that is, liberation from earthly existence. That is why a man who enters the samnyasa ashrama controls his senses and renounces everything that tends to bind him with the earth. He keeps nothing as his own with him. He casts off even his own personal identity. He abandons his personal name and family surname by which he was known before he took up samnyasa. He ceases to exist altogether both for himself and for the rest of the world. In fact, a samnyasin is supposed to have been dead, the usual death ceremonies actually performed by his kinsmen.

A samnyasin should always move about all alone without being dependent upon anyone for help or support. He is to live by begging. He could beg alms, but only once in a day. He should accept so much only as will sustain life. Manu Smriti has prescribed certain norms for a samnyasin as to begging. He has to go to beg only when the embers of kitchen fire have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meals, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed. He would not feel dispirited when he fails to procure alms nor should he feel elated when he is able to procure it.

Manu Smriti adds that a samnyasin should patiently hear harsh words. He should not insult anybody. He should not become anybody's enemy for the sake of his body. He should not show anger in return against any angry man. He must bless when he is crushed. He must not utter speech devoid of truth. He must be compassionate to all creatures and must do no harm to any creature.

By restraining his senses, by casting away the love and hatred within himself and living a life of harmlessness to creatures, the samnyasin becomes fit to attain moksha. All the sins, if any, he has committed during the previous stages of life are washed off and destroyed during the life of samnyasa. In attaining the ultimate end of his life, that is, liberation from the tangle of birth – rebirth.

The four ashramas are regarded as the stages of training during the span of human existence. At each stage, an individual learns and imbibes training to live a specific order of life and thereby acquires fitness to enter the next stage. The training and experience in one stage provide fitness to enter the next stage. The training and experience in one stage provide fitness to enter the next stage. But in the case of samnyasa stage, there is no successive stage. At this stage, a man trains himself to reach a stage where he would never be born again and the question of going through the four orders of life would not arise.

4.4 Conclusion: The four objectives of life called “purusharthas” are related to what are known as “Ashramas” or stages of life. The Ashramas denote the Hindu scheme of life according to which different stages (ashramas) in the life of an individual are well ordered. There are four stages of Ashramas:- Bracharya, grihastha, vanaprastha, and sansyasa.

4.5 Keywords:-

- (A) Grihastha
- (B) Guru
- (C) Gurukula
- (D) Samavarthana
- (E) Upanayanam
- (F) Vanaprastha

4.6 Questions.

- (1) Explain the features of ashramas system?
- (2) Explain how the four ashramas mark four stages in the life of a person?
- (3) Explain, what are ashramas?

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Lesson - 6

CASTE SYSTEM

5.0 Objectives:

The objectives of this lesson are to explain caste system with reference features of caste system, theories of caste system.

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 The origin of the word caste
- 5.3 Origin of the caste system
- 5.4 Definition and characteristic of the caste
- 5.5 Theories of the origin
- 5.6 traditional theory
- 5.7 Brahmanical theory
- 5.8 Racial theory
- 5.9 Religious theory
- 5.10 Occupational theory
- 5.11 Geographical theory
- 5.12 Ketkar's theory
- 5.13 Hutton's theory
- 5.14 Other theories
- 5.15 Denzillbbetson's Theory
- 5.16 Slater's theory:
- 5.17 Sarat Chandra Roy's Theory:
- 5.18 Summary
- 5.19 Keywords
- 5.20 Questions
- 5.21 Reference books

5.1 Introduction:

⁵⁴ Caste and class are two main forms of social stratification. ¹⁷ Both are the agencies of social mobility and selection. They decide largely the position that a man occupies in society. The range of one's social contracts is almost fixed by one's status in society. One's status is recognized mainly through one's caste or class. If the caste system is unique to India the class system is universal in nature. Both of them influence and condition the way of life or the 'lifestyles' of people to a very large extent. The caste system is the basis of stratification in India whereas the class system constitutes the basis of the stratification system in the western society.

⁴⁸ 5.2 The Origin of the Word 'Caste'

The term 'caste' is derived from the Spanish (also Portuguese) word 'caste' meaning 'breed' or 'lineage'. The Portuguese used the term 'caste' first to denote the division in the Indian caste system. The word 'caste' also signifies 'race' or 'kind'. The Sanskrit word for caste

is 'Varna' which means 'colour'. Races and colour seem to be the bases of Indian caste in addition to the division of labour and occupation. The popular equivalent of caste is 'Jati'.

5.3 The origin of the caste system

The caste stratification of the Indian Society has had its origin in the 'Chaturvarna' system. According to the Chaturvarna doctrine, the Hindu society was divided into four main varnas namely: the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudhras. The Varna system which was prevalent during the Vedic period was mainly based on the division of labour and occupation. The Caste system owes its origin to the Varna system. The present caste system can be said to be the degenerated form of the original Varna system. Varnas which were four in number and castes which are found in hundreds and thousands are not one and the same.

5.4 DEFINITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CASTE

Definition:

'Caste' is so complex a phenomenon which is difficult to define. Writers and thinkers are not unanimous in their opinion regarding caste, its definition and characteristics. Hence caste has been defined variously.

- (i) **Sri Herbert Rosily:** Caste is a "collective of families, bearing a common name, claiming a common descent, from a mythical ancestor, human and divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."
- (ii) **MacIver and Page:** "When status is wholly predetermined so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then the class takes the extreme form of caste."
- (iii) **C.H. Cooley:** "When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste."
- (iv) **A.W. Green:** 'Caste is a system of stratification in which mobility up and down the status ladder, at least ideally may not occur.'
- (v) **Ketkar:** "A caste is a group having two characteristics: (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born, (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group."
- (vi) D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan have said that caste is a 'closed group'.

Characteristics of Caste:

The caste system is highly complex in nature. As Dr. G.S. Ghurye says, any attempt to define caste is 'bound to fail because of the complexity of the phenomenon.' He describes the characteristics of caste in his 'Caste and Class in India'- 1950-56 [also in his Caste, Class and Occupation- 1961 and Caste and Race in India - 1970]. The following have been the main traditional features of the caste system.

1. **Caste-As a Hierarchical Division of society.** The Hindu society is gradational alone. It

is divided into several small groups called castes and sub castes. A sense of 'highness' and 'lowness' or 'superiority' and 'inferiority' is associated with this gradation or ranking. The Brahmins are placed at the top of the hierarchy and are regarded as 'pure', supreme or superior. The degraded caste or the so called 'untouchables' [Harijans] have occupied the other end of the hierarchy. All over India neither the supremacy of the Brahmins nor the degraded position of the Harijans of 'outcastes' has been questioned. It is taken for granted, but regarding the exact position of the intermediary caste there are disputes on the part of the members.

2. **Caste-As a segmental Division of Society.** The Hindu society is a caste-ridden society. It is divided into a number of segments called 'castes'. It is not a homogeneous society. Castes are group with defined boundary of their own. The status of an individual is determined by his birth and not by selection nor by accomplishments. No amount of power, prestige and pelf can change the position of man. The membership of the caste is hence unchangeable, unacquirable, inalienable, unattainable and nontransferable. Further, each caste in a way, has its own way of life. Each caste has its own customs, traditions, practices and rituals. It has its own informal rules, regulations and procedures. There were caste councils or 'caste panchayat', to regulate the conduct of members also. The caste used to help its members when they were found in distress. Indeed, the caste was its own ruler."

5.5 Theories of Origin:

The caste system is said to have originated in India. But how it originated could not be traced. A number of theories, however, attempt to trace the origin of caste system. But, none of them properly explains it. Examination of some of those theories will help understand this aspect.

5.6 Traditional Theory:

According to this theory, the caste system is of divine origin. This theory holds that the original four *varna* system is the source of origin of caste system. As the *Varna* system is of divine origin, its offshoot, caste system ipso facto assumes divine character.

Of the Indo-Aryan texts, it is in Rig Veda that the first mention is made of the *varna* system. The Purusha-Sukta hymn of Rig Veda mentions that four groups were created from four limbs of Brahma, the supreme creator, namely, mouth, arms, thighs, and feet and it is these groups that came to be designated the *varnas*. The *varna* that emanated from the mouth of the creator was called the Brahmana; the *varna* that originated from the arms, the Kshatriya; the *varna* that originated from the thighs, the Vaisya; and the *varna* that emerged from the feet, the Sudra. The *Mahabharata* and *Manu Smriti* also hold the same view regarding the origin of four *varnas* from the four limbs of the body of Brahma. As the four *varnas* thus spring from the body of Brahma, they are deemed to be of divine origin.

The account that the four *varnas* sprang from four limbs of the body of the creator is

interpreted as having an allegorical significance behind it. The mouth of Brahma from which the Brahmanas are created is the seat of speech; the Brahmanas therefore are created to be teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the symbol of valour and strength; the Kshatriyas' mission in this world is to carry weapons and protect people. As regards the account of the origin of the Vaisyas from the things of the creator, Pandarinath Prabhu says, "It is difficult to interpret that portion of the hymn which deals with the creation of the Vaisyas from the things of [Brahma]. But the thigh may have been intended to represent the lower portion which consumes food, and therefore the Vaisya may be said to be created to provide food to the people." The creation of the Sudra from the foot symbolizes the fact that the Sudra is to be the 'footman', the servant of the other varnas. "The whole social organization is here conceived symbolically as one human being – the 'Body Social' we may say – with its limbs representing the social classes based on the principle of division of labour" (Pandarinath Prabhu).

Thus, the four varnas stemmed from four limbs of the creator and came to be associated with four kinds of functions depending upon the symbolic functional meaning of the limbs. Now a question arises as to how the four *varnas* that emanated from the same body and came to represent a social division of labour were arranged in a hierarchical order.

One version of explanation given in answer to this question is that the four limbs, from which the four *varnas* issued, occupy varying positions but in a descending order in the body. Depending upon the descending order of the physical positions of the four limbs in the body, the *varnas* that emanated from them also found themselves in a descending order of social position with the Brahmanas at the top and the Sudras at the bottom of the order. When the source of origin (limb) is positionally higher, the class that emanates from it occupies ipso facto higher position and if the source of origin is positionally lower, ipso facto, the class that stems from it occupies lower position in the 'Body social'. When King Janaka of Videha asks a question to the sage Parasara, "While the various classes have sprung from Brahma, how is it that they are treated differentially?", Parasara replies thus: It is true that the offsprings (*varnas*) have been begotten by the same begetter, Brahma; but if "the soul and the seed are inferior, the offspring born of these will be inferior." By this reply, Parasara hints that when the part of the body (source of Origin) is positionally higher or lower, depending upon such position, the social position of the varna which has emanated from it is determined.

Another version of explanation relates the hierarchical arrangement of the four *varnas* to their order of birth. It states that the Brahmanas originated first from the body of the creator, followed by the Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and finally Sudras in succession. In the *Mahabharata*, the sage Bhishma says that first the Brahmanas were created by Brahma. Later on other *varnas* developed. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad also expresses the same view about the successive origin of the four varnas. It is this descending order of birth, according to these sources, that accounts for the hierarchical order of the four varnas.

S.P. Nagendragives another version in this matter. He says that the functions are of two types – ordinary and extraordinary. The former require no special skills for their performance and the latter require specialized knowledge. The extraordinary functions are again of three types: techno-economic functions, politico-legal functions, and cultural-religious functions. The first are means-oriented; the second, end-oriented; and the last, agent-oriented. Since the agent-

oriented cultural-religious functions aim at the ultimate end of life, the people who perform them get the highest status in society. On the other hand, those who are engaged in ordinary functions get the lowest status. In between the two, we have people engaged in administrative-military (politico-legal) and economic-commercial (techno-economic) functions. Since the politico-legal and economic-oriented functions are more functional for society than the techno-economic means-oriented functions, the people engaged in the former get higher status than the latter because of the nature or orientation of functions. The Brahmanas are engaged in cultural-religious functions; the Kshatriyas in politico-legal functions; the Vaisyas in techno-economic functions; and the Sudras in ordinary functions. Since the first three varnas perform skilled, specialized, important functions, they rank higher than the last Varna which is engaged in unskilled, ordinary, unimportant functions.

Even though the four varnas came to be associated with four kinds of functions, in the Vedic period, according to Indologists, there was no compulsion for the persons of a particular varna to profess only the specified function. Thus, a person born as a Brahmana could take to the occupations of the varnas without thereby in any way degrading social status. Dronacharya, Kripacharya, and Aswathama were Brahmanas by birth. Yet he took to the Kshatriya profession. The Kshatriyas also, in turn, took up side by side the Brahmanas' job of teaching. King Janaka of Videha, King Asvapati of Kekaya, King Ajatasatru of Kasi, and King Pravahana Jaivali of Panchali were notable among such Kshatriyas. They taught even the distinguished Brahmana scholars. King Janaka gave discourses to the Brahmana scholar Yajnavalky. King Pravahana Jaivali taught a number of Brahmana luminaries. Silaka, Dalbhaya, Svetaketu and his father Uddalaka were among such Brahmana luminaries who received instructions from the King. King Ajatasatru had an erudite Brahmana scholar, named, Dripta-Balaki Gargya among his disciples. Visvamitra also joined these Kshatriyas to illustrate how the Kshatriyas were also Brahmanas by profession. He was a Kshatriya by birth. But by profession, he was a Brahmana Rishi.

Further, there were no definite restrictions on inter-marriage between the varnas. Several instances of mixed marriages have been recorded in the post-Rig Vedic literature. Some of those instances are: marriage of Yayati, a Kshatriya king with Devayani, the daughter of a Brahmana Rishi, Sukracharya; of Dushyanta, a Kshatriya king with Sakuntala, supposed to be the daughter of a Brahmana Rishi, Kanva; of the King Svanya Bhavayavya with a woman of a Brahmana family; of the King Asanga with Sasvati, the daughter of a Rishi, Angiras. Similar are the cases of a Rishi Syavasva marrying a Kshatriya princess, Rathaviti; of a Rishi, Kakshivan marrying the daughter of King Suvanaya. Gradually however, the varnas came to be distinguished from each other. Each varna of a Brahmana sage Vimada marrying a Kshatriya princess, Rathaviti; of a Rishi, Kakshivan marrying the daughter of King Suvanaya. Gradually however, the varnas came to be distinguished from each other. Each varna of a Brahmana sage Vimada marrying a Kshatriya Princess, Kamadyu; of a Brahmana Rishi Chyavanam marrying the daughter of Kshatriya King, Saryata. Gradually, however, the varnas came to be distinguished from each other. Each varna became more and more marked off and separated from the other. The occupational mobility and inter-marriage were closed. In other words, the varnas which remained "open classes" in the beginning became "closed groups," that is, castes, in the course of time.

5.7 Brahmanical Theory:

By second century AD, a Tamil poet named Kapilar noted that caste system was planted in this country by the Brahmanas. Centuries later, in 1917, Abbe Dubois, a French missionary gave credence to this notion. He stated that the caste system originated and developed in India because of the Brahmanas. He maintained that the caste system is an ingenious device made by the Brahmanas for the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas imposed restrictions on eating and drinking, marriage, social relations, etc., with the non-Brahmanas to preserve their purity necessary for the sacerdotal functions they were to perform. At the same time they conferred on themselves a high social status and special privileges and prerogatives. The shastras were also turned to be in their support. They declared that whatever a Brahmana says is a social norm and binding on others. The entire property of the society belongs to the Brahmanas. All the three varnas shall pay obeisance to them. It is they who are the lords of the earth. The salvation of individuals and society can come only through the Brahmanas without their ministry, the prayers and offerings of the people will not be accepted by gods. It is through them that the kings can earn punya ('spiritual merit'). They shall rule the land only in accordance with the instructions by the Brahmanas. Nothing injurious can be done to the Brahmanas under any circumstance, on any account.

G.S. Ghurye also believes in the role of the Brahmanas in the origin of caste and supports the Brahmanical theory. He maintains that when the Aryas entered India, in the first instance, they encountered a dark people whom they contemptuously called the Dasas or Dasyus, meaning "sons of darkness". The Aryans had already had three well-defined classes – according to Rig Veda (VIII, 35, 16-18), the Brahman (Brahmana), Kshatriya (Kshatriya), and Vaisya (Vaisya) among them and inter-marriage was permitted between them. When the indigenous Dasas were conquered in the encounter, a fourth class was formulated with them and that class was labeled the Sudras. The Brahmanical literature contemplates the Sudra class as in contradistinction to the other three classes. Because of their aboriginal ancestry, the Sudras were despised and kept away from the mainstream of social life. They were not allowed to practice the religious worship developed in the style of Brahmanic culture. Even their presence was forbidden in the sacrificial hall. The first three classes were first enjoined not to marry a Sudra female before any other restriction of an endogamous nature was tried to be promulgated. A Sudra male trying to marry a Brahmana female was the greatest sacrilege that could be perpetrated against society. By excluding the Sudras thus from religious and social communion, the Aryans attempted to uphold and preserve the Brahmanic culture.

An important ingredient of the Brahmanic culture is the notion of ceremonial purity. It is this idea that underlies the caste rules seeking to prescribe endogamy and to prohibit inter marriage, especially marriage with the Sudras; and to debar the Sudras from learning and reciting the sacred Vedic hymns; and to exclude them from performing the sacred Vedic rites and sacrifices. Considering all these things to be the result of the attempt on the part of the upholders of the Brahmanic culture to preserve their purity, physical and ceremonial and cultural integrity, Ghurye concludes that "caste in India is a Brahmanic child of Indo-Aryan culture, cradled in the land of the Ganges and the Jamuna and thence transferred to other parts of the country."

5.8 Racial Theory:

The most ardent exponent of this theory was Sir Herbert Risley. He relies on the racial factor to explain the caste system. He regards caste system as primarily due to colour differences.

He begins his theory by pointing to the necessity of presupposing a hypothetical point at which two populations encounter one another. As the history of mankind shows, whenever one people overpowers another, the conquering people keeps the conquered people away; they maintain a social distance from the latter and impose restrictions on social relationship with them. When the two groups happen to belong to two different races and colours, the restrictions on social relationships between the two are strict. Even if the victorious group may happen to have marital relationship with the conquered group due to necessity, such relationship will be a hypergamous exchange; the conquerors will take women as concubines or wives from the conquered group, but refuse to give their daughters in marriage to them. The lower group will marry only among itself and will be to all intents and purpose a caste-like group.

Risley says that when the Aryans immigrated into India, they found themselves to be racially distinct from the indigenous people whom they encountered on their arrival. The Aryans were white-skinned, whereas the indigenous people were dark-skinned. There were other differences as well between them. The Aryans were distinct from the indigenous people in stature, physical appearance, language, religious rites, economic activity, customs, etc. yet as the skin colour difference was markedly prominent, on the basis of such difference, the white-skinned Aryans kept apart the dark-skinned people and were formed. The classes so formed were called the Arya varna and Dasa varna, the former referring to the white-skinned Indo-Aryans and the latter, to the dark-skinned indigenous people.

The feeling of superiority and ideas of purity blocked the Indo-Aryans from getting close to the Dasas and having matrimonial relationship with them. In separation these two classes slowly assumed caste character and developed into two broader castes retaining the racial traits of the respective parent classes.

Risley's views on the racial origin of the caste system receive support from Westerners. He notes that India was inhabited by the dark people before the fairer Aryans took possession of the country. Their bitter contempt for foreign tribes and strong antipathy towards dark-skinned people found vent in the sharp distinctions which they drew between themselves and the conquered population. He maintains that it was from these distinctions that the caste system arose.

N.L. Dutt, Hayavadana Rao, D.N. Majumdar, and G.S. Ghurye also regard caste as having arisen largely as a result of racial differences. Ghurye emphasizes in particular the factor of priestly manipulation by the Brahmanas attempting to maintain the racial purity of Aryan invaders. But Hutton says that one cannot but believe, however, that for priestly interference of this kind to be effective in creating so far-reaching and complicated a system as that of caste, there must have been some essential factors in the system which would predispose the population to accept the creation. He identifies colour prejudice and racial exclusiveness as the essential factors in this regard. These factors are common enough in the history of the world and they would have made it possible for the priestly manipulation to create the caste system.

5.9 Religious theory:

A.M.Hocart and Emile Senart are the two main advocates of religious theory. According to Hocart, caste system originated on account of religious principles and customs. In ancient India, religion occupied a prominent place. The king was regarded as representing the deity or as being himself the deity incarnate. All the services and functions to be performed in the royal court were assigned to different groups and they were performed daily by those groups in a ritualistic manner since the royal court represented the temple of deity. As the ritualistic functions of various groups were performed as hereditary callings, the groups became the caste and monopolized the functions assigned to them.

Hocart's conclusions are, however, based on his observation of the ritual of the Buddhist Temple of the Tooth at Kandy and not on direct acquaintance with caste in India. The functions of the washer men and barber necessary to purificatory ceremonies had struck him, and he regarded the corresponding castes as having been created by local limitation of royal courts on a small scale by petty rulers and landed proprietors, each of whom must have, like the divine or royal model, a washer man, a barber, and other ritual functionaries, so that there grew up classes of people each performing separate ritual functions, so that there grew up classes of people each performing separate ritual functions, which classes developed into closed castes.

The religious explanation given by Emile Senart is somewhat different from Hocart's. It does not trace the origin of caste from the ritualistic functions in the royal court, but from the food cult developed by various groups around particular deities. Senart holds that every group has particular deity. The important feature in the worship of the deity is the offering of sacramental food to the deity. It is from the kind of sacramental food to the deity. It is from the kind of sacramental food offered to the deity that every group develops an identity of its own. In this connection a group that is associated with a particular kind of sacramental food lays prohibitions regarding that food: other groups could not offer that sacramental food to their own deities; they could have only other kinds of food than the kind with which they are not associated.

It is believed that offering of sacramental food to a deity is an exclusive ritual of a group. So, out-group members are not allowed to participate in it neither can they offer food nor can they partake of the food offered by a group to its deity. Even if they offer, it would not be accepted by the deity. It would be acceptable to the deity only if it is offered by the members of the group concerned.

Senart here points out how in different social settings, the strangers, that is, out-group members are not allowed to perform the ritual of offering sacramental food to the deity. As the Sudras were considered to be outside of the Brahmanic social order, they were not allowed to participate in the sacrificial rites; nor were they allowed to offer food to the gods. According to Manu, the gods will not eat an offering prepared by the Sudra women. In Rome even the presence of a foreigner at the sacrifice of the gens (social division corresponding to the Hindu gotra) was not permitted, since it was thought that it would offend the gods.

The exclusion of strangers from the sacrificial rites or from the offering of sacramental food to the deity indicates that those who are connected with a sacrificial rite or with the offering of food form a class distinct and separate from the excluded. As an extension of food-related exclusion, eating with the excluded and consumption of food prepared by them are also forbidden.

While forbidding communal relations with the excluded on the one hand, on the other, the inclusive group develops unity among itself by having common food ways. It shares only among itself the food prepared on the sacred hearth and attend the funeral feasts on the occasion of death of relatives. By forming thus a 'community of food', they constitute a solid group.

5.10 Occupational Theory:

J.C. Nesfield is the chief exponent of this theory. He believed that caste is a natural product of society in the creation of which religion has no part at all. He regards caste as the outcome of function or occupation: "Function and function alone is responsible for the origin of caste structure in India".

In support of his claim, he cites how a number of castes bear names derived from the occupations associated with them. The examples he cites include Lohar, Sonar, Chamar, Lodha, Bunkar, Joria, Kumbhar, Teli, Lunia, Agri, Kahar, Dharkar, Bansphor, Tokarhodes and Nades. These castes have their names derived from the occupations they traditionally perform. The Lohars derive their name from their work on gold; the Chamas, from the leather work they are doing – the very name was derived from a Sanskrit work meaning "worker in leather". The Lodhas have their name derived from loh, meaning "cold" and thus the name means 'cold-hopper' – the Lodhas are cold hoppers by traditional occupation. The Bunkar and Joria are the weavers; their name was derived from a root meaning 'to put the thread together'. The 'Kumbhar', the name of potter caste, means one who makes pots. The 'Teli' (oil presser) means one who presses oil from oil seeds. The 'Kahar' means water carrier. The 'Lunia' and 'Agri' mean salt workers. The 'Dharkar' means rope maker and the 'Bhanshor', basket maker. The Tokarhodes take their name from their occupation of splitting (phod) bamboo (tokar). The Nades are so-called because they make "nadas" or ropes. These are just few examples. There are several castes which appear to have their names derived from the traditional occupations with which they are associated.

Nesfield's theory explains how occupational groups developed into castes. When a group would practice the same occupation over a long period of time and pass on the technical skill of the occupation hereditarily from generation to generation, 'occupational guilds' would come into existence which later on would come to be known as castes.

It is understandable how castes would evolve from occupational groups in the said process. But how the castes so formed form or fall in a hierarchy needs understanding. For this, Nesfield offers an explanation. He says that the hierarchy in the caste system arose as a result of the varying stages the occupation occupy in the culture. Depending upon whether a function professed by a caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture, the rank of the caste concerned is determined and thus hierarchy is formed. For example, artisans working on metals rank higher than basket makers and other primitive callings because the jobs of the latter do not involve the use of metals which marked the advanced phase in the material culture. Sometimes one can see that even if there is use of metals involved in a work, it does not guarantee a higher rank for the occupational group concerned. For instance, the blacksmith's caste is very far from being more highly esteemed than the copper smith's or goldsmith's caste. This is due to

the fact that copper and gold made their appearance subsequent to iron in the course of advance of material culture, thus representing a relatively advanced phase in material culture.

Nesfield adds that more than the stage, advanced or backward, an occupation represents in the culture, the importance it holds in the society determines the social position of the caste which is associated with it. For buttressing this point, he takes up the social position of the Brahmanas in the collective caste hierarchy. The Brahmanas were specialized in the 'occupation' of conducting sacrifices and rituals. Since sacrifices and rituals were very important in the social life of the people, the Brahmanas become the most important and respected people in the society. To preserve and maintain their supremacy, the Brahmanas organized themselves into a privileged group and took monopoly of their occupation, that is, priesthood.

5.11 Geographical Theory:

While Nesfield regards occupational differentiation as the exclusive basis of caste distinction, W.H. Gilbert regards the geographical divisions as the basis of caste distinction. He points out that early Tamil literature refers to different people as inhabiting the different geographical divisions of the coast, the cultivated lowlands, the pastoral, mountain and desert areas. The Paradavar lived on the coast by fishing; the Vellalar and Velir cultivated irrigated land and the Karalar, drier land, thus producing rice, millet, and pulse in the lowlands; the Idayar and Ayar herded in the uplands; the Kuravar occupied the mountain and the Maravar, the desert. He suggests that this ecological differentiation of early groups offers a possible basis for caste differences, and later points out that the surface distribution, as the Pudukottai (Tamil Nadu) Valayal Chettis (bangle makers) must live near the river beds where bangle earth is available, Uppiliyars (salt workers) must live near salt deposits, Upparars where saltpeter is available and so forth, while the distribution of rivers and sea coasts 'characterizes the location of fishing and boating castes' and plant areas, the distribution of toddy drawers and betel growers.

5.12 Ketkar's Theory:

Shridhar Venkatesh Ketkar traces the origin of caste from the early tribes and psychological prejudicial tendencies of human beings. He believes that castes evolved from tribes and so calls castes as developed tribes or converted classes. There were numerous tribes living in different parts of India and they all existed as different units. Many of them were in struggle with each other because their heads quarreled either over boundaries or because a person from one tribe had kidnapped a girl from another tribe. Because of these conflicts, the people of tribes avoided one another in marriage, social relations, and other dealings, and confined social interaction in all respects among themselves. Under this circumstance, tribes assume caste characteristics and become castes.

Here Ketkar explains how tribes assume caste characteristics. His explanation is made

from the 'psychological' point of view. He begins his 'psychological' explanation of the characteristics of caste with the most important caste element of endogamy. He attributes the practice of endogamy to the feeling of superiority-inferiority. A race of people that regards itself as superior to another will not intermarry with one that is inferior. So, naturally, a victorious tribe in a strife considers itself to be superior to the tribe it conquered and shuns any kind of relationship with the latter. Having social relationship, particularly matrimonial alliance, with an inferior group is deemed to be degrading. When social relationship, in particular marital relationship, between tribes thus comes under prohibition due to the feeling of superiority-inferiority, the tribes become endogamous and develop into castes by assuming some other caste characteristics.

5.13 Hutton's Theory:

J.H. Hutton associates the primitive conception of mana with the formation of castes. In this respect, he receives support from Sarat Chandra Roy, S. Rice, and Smart. According to Hutton, mana is a mysterious impersonal power attached to individuals, objects, and places. It is believed to have powers to harm people. Wherever the belief in mana prevails, the people believe that the strangers may have such harmful power. If any contact is made with them through sharing of food, inter-marriage or any other social relationship, it may conduct the mana. So, restrictions are imposed on commensal relation, inter-marriage and other social relationships with strangers in order that mana may not be conducted via such contacts from the strangers. Restrictions are deemed to be a protective measure that can save the members of one tribe from the mana of other tribes.

In his study of the Nagas, he found that the Nagas were very fastidious to avoid getting food or any article from the strangers, as it could have magical effects on the consumers. Normally, strangers were suspected to have mana. But, suspicion was greater in the case of the strangers who had odd and mysterious habits. In relation to strangers, the Nagas observed strict taboos. They not only refused to accept presents or purchase-money of any kind from the strangers for fear of the influence to which they might become subject by proxy as it were, but actually destroyed mats or other things when the visitors who had used them had gone, and threw away their tainted coins in the jungle.

Hutton concludes that the taboos on commensal and other forms of social relationship resulting from the belief in mana keep the groups in separation and cause them to develop into castes. However, he adds a qualifier to his conclusion: "It is not suggested that the caste system has developed from ideas of soul-stuff, mana, magic and taboo alone; only that without these ideas it could have developed. If these ideas alone; only that without these ideas it could have developed. If these ideas alone were enough, one might expect to see a caste system in every island from the Nicobars to Easter, instead of only in India." He agrees that being a complex system, the caste system has a number of factors behind its origin: "[T]hrough a number of factors, too complex to have occurred together elsewhere, the caste system of India has come into being and developed into a unique social system found nowhere else in the world."

5.14 Other Theories:

While the said theories are monistic, pointing to a single factor in the origin of caste system, there are some theories which are pluralistic, pointing to more than one factor in the origin of caste system.

Let us see some of those pluralistic theories.

5.15 Denzil Ibbetson's Theory:

Denzil Ibbetson explains caste in arising from a combination of tribal origins, functional guilds, and religious monopolies. He says that certain caste have evolved from tribes and certain castes, from occupational groups (guilds). Certain castes have resulted from religious monopolies.

Commenting on this view, Hutton says, "These features – tribes, guilds, and religious monopolies – have no doubt contributed to the growth and extension of the caste system, and done much to consolidate and perpetuate it, but they cannot be regarded as causes."

5.16 Slater's theory:

G. Slater has given a theory regarding the origin of caste. His theory combines both functional and racial origins: "The origin of caste has partly in occupational, partly in racial differences." His view is that caste existed in India even before the Aryan invasion. It arose as a result of occupations becoming hereditary and marriages being arranged by parents within the society of the common craft become sexual maturity is early and trade secrets were thus preserved. As a result of magic and religious ceremonies also, exclusive occupational groups were built up, marriage outside which became prejudicial and contrary to practice. The Aryan invasion had the effect of strengthening a tendency to associate difference of caste with a difference of colour and of strengthening also a tendency for castes to be placed in a scale of social precedence.

N.K. Dutt also takes a similar view to that of Slater in explaining the origin of caste. He also subscribes to the view that even before the Aryan invasion, caste system existed in India. In pre-Aryan India, occupational classes were endogamous on account of occupational prejudice and preservation of trade secrets and in such situation, they emerged as castes.

5.17 Sarat Chandra Roy's Theory:

Sarat Chandra Roy does not embroil himself in any controversy whether the caste system was pre-Aryan or post-Aryan. His view is that the caste system did not stem from the Indo-Aryan varna system. It resulted from the interaction between the Indo-Aryan varna system on the one hand, and the tribal system of the Pre-Dravidians and the occupational system of the Dravidians, on the other. Thus he holds that castes arose as a result of the confluence of the Pre-Dravidian tribes and occupational groups of the Dravidians with the Indo-Aryan varnas.

We may now conclude the discussion on the origin of castes. No doubt, a single factor cannot account for such a complex system as caste system. Only a multi-factor approach will be a proper approach to the origin of caste system. Accepting such approach, it may be maintained that superiority feeling of the Indo-Aryans over the natives due to the racial differentiation, occupational distinctiveness, the monopolistic priesthood of the Brahmanas, and the religious ideas of ceremonial purity and pollution first applied to the Sudras (native aboriginals) in connection with the sacrificial ritual and then expanded and extended to other groups because of the theoretical impurity of certain occupations were the important factors in the origin of the caste system in India. The geographical and the ritualistic factors are, of course, important, but not crucial as far as the origin of caste system is concerned.

5.18 Summary:

The Caste ranked and arranged in a hierarchy. Some castes are ranked and placed at the top of the hierarchy. In between these two levels are several castes occupying intermediate position. As the membership in a caste is determined by birth, the status a caste holds in the holds in the social hierarchy bears on the members. Thus, the individuals do not earn their status, but bear the status ascribed on them subject to the status of their natal caste in the social hierarchy. No amount of wealth and no amount of penance or prayer can change one's status thus determined by birth. As Lundberg remarks, caste is most rigid in this matter. No stratification system, in his view, is rigid in matters of mobility and distinctiveness of status as is caste system.

5.19 Key Words:

Caste panchayat: A council dealing with the affairs of a caste and regulating the conduct of its members. The councilors hold office either by nomination or election, or hereditarily.

Caste/Jati: An endogamous group bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matters of social intercourse; sometimes following a common traditional occupation; and generally regarded as forming a single homogeneous community.

Gotra: (In the Hindu society) an exogamous group, descended from a common ancestor, inside the endogamous caste.

Hierarchy: Arrangement of units in an aggregate in a rank order.

Mana: A mysterious, impersonal power attached to individuals, objects and places.

Sub-caste: A sub-division of caste. But practically, it acts as de facto caste, assuming the attributes of caste, functioning as caste in practice and holding important in the scheme of life of the individual.

5.20 Questions:

1. Describe the features of caste system?
2. Describe the characteristic of caste as a unit.
3. Briefly examine the different theories seeking to analyze the origin of caste system.
4. Explain how traditional theory differs from other theories in tracing the origin of caste system.
5. Discuss the changing trends of caste system.
6. Examine the future of caste system.

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Lesson - 7

Cultural and Structural View of Caste System

6.0 Objective:

The objectives of this lesson is to explain the Cultural and Structural View and Perspectives of Caste system.

Contents:

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 The Origin of the Word 'Caste'
- 6.3 Origin of Caste
- 6.4 Definition of Caste
- 6.5 Characteristics of Caste
- 6.6 Caste as a Unit and a System
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6.1 Introduction

Societies are divided into hierarchical groups in a way that though various groups are considered in equal in relation to each other but within one group, members are viewed as equals. Two main criteria of social stratification are caste and class, but some other recognized units of stratification are age, gender and race/ethnicity too. Social stratification is different from social differentiation.

The term 'differentiation' has broader application as it makes individuals and groups separate and distinct from each other for purposes of comparison. For example, within class strata, income, occupation, and education provide basis for differentiation and comparison. Stratification occurs where differences are ranked hierarchically.

6.2 The Origin of the Word 'Caste'

The term 'Caste' is derived from the Spanish (also Portuguese) word 'caste' meaning 'bread' or 'lineage'. The Portuguese used the term 'caste' first to denote the divisions in the Indian caste system. The word 'caste' also signifies 'race' or 'kind'. The Sanskrit word for caste is 'Varna' which means 'colour'. Races and colour seem to be the bases of Indian caste in addition to the division of labour and occupation. The popular equivalent of caste is 'Jati'.

6.3 Origin of Caste System

The caste stratification of the Indian Society has had its origin in the 'Chaturvarna' system. According to the Chaturvarna doctrine, the Hindu society was divided in four main varnas namely: the *Brahmins*, the *Kashtriyas*, the *Vaishyas*, and the *Shudras*. The Varnasystem which was prevalent during the Vedic period was mainly based on the division of labour and occupation. The Caste system owes its origin to the Varna system. The present caste system can be said to be degenerated from of the original Varna system Varnas which were four in number and castes which are found in hundreds and thousands are not one and the same.

6.4 Definition of Caste

'Caste' is so complex a phenomenon which is difficult to define. Writers and thinkers are not unanimous in their opinion regarding caste, its definition and characteristics. Hence caste has been defined variously.

- i. Sir Herbert Risely: Caste is a "collection of families, bearing a common name, claiming a common descent, from a mythical ancestor, human and divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community".
- ii. MacIver and Page: "When status is wholly predetermined so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then the class takes the extreme form of caste."
- iii. C.H. Cooley: "When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste."
- iv. A.W. Green: "Caste is a system of stratification in which mobility up and down the status ladder, at least ideally may not occur".
- v. Ketkar: "A caste is a group having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born, (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group".
- vi. D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan have said that caste is a 'closed group'.

6.5 Characteristics of Caste

The caste system is highly complex in nature. As Dr. G.S. Ghurye says, any attempt to define caste is 'bound to fail because of the complexity of the phenomenon'. He describes the characteristics of caste in his 'Caste and Class in India' - 1950-56 (also in his Caste, Class and Occupation - 1961 and Caste and Race in India - 1970). The following have been the main traditional features of the caste system.

- a) **Caste - As a Hierarchical Division of Society.** The Hindu society is gradational one. It is divided into several small groups called castes and sub castes. A sense of 'highness' and 'lowness' or 'superiority' and 'inferiority' is associated with this gradation or ranking. The Brahmins are placed at the top of the hierarchy and are regarded as 'pure' supreme or superior. The degraded caste or the so called 'untouchables' (Harijans) have occupied the other end of the hierarchy. All over India neither the supremacy of the Brahmins nor the degraded position of the Harijans or 'outcastes' has been questioned. It is taken for granted, but regarding the exact position of the intermediary castes there are disputes on the part of the members.
- b) **Caste - As a Segmental Division of Society.** The Hindu society is a caste-ridden society. It is divided into a number of segments called 'castes'. It is not a homogeneous

society. Castes are groups with defined boundary of their own. The status of an individual is determined by his birth and not by selection nor by accomplishments. No amount of power, prestige and pelf can change the position of man. The membership of the caste is hence unchangeable, unacquirable, inalienable, unattainable and nontransferable. Further, each caste in a way, has its own way of life. Each caste has its own customs, traditions, practices and rituals. It has its own informal rules, regulations and procedures. There were caste councils or 'caste panchayats' to regulate the conduct of members also. The caste used to help its members when they were found in distress. Indeed, 'the caste was its own ruler'.

6.6 Caste as a Unit and a System

In India, both caste and class are used as basis of hierarchical ranking and exist side by side. However, caste, which is rooted in religious belief, is considered a more important basis of social stratification for social, economic, and religious purposes. 'Caste' is a hereditary social group which does not permit social mobility to its members. It involves ranking according to birth which affects one's occupation, marriage, and social relationships.

Caste is used both as a unit and as a system. As a unit, caste is defined as 'a closed-rank status group', i.e., a group in which the status of members, their occupations, the field of mate-selection, and interaction with others is fixed. As a system, it refers to collectivity of restrictions, namely, restrictions on change of membership, occupation, marriage, and commensal and social relations. In this context, there is a presupposition that no caste can exist in isolation and that each caste is closely involved with other castes in the network of economic, political, and ritual relationships. The 'closed-rank group' feature of caste also explains its structure.

6.7 Caste-Structural and Cultural Concepts

Caste is looked upon as a structural as well as a cultural phenomenon. As a structural phenomenon, it refers to interrelated statuses, patterned interaction among castes on the basis of different restrictions, and a stable set of social relations. As a cultural phenomenon, it is viewed as 'a set of values, beliefs and practices'. Most scholars have viewed caste as solidarity and not as a set of values and attitudes. The structure of the caste system is such that it has an organised pattern of interrelated rights and obligations of members of each caste and individual castes as groups, in terms of statuses, roles and social norms.

In structural terms, Bougie has explained castes as "hereditarily specialised and hierarchically arranged groups", while as a system, he has referred to its three characteristics: hierarchy, hereditary specialisation, and repulsion. Explaining the last characteristic, he claims that different castes repel rather than attract each other. Repulsion is manifested in endogamy, commensal restriction, and social contact. This interpretation is, however, not true. We do not and cannot find repulsion among castes because they need each other.

Gough views castes as "ranked birth-status groups which are usually endogamous and tend to be associated with an occupation". Senart (1930) has described caste as "a closed corporation, rigorously hereditary, bound with others (castes) by common occupation, and equipped with a council that rules its members by the sanction of certain penalties".

In this definition, the words 'closed corporation' have been questioned. Besides, all castes do not have councils. Bailey and Srinivas have viewed castes as structures and have avoided the definition of caste. Dutt, describing caste system has referred to restrictions on

marriage, eating and drinking, occupation, change in hereditary membership, and the hierarchical gradation of castes. Morris also believes that a short definition of caste is not satisfactory so it is more illuminating to talk in terms of the characteristics of cast. He describes caste system as "characterized by hereditary membership and endogamy and prescribing specific norms which regulate social interaction". Ghurye too has given similar features of the caste system.

Besides, referring to hereditary membership, caste councils, hierarchy and endogamy as important features of the caste system, he also refers to the restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and civil and religious disabilities. D'Souza has referred to the definition of caste system as "the integration of the interacting and heterogeneous but internally homogeneous hereditary groups into a structure of status hierarchy". This concept not only describes the caste system as a superior or subordinate relationship among hereditary groups in a society, but also explains the conditions under which such a relationship takes place.

Singh holds that structurally, the caste system simultaneously manifests two tendencies: one, segmental and other, organic. As a segmental reality, each caste or a sub-caste tends to articulate mutual repulsion, social distance and social inequality, but as an organic system, the caste segments are mutually interlinked by a principle of reciprocity through the jajmani system. Bailey (1960) has referred to caste stratification as a 'closed organic stratification' in contradistinction with the class principle which is based on 'segmentary stratification'. In the former, the social segments (castes or sub-castes) interact through cooperation and in the latter through competition.

Social Structural Aspects:

The caste system is a hierarchy of values in terms of the concept of purity and impurity. It is organized as a characteristic hereditary division of labour. It is committed to organic coordination with the larger communities. Dumont, the French sociologist used the term 'homo-hierarchy' meant for the minority opposition and mutual repulsion in the inter-caste relationship. There is a lot of cooperation especially in the socio-religious lines between various castes.

6.8 Prominent views about caste

(1) The structural aspect of caste, which is explained by accepting it as a general principle of stratification; and

(2) Caste as a cultural system, which is understood in terms of prominence of ideas of pollution-purity and notions of hierarchy, segregation and corporateness. The structural view explains that stratification is a universal reality, and caste is, therefore, an aspect of this reality. The culturological view perceives caste as a distinct phenomenon found in Indian society in particular.

6.9 Perspectives of Caste System

Caste system in India has been studied from three perspectives i.e. Indological, Socio-Anthropological and Institutional. Indologists view caste from the scriptural point of view, Social-Anthropologists from the cultural point of view, and Sociologists from the point of view of stratification.

6.10 Indo-logical - Religious Perspective

In the Indo-logical-religious perspective, the exponents take their cue from the ancient scriptures and present their views on the origin, purpose, and future of the caste system. They hold the view that Varnas originated from Brahma and castes emerged as fissional units of the varna system.

The origin of Castes came due to the need and development of division of labour in the society. Brahmins were given the superior position in society because of their knowledge of scriptures and a belief in the divine right of Brahmins to interpret and administer rules in accordance with the dictates of ancient, divine and revered scriptures.

6.11 Social-Anthropological Perspective

The Social-anthropologists like Hutton, Risley, Kroeber and several others adopt a cultural perspective for explaining the origin, meaning and nature of Caste system. Their perspective takes four major directions: organizational, structural, institutional and relational.

The organizational and structural perspectives of Hutton consider caste as a unique system found in India. Structural aspect of caste explains that caste is a general form of stratification.

The structural view upholds the view that stratification is a universal reality and caste is therefore an aspect of reality.

6.12 The Institutionalist Perspective

The Institutionalist Perspective does not favour the view that caste is relevant only to India. It takes into account the presence of caste in ancient Egypt, Southern United States and some other societies.

The Relational perspective accepts the presence of caste situations in army, business, factories and some other social units, where a form of caste divisions are identified which are either present till today or have become almost obsolete.

The sociological perspective views caste system in terms of social stratification of society and as a hierarchical system of social inequality. The culturalogical view understands caste in terms of ideas of pollution, purity and notions of hierarchy, segregation and corporateness. It views castes as a distinct phenomenon.

6.13 Summary

Caste is the form of social stratification and the agencies of social mobility and selection. It decides largely the position that a man occupies in society. The range of one's social contacts is almost fixed by one's status in society. One's status is recognized mainly through one's caste or class. The caste system is unique to India and it can influence and condition the way of life or the 'life-styles' of people to a very large extent. The caste system is the basis of stratification in India.

Caste is looked upon as a structural as well as a cultural phenomenon. As a structural phenomenon, it refers to interrelated statuses, patterned interaction among castes on the basis of different restrictions, and a stable set of social relations. As a cultural phenomenon, it is viewed as 'a set of values, beliefs and practices'. Most scholars have viewed caste as solidarity and not as a set of values and attitudes. The structure of the caste system is such that it has an

organised pattern of interrelated rights and obligations of members of each caste and individual castes as groups, in terms of statuses, roles and social norms.

6.14 Technical Terms

Ancestor
Hereditary
Divine
Homogeneous
Predetermined

6.15 Self Assessment Questions

1. Define the concept of Caste System.
2. Explain Cultural and Structural view of Caste system.
3. Discuss the Perspectives of Caste system.

6.16 Reference Books

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Lesson - 8

Changing Trends And Future Of The Caste System

7.0 Objective:

The objectives of this lesson is to explain Caste system, Changing Trends and Future of the Caste System

Contents:

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Origin of Caste
- 7.3 Definition of Caste
- 7.4 Characteristics of Caste
- 7.5 Changing in the Caste System
- 7.6 Changes in Caste system during the British Rule
- 7.7 Caste in Independent India(After1947)
- 7.8 Factors Contributing to Caste Change
- 7.9 New Trends in Caste System
- 7.10 Future of Caste System
- 7.11 Summary
- 7.12 Technical Terms
- 7.13 Self Assessment Questions
- 7.14 Reference Books

7.1 Introduction

The caste system, the joint family system and the village system of life-are often regarded as the three basic pillars of the Indian social system. The caste system as a form of social stratification is peculiar to India. The caste is an inseparable aspect of the Indian society. It is peculiarly Indian in origin and development. There is no comparable institution elsewhere in the world for the caste system. The caste system which is an integral part of the Indian system, has a long standing history of its own. To understand how the system has come to be what it is today, one has to go back through the pages of history to trace its origin, evolution and growth. It is not easy to say precisely when, how and under what circumstances and pressure the system took its birth and develop the task of tracing the evolution and growth of this system is precise and unambiguous terms is equally problematic.

7.2 Origin of Caste System

The caste stratification of the Indian Society has had its origin in the 'Chaturvarna' system. According to the Chaturvarna doctrine, the Hindu society was divided in four main varnas namely: the *Brahmins*, the *Kashtriyas*, the *Vaishyas*, and the *Shudras*. The Varnasystem which was prevalent during the Vedic period was mainly based on the division of labour and occupation. The Caste system owes its origin to the Varna system. The present caste

system can be said to be degenerated from of the original Varna system. Varnas which were four in number and castes which are found in hundreds and thousands are not one and the same.

7.3 Definition of Caste

'Caste' is so complex a phenomenon which is difficult to define. Writers and thinkers are not unanimous in their opinion regarding caste, its definition and characteristics. Hence caste has been defined variously.

- i. **Sir Herbert Risely:** Caste is a "collection of families, bearing a common name, claiming a common descent, from a mythical ancestor, human and divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community".
- ii. **MacIver and Page:** "When status is wholly predetermined so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then the class takes the extreme form of caste."
- iii. **C.H. Cooley:** "When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste."
- iv. **A.W. Green:** "Caste is a system of stratification in which mobility up and down the status ladder, at least ideally may not occur".
- v. **Ketkar:** "A caste is a group having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born, (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group".
- vi. **D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan** have said that caste is a 'closed group'.

7.4 Characteristics of Caste

The caste system is highly complex in nature. As Dr. G.S. Ghurye says, any attempt to define caste is 'bound to fail because of the complexity of the phenomenon'. He describes the characteristics of caste in his 'Caste and Class in India' - 1950-56 (also in his Caste, Class and Occupation - 1961 and Caste and Race in India - 1970). The following have been the main traditional features of the caste system.

- a) **Caste - As a Hierarchical Division of Society.** The Hindu society is gradational one. It is divided into several small groups called castes and sub castes. A sense of 'highness' and 'lowness' or 'superiority' and 'inferiority' is associated with this gradation or ranking. The Brahmins are placed at the top of the hierarchy and are regarded as 'pure' supreme or superior. The degraded caste or the so called 'untouchables' (Harijans) have occupied the other end of the hierarchy. All over India neither the supremacy of the Brahmins nor the degraded position of the Harijans or 'outcastes' has been questioned. It is taken for granted, but regarding the exact position of the intermediary castes there are disputes on the part of the members.
- b) **Caste - As a Segmental Division of Society.** The Hindu society is a caste-ridden society. It is divided into a number of segments called 'castes'. It is not a homogeneous society. Castes are groups with defined boundary of their own. The status of an individual is determined by his birth and not by selection nor by accomplishments. No amount of power, prestige and pelf can change the position of man. The membership of the caste is hence unchangeable, unacquirable, inalienable, unattainable and nontransferable. Further, each caste in a way, has its own way of life. Each caste has its own customs, traditions, practices and rituals. It has its own informal rules, regulations and procedures. There were caste councils or 'caste panchayats' to regulate the conduct of

members also. The caste used to help its members when they were found in distress. Indeed, 'the caste was its own ruler'.

7.5 Changing in the Caste System

The caste system which is an integral part of the Indian system, has a long standing history of its own. To understand how the system has come to be what it is today. One has to go back through the pages of history to trace its origin, evolution and growth. It is not easy to say precisely when, how and under what circumstances and pressures the system took its birth and developed. The task of tracing the evolution and growth of this system in precise and unambiguous terms is equally problematic. For the purpose of study three main stages in the evolution of caste may be identified.

- (i) **Caste in Ancient Age** (The period up to 1100 A.D. which is inclusive of Vedic Age, Post Vedic Age and Puranic Age).
- (ii) **Caste in Medieval Age** (The period between 1100 A.D. and 1757 A.D. which includes mainly the age of Muslim Rule in India).
- (iii) **Caste in Modern Age** (The period after 1757 A.D. which includes the Pre-Independent British period and the period after Independence). It is not within the framework of this book to discuss in detail the developments which took place in the caste system during the first two major periods. Hence the description is confined to the third stage, that is, caste in Modern Age.

Caste in Modern Age (After 1757 A.D.)

The modern period in which some major developments took place in caste system can be divided into two stages namely: (A) Caste during British rule, and (B) Caste in Independent India.

7.6 Changes in Caste system during the British Rule

The British brought with them their own traditional form of government which was quite different from that of the Indian monarchical system. But as Christians the British "...could not have much sympathy with the institutions of the Hindus" – (Ghurye). As prudent foreigners they were more interested in consolidating their power over a strange land and people rather than initiating reformatory changes in its peculiar institutions such as "Caste". They introduced a system of education which did not demand of the learners any change of caste or religion. The policy of comparative non-interference followed by the British made the lower castes revolt against the Brahmin supremacy. Growth of modern industrial organization and the rapid spread of urbanization further altered the social situation.

1. Declining Hold of the Caste Panchayats

After consolidating their power the British introduced throughout India uniform legal, legislative and judicial system. The British transferred the judicial powers of the caste councils to the civil and criminal courts which affected the authority which the Panchayat had held over the members. Questions of assault, adultery, rape and the like were taken before the British Courts for decision. In civil matters such as marriage, divorce, caste-based occupational disputes, disputes between husband and wife, parents and children etc., the intention of the British was to be guided by the caste customs. But in actual practice various decisions of the High Court's virtually set aside the authority of the caste.

2. Influence of Social Legislation on Caste

Some of the legislations which the British introduced shook the integrity of the caste system.

Specific mention can be made of a few of the legislation such as the following:

- (i) *The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850* (Which served to remove some of the disabilities associated with caste including the practice of untouchability).
- (ii) *The Special Marriage Act of 1872* (which legalized inter caste and inter-religious marriages).
- (iii) *The Hindu Widows Remarriage Act of 1856* (which gave legal permission for widows to remarry).

3. Impact of Social Reform Movements

Some of the social reforms movements launched by social reformers during the British rule also attacked the caste system and its inequalities.

- (i) **The Brahma Samaj** founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1820 and developed by Devendranath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen condemned the barriers of caste divisions, idol worship, human and animal sacrifices.
- (ii) **The Prarthana Samaj** launched by Justice Ranade devoted its attention to social reforms such as inter dining, inter caste marriage, remarriage of widows, etc.
- (iii) **The Arya Samaj** founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswathi in 1875 repudiated the caste restrictions, protested against prohibition of sea-voyages and insisted that even the shudras could study the Veda. It tried to remodel the Hindu society on the basis of the Vedic ideals. It functioned as a militant force to protect the Hindu society from the "onslaught of Western rationalisation". It started the "Shuddhi" (Purification) movement to re-Hinduise the converts, the fallen the outcastes and other externals.
- (iv) **The Ramakrishna Mission** started by Swami Vivekananda, a great disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa, in 1897 represents the synthesis of the ancient or oriental and the modern or western culture. Vivekananda who had imbibed in himself Raja Ram's rationalism and Dayananda Saraswathi's spirituality, was pragmatic in his approach. He condemned caste inequalities, exploitation of lower castes and women. He stressed on education, self-reliance and freedom of women. He even predicted that the Shudras ("Shramiks" or "Labourers") would dominate in the years to come.
- (v) **Other reform Movements:** other social movements such as – (i) Jyotirao Phule's (1873) "Satyashodak Samaj"; (ii) Annie Besant's "Theosophical Society"; (iii) Maharishi Arvind Ghosh's "Divine Life Society" – also served to loosen the hold of caste restrictions.

4. Spread of English Education and Influence of the Western Ideas

Spread of English education exposed Indians for the first time to the Western World. The popular Western ideas and values such as – "liberty, equality and fraternity", democracy, rationalism, individualism, women's liberations, secularism, humanitarianism etc. made their inroads into India. These ideas had deeply influenced the Western educated Indians. People who had hitherto been the targets of atrocities, deprivation, exploitation and humiliation could now voice their protest by asserting their rights. Increasing influence of science and technology added greater strength to the growing awareness of the masses.

7.7 Caste in Independent India (After 1947)

The political independence of the country, besides the process of industrialization, urbanization, secularization etc. brought in a series of changes in the caste system. These changes can be classified into two categories. (i) Changes in the traditional feature of caste (ii)

Changes in the role for functioning of the Caste.

Changes in the Traditional Feature of Caste

Caste has assumed a different form in the modern times. Some of the traditional features have been radically altered. Here is a brief survey of the changes that have taken place in the caste system after independence.

The religious basis of the caste has been attacked. Caste is no more believed to be divinely ordained. It is being given more a social and secular meaning than a religious interpretation.

1. **Restrictions on food habits have been relaxed.** Distinction between 'pakka' food and 'kachcha' food has almost vanished. Food habits have become more a matter of personal choice than a caste rule. Still commensal taboos are not completely ignored especially in the rural areas. Inter dining has not become the order of the day.
2. **Caste is not very much associated with hereditary occupations.** Caste no longer determines the occupational career of an individual. Occupations are becoming more and more "caste-free". Even Brahmins are found driving taxis, dealing with foot-wear and running non-vegetarian hotels and bars and so on.
3. **Endogamy, which is often called the very essence of the caste system, still prevails.** Inter caste marriages though legally permitted, have not become the order of the day. As K.M. Kapadia says, "there is an indifference to the inter caste marriages if not tacit acceptance by the society".
4. **The special civil and religious privileges which the Brahmins enjoyed are no more being enjoyed by them.** The Constitution of India has removed all such privileges and made all castes equal.
5. **Caste continues to be a segmental division of Hindu society.** Caste with its hierarchical system continues to ascribe statuses to the individuals. But the twin processes of Sanskritisation and Westernisation have made possible mobility both within and outside the framework of caste.
6. **Caste panchayats.** Which used to control the behaviors of caste-members, have either become very weak or disappeared. Though they are often found here and there in the village areas, they are almost non-existent in the urban areas.
7. **Restrictions imposed by the caste on social intercourse are very much relaxed.** Distinction between 'touchable' and 'untouchable' is not much felt especially in the community of literate people. However, instances of untouchability are heard in the rural areas.

Changes in the Role of Caste

The caste system in its attempts to adjust itself to the changed conditions of life has assumed new roles. Besides industrialization and urbanization, other factors such as Westernisation, Sanskritisation, reorganization of Indian states, spread of education, socio-religious reforms, spatial and occupational mobility and growth of market economy have greatly affected the caste system. Changes in the role of caste must also be understood in the light of the influence of these factors.

1. Increase in the Organisational Power of Caste

Education makes people liberal, broad-minded, rational and democratic. Educated people are believed to be less conservative and superstitious. Hence it was expected that with the growth of literacy in India, caste-mindedness and casteism would come down. On the contrary, caste-consciousness of the members has been increasing. Every caste wants to safeguard its interests.

For fulfilling this purpose caste are getting themselves organised on the model of labour unions.

2. Political Role of Caste

Caste and politics have come to affect each other now. Caste has become an inseparable aspect of our politics. In fact, it is tightening its hold on politics. Elections are fought more often on the basis of caste. Selection of candidate, voting analysis, selection of legislative party leaders, distribution of ministerial portfolios etc., are very much based on caste. Even the communist parties which project the ideal of a casteless and classless society are also not an exception to this. Politics of each state, as M.N. Sriniva says, is virtually the politics of confrontation of its "dominant castes". Thus, unless one knows the political confrontation between the dominant castes such as Ligayats and Vokkaligas in Karnataka and Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh, one cannot understand the politics of these two states. M.N. Srinivas also makes a distinction between caste at the ritual level and caste at the political level.

3. Sanskritisation and Westernisation

As M.N. Sriniva has pointed out, two important trends are witnessed in caste – the process of Sanskritisation and that of Westernisation. The former refers to a process in which the lower castes tend to imitate the values, practices and other life-styles of some dominant upper castes. The latter denotes a process in which the upper-caste people tend to mould their life-styles on the model of Westerners.

4. Backward Classes Movement

Thenon-Brahmincastetodayaregetting themselvesmoreandmoreorganizedtochallenge the supremacy of the Brahmins and to assert their rights. The establishment of "Satyashodhak Samaj" by Jyothirao Phule in Poona in 1873 marked the beginning of such a non-Brahmin movement. This movement against the Brahmin supremacy by the lower castes came to be known as Backward Classes Movement. In the beginning, the main aim of this movement was to limit the Brahmin monopoly in the two fields such as education and appointment to government posts.

The backward classes movement has become a vital political force today. Its influence has changed the political scenario of the country. This movement has made the Brahmins politically weak and insignificant especially in Kerala and Tamilnadu. This movement has also brought pressure on different political parties to create special opportunities for the lowest caste people enabling them to come up to the level of other higher castes. Due to this pressure, Backward Classes Commissions were established at Central and State levels which recommended "reservation" for backward castes.

5. Competitive Role of Castes

Mutual interdependence of caste which existed for centuries and was reinforced by the institutional system of "jajmani", is not found today. As M.N. Srinivas points out, the "vertical solidarity" of castes has been replaced by "horizontal Solidarity". "Live and let live" policy which was once associated with the caste makes no sense today. On the contrary, each caste looks at the other with suspicion, contempt, and jealousy and finds in it a challenger, a competitor. Excessive caste-mindedness and caste-patriotism have added to this competition. The economic base of a caste and its hold over the political power virtually determine the intensity of this competitiveness. This competitive spirit further strengthens caste-mindedness.

7.8 Factor Contributing to Caste Change

The main factors responsible for the changes of caste system are:

Modern education:

Modern education is one of the major factors for weakening of the caste. It has gone to

make negative impacts upon casteism. As modern education is deeply ingrained into the values such as liberty, equality and fraternity, it gives no place for hoary social evils and practices like casteism. Education also encouraged inter-caste marriage. The feeling of untouchability and prejudices are being gradually eliminated from the mind of the children of all caste.

Industrialization:

With the advent of industrialization people of all castes were forced to find out employment in factories in big cities. In the industrial centers members of different castes came into mutual contact, made harmonious relationship with other and forgot the caste barriers.

Urbanization:

Industrialization, transportation and widened communication are the main factors responsible to decrease the sentiment of the caste from the people to a greater extent. Higher caste members who moved to urban areas for pursuing employment found it difficult to retain their caste ideas and practice.

Significance of wealth:

In the past power of money was not much dominating factor in the society. Today wealth is replacing caste as the basis of social prestige. In other words money has become a deciding factor for influencing human life at present.

Rise of Nationalism:

Nationalism bound up with the concept of 'universal brotherhood' has opened up new volumes in inter-caste relations. It seems to have helped to a considerable extent in shortening the prejudices of casteism from the mind of people in rural areas.

Effect of social reforms:

Social reform movement had also gone to a wider extent in diminishing caste prejudices from the upper caste minds. Social reformer like Babasaheb, Ambedkar, Balgangadhar Tilak, Ranade had done a lot for removing caste distinction and prejudice from the mind of Indians.

7.9 New Trends in Caste System

The disorganisation of the Caste System has led some to infer that in the future the Caste System will cease to exist. According to G.S. Ghurye there is no fear of the injunction of the Caste System in the near future due to the following following conditions.

1) Elections based on casteism

On the establishment of a democracy in India the government machinery is operated by representatives elected by the people. The method of election has done much to encourage the Caste System because of casteism among the voters. In this way people are asked to vote for their caste candidate and this casteism is maintained by the elected leaders after the elections are over. Some political parties sponsor only that candidate for elections in a particular area whose caste is the most numerous among the voters.

2) Special constitutional provision for backward classes

The constitution provides for the protection of the backward and Scheduled Castes. Some posts have been reserved for them in Government services. They are given all types of facilities and special scholarships for education. All this is most welcome and even necessary and yet more special rights have encouraged casteism in the backward classes since the caste is proving beneficial to them because of these prerogatives.

In India, on the one hand, the caste is becoming weaker due to the influence of such factors as industrialisation, urbanisation, increase in the means of transportation, populating of

English education, political and social awakening, democratic Government and laws abolishing untouchability etc and on the other such new organisations as labour union, etc, on the basis of occupation, post, capacity etc., are being established.

Due to an increase in the desire for money caused by the influences of western education the sense of superiority or inferiority is now based on wealth and social power of rather than on caste. The class consciousness, based on occupations, etc, is replacing the caste consciousness.

All the changes led people to believe that the Caste System will generally take on the form of a class system. But while, on the one hand, class consciousness seems to be progressing, on the other one can see progress in casteism as well. For people who are specially gifted in a particular occupation, other occupations are very limited in India and the paths to those that are available are difficult.

Children of those parents who have a small income or who have no wealth look out only for service. In some big business institutions and sometimes even in educational institutions what happens is that the proprietors, organisations and senior officials. Casteism of a similar type prevails also in Government services and political elections. Hence it cannot be asserted that at the caste is disappearing and classism is increasing. Actually, in India casteism is being transformed into classism.

7.10 Future of Caste System

It is difficult to make an unqualified statement concerning the future of the Caste System in India. It is certainly true the restrictions of marriage, diet, mode of life, behavior, etc., based on the Caste System are breaking down. But as has been described previously, casteism is increasing and Caste System is being encouraged by caste practices in election. Actually it seems more or less definite that there is no possibility of the Caste System being eliminated from the Indian society in the near future.

The root of the Caste System goes deep in Hindu society and at its basis are the important and beneficial principles of division of labour, specialisation etc, foreign invaders made their best efforts to wipe out the Hindu caste. But in spite of all efforts of the Muslims and Christians not much change was wrought in Caste System. It has definitely been affected somewhat by the influences of western education and western culture. And its form has undergone a vast change.

There is no room for doubting that this form of the Caste System will change further in future, it may even change, beyond recognition. It will also be influenced by the development of the sense of democracy and nationalism, industrial progress and by new political and economic movement.

7.11 Summary

The caste system which is an integral part of the Indian system, has a long standing history of its own. To understand how the system has come to be what it is today. One has to go back through the pages of history to trace its origin, evolution and growth. It is not easy to say precisely when, how and under what circumstances and pressures the system took its birth and developed. The task of tracing the evolution and growth of this system in precise and unambiguous terms is equally problematic. The political independence of the country, besides the process of such as Westernisation, Sanskritisation, reorganization of Indian states, spread of education, socio-religious reforms, spatial and occupational mobility and growth of market economy have greatly affected the caste system.

7.12 Technical Terms

Monarchical
Barriers
Unacquirable
Inalienable
Unattainable

7.13 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss elaborately the changes in the caste system.
2. Explain the factors contributing to caste change
3. Elaborate and discuss on new trends in caste systems and future of caste system.

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Lesson - 9

Social Religious Movements

8.0 Objectives:

The main objective of this lesson is to explain different social religious movements and their importance.

Contents

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Definition of social movement
- 8.3 Characteristics of Social Movements
- 8.4 Causes of Social Movements
- 8.5 Religious Movements in the 15th & 16th Centuries
- 8.6 Causes of New Movements
- 8.7 Bhakti Movement
- 8.8 Anti-Brahmin Movements
- 8.9 Jyotiba Phule's Movement:
- 8.10 Dalit Movements
- 8.11 Summary
- 8.12 Key Words
- 8.13 Reference books
- 8.14 Questions

8.1 Introduction

Social movements are organized attempts on the part of a section of society to bring about either total or partial change in society through collective mobilization based on ideology. Social movements originate as unorganized, unplanned, undirected grouping of persons who are dissatisfied with things. Chances of a movement are always present as some are formed discontented. It may be due to the social movements emerge due to the shared dissatisfaction; and the conviction that the collective mobilization would lead to the goal.

According to M.S.A. Rao, ideology is an essential element of a social movement as it distinguished it from a general category of movements involving collective action and is oriented towards change. In the absence of an ideology, a strike becomes as isolated and individual event and not a movement, on the contrary, if a strike is planned and directed by a student union with a defined ideology it becomes an event in that student movement. Social movements cover various forms of collective action aimed at social reorganization. In general, social movements are not highly institutionalized, but arise from spontaneous social protest directed at widespread or specific grievances.

Concept of Social Movement:

"Social Movement" represents a social phenomenon that assumes great importance in the

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

Social movements of various types have been taking place in most of the societies of the modern world. In fact, they have become a part and parcel of the modern democratic societies. We demand more and more reservation for the SCs and STs and other backward classes and there are counter movements demanding its cancellation or at least the status quo. There are movements to "save environment", to "save wild life" and to "save world peace". There are movements for and against the construction of Sri Ram Temple at the disputed place of Ayodhya. There are Fascist Movements, Communist Movements, Naxalite Movements, Tribal Movements, Peasants Movements, Women's Movements, Youth Movements, Labour Movements, Civil Rights Movements, Human Rights Movements, Afforestation Movements and so on. What then do we mean by social movements?

8.2 Definition of social movement

There is no single definition of the term social movement accepted by scholars of all disciplines. Like many other terms such as equality, masses, etc., the term 'movement' is often used differently by various political leaders, scholars and social activists who have written on 'movements'. Some use it to mean a tendency or historical trend. Some scholars use the term 'movement' interchangeably with organization or union. Like many other words, the term 'movement' is still recognized as a 'hurrah' word, to use T.D. Weldon's memorable classification. The term 'social movement' gained currency in European Languages in the early nineteenth century.

In view of the wide scope and varied nature it is difficult to arrive at a single, or a precise definition of the term 'social movement'. Different sociologists give their definitions in various ways. The following are the some important definitions.

According to Paul Wilkinson – "a social movement is a deliberate collective endeavor to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdraw into 'utopian' community."

Lundberg and others define social movement as "a voluntary association of people engaged in a concerted effort to change attitudes, behavior, and social relationship in a large society."

In the words of Anderson and Parker, social movement is "a form of dynamic pluralistic behavior which progressively develops structure through time and aims at partial or complete modification of the social order".

According to Horton and Hunt – "A social movement is a collective effort to promote or resist change".

In the words of Herbert Blumer (1971), social movements as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life.

According to Gusfield, social movements are “socially shared demands for change in some aspect of social order”.

No single or precise definition might be given on account of diversity of social movements, occurring in different societies, which range from religious to secular, from revolutionary to the reactionary from co-operative to the schismatic.

8.3 Characteristics of Social Movements.

The following are the important characteristic features of social movements:

- (a) Its aim is to resist or bring a change in society.
- (b) It is a collective effort by society or a group.
- (c) It may be violent or peaceful.
- (d) It may be organized or unorganized.
- (e) Its life is uncertain.

Function of Social Movements:

According to Touraine (1968) social movements have three important functions. These are as follows:

- a. Mediation: They help to relate persons to the larger society. They give each individual an opportunity to participate, to express his views and to play a role in the process of social change.
- b. Pressure: Social movements encourage the formation of organized groups that work systematically to observe that their policies and plans are implemented.
- c. Clarification of Collective Consciousness: Social movements generate and establish ideas which spread throughout society. As a result collective consciousness arises and develops.

8.4 Causes of Social Movements.

The following are some of the important causes of social movements:

- (a) Industrialization tends to produce social disorganization in a society. This is because formerly accepted values and norms are being questioned. When values and norms are unstable people are subject to feeling of alienation and anomie. Where a high degree of alienation and anomie are present, the soil is fertile for social movements.
- (b) The feeling of social injustice is not limited to the underprivileged classes. Any section, at any status level may come to feel itself the victim of social injustice. A wealthy person who suddenly finds himself relieved of the fortune may also feel that an injustice has been done him. In any case, the vital factor is not the actual presence or absence of social injustice. It is people's feeling that they are victims of social injustice that makes them apt to respond to social movements.
- (c) Social movements may also emerge when there is general dissatisfaction with the status quo. One source of dissatisfaction is relative deprivation.
- (d) Social mobility also makes people receptive to social movements.

Types of Social Movements

There are many kinds of social movements. It is not possible to give a classification of social movements because sometimes a movement is of a mixed nature or is of various types at different stages of its career. Social movements are divided in view of their goals and values.

According to Herbert Blumer (1951) there are three types of social movements. They are general, specific and expressive movements. General movements lack organization, structure and leadership. It is carried by a vague collectivity of persons, in other words, by a public or a mass. Generally specific movements develop out of a general movement. Their objects and goals are very clear. These movements might be of a revolutionary or reformatory. Expressive movements primarily include those concerned with fashions and religions.

Shah (1977) classifies movements as revolt, rebellion, reform and revolution to bring about change in the political system. According to M.S.A. Rao (1978) social movements are divided into three categories. These are reformist, transformatory and revolutionary.

Social movements are also divided on the basis of issues around which participants get mobilized. Some of them are called as "civil rights". Nationalist, linguistic, anti-dowry and other such movements. Some others classify movements on the basis of the participants, such as tribals, dalits, peasants, women, students etc. In majority of the cases the issues and participants go together.

Sociologists classified social movements into different types on the basis of the organization, aims, value strength etc. Some of the types are mentioned below:

- (a) **Revolutionary movements:** These movements aim at eliminate the existing social system and reconstruction with a different one. Revolutionary movements are not satisfied with the social order and work for radical change. Russian and French revolutions are the best examples of revolutionary movements.
- (b) **Reform movements:**
These movements are primarily takes place only in democratic societies where people tolerate criticism. The main object of these movements is to modify some part of a society without completely transforming it. Arya Samaj movement, Brahmo Samaj movement are the examples.
- (c) **Reactionary or Regressive movements:**
These movements are arise among the people who are not satisfied with some items of change. The movements highlight the significance of old values, ideology and institutional arrangements. Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (R.S.S.), Islamic fundamentalist movement are the examples of reactionary movement.
- (d) **Migratory movement:**
These movements take place when many people migrate due to discontent and or due to the shared hope for a bright future in some other place. Their migration of people does not mean migratory movement. The mass exodus of men to Gulf countries from the State of Kerala, is an example of a migratory movement. The mass migration of people from Afghanistan to Pakistan during American war on Afghanistan is another example of a

migratory movement.

(e) Resistance Movements:

These movements are formed to resist a change that is already taking place in society. The many social and cultural changes of recent decades have been profoundly disturbing to many of the Indians who feel that our national virtues, traditional values, and cultural greatness, are being eroded by secularism, minority appeasement, sexual permissiveness, moral degradation, political corruption and sell-out of national interests for the partial political interests, and so on. Good number of contemporary resistance movements expresses their dismay at the direction in which our nation has been moving. Examples: Anti-Abortion Movement, Anti Hindu Movement, Anti-Reservation Movement, the Swadeshi Movement against the movement towards Economic Liberalization, the Movement towards Indian style Indian Education, etc. This type of movement is not very much revolutionary in character but more resistant in nature.

(f) Utopian Movement:

These are attempts to take the society or at least a section of it towards a state of perfection. "These are loosely structured collectivities that envision a radically changed and blissful state, either on a large scale at some time in the future, or on a smaller scale in the present. The utopian ideal and the means of it are often vague, but many utopian movements have quite specific programmes for social change." [Ian Robertson]. Example; the "Hare Krishna Movement" of the seventies, the movement towards, the establishment of "Rama Rajya" – as envisioned by the B.J.P. and the "Sangh Parivar" [the community of the supporters of the R.S.S. School of Thought]. The Communists and socialists pronouncement of a movement towards the classless, casteless society free from all kinds of exploitation etc.

8.5 Religious movements:

The sixth century B.C. was a period of great religious ferment in the history of the world. This period was a turning point in the spiritual and intellectual development of the whole world. When various religious reformers like Pythagoras (Greece), Heraclitus, Lao Tze and Confucius (China) and Zoroaster in Persia tried to rouse the people and tried to teach and preach nobler and higher duties of life. In India this crucial period in the history of world was marked on the one hand by the preaching of the Upanishad sages, who admitted the respiration and inspiration of the Vedas, and on the other hand by the emerge of preachers who were less orthodox than they and who rejected the Vedas. It was at this time that Jainism and Buddhism developed. The religious movements was initiated by two Kshatriya prince, Vardhamana Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. Their philosophy and teachings subsequently gained popularity under the name of Jainism and Buddhism respectively.

Religious Movements in the 15th & 16th Centuries

In the early medieval period two parallel movements, in Hinduism and Islam, respectively representing the Bhakti and Sufi movements emerged in India. The importance of both these parallel religious movements is that they freed the Indian society from the dogmatic

beliefs, caste and communal hatred, ritualism and so on. Bhakti and Sufi movements are democratic movements, which preached simple religion in the language of the common people. Liberalism and love were keynotes of the Bhakti and Sufi movements. Mystic discipline in Bhakti and Sufi movements was canalized towards the moral and spiritual advancement of the individual and society making them rise above the barriers of creed, caste, colour, power, position, and wealth.

8.6 Causes of Movements:

The conditions of the then society favoured the rise and development of Jainism and Buddhism. The following are some of the important causes;

- (i) The Vedic philosophy had lost its original purity and in the Sixth Century B.C it was reduced to a bundle of rituals. The ceremonies man developed a great dislike for these ceremonies and rituals.
- (ii) The caste system had become brutal and rigid. Interchange of caste was not possible. There were too many restrictions on eating food, drinking and marriage. Low caste person had a miserable life. Jainism and Buddhism offered them an honored place.
- (iii) The supremacy of Brahmins created unrest. These people dominated in every aspect of life.
- (iv) The sacrifices prescribed by the Vedas were very complicated and a source of wastage of time, money and energy.
- (v) The Vedic religion had become very complex and degenerated into blind beliefs, rituals and dogmas.
- (vi) All the religious scriptures were written in Sanskrit which was the language of the elite and not the common people.

These ills and evils led to grow discontent among the masses who aspired for a change in society. Several leading teachers raised their voice against these problems. Jainism and Buddhism play a vital role for removing social evils and religious dogmas.

Jainism

The Jain tradition speaks of 24 Tirthankaras, the last and the real founder being Vardhamana Mahavira who was born in village Kundagrama in a district Muzaffarpur (Bihar) in 540 B.C. Mahavira married Yasoda and had a daughter. At the age of 30, after the death of his parents, he renounced his family became a monk and proceeded in search of truth. He got enlightenment after 12 years and henceforth started preaching his philosophy.

Jainsim did not believe in the existence of god man's salvation does not based on the mercy of god but on his own acts. It rejected the authority of the Vedas Jainism advocated highly disciplined and simple life with the ultimate goal to attain nirvana or moksha. It gives importance to equality. Then nirvana of a person depends on right belief, right knowledge and right action. These are called the three jewels of Jainism. According to Jainism, the world consists of two elements: Jiva (conscious being) and atma (the unconscious). Jiva feels, acts and wills. It suffers and dies. Atma is eternal and is born and reborn. The ultimate goal of Jiva should be to get rid of cycle of birth and rebirth and attain nirvana Buddhism.

Gautama Buddha also known as Siddhartha, Sakyamuni or Thattagata, the founder of Buddhism was born in 563 B.C at Lumbivana near the border of Nepal. He was married at the age of 16 to Yasodhara and enjoyed household life for thirteen years and had a son. He left his family at the age of 29 and became a monk. At the age of 35, he attained enlightenment at Buddha Gaya in Bihar.

Buddhism was the movement that gave the shock to Brahmanism. Buddhism stands on three pillars. The Buddha, its founder; the Dharma, his teaching; and the Sangh; the order of Buddhist monk and nuns. This basic principles of Buddha's teachings are the four noble truths i.e., (a) worldly existence is full of misery, (b) desire, thirst, attachment, ignorance etc., are the causes of worldly existence, (c) worldly existence can be ended by the destruction of desire, thirst etc. (d) in order to do it one must know the right path. And the right path is the eight-fold path i.e., right understanding, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. Like Jainism, Buddhism also did not believe in the existence of god.

Jainism and Buddhism plays an important role in removing the defects of Hinduism particularly the practice of sacrifices and ritualism. Both resemble in many respects. Both have been protestant religious movements against the evil practices of Hinduism.

Sufi Movement:

In the medieval Indian society Sufism was the most important and interesting aspect of Islamic religion. Sufism came to India before the establishment of the sultanate of Delhi. But after foundation of the Turkish rule, a number of sufis from various Islamic countries migrated to India and established themselves in many parts of India. Sufis were mystics who had risen in Islam at a very early stage. They were persons of deep devotion who were disgusted by the vulgar display of wealth and degeneration of morals following the establishment of Islamic empire.

Sufism was not organized in a single sect and its religious doctrines were also not common; instead they were organized into various 'silsilahs' or orders or religious doctrines. They recognized the prophet hood of Mohammad and authority of the Holy Quran, but in course of time they observed a variety of practices and ideas from various sources such as neo-Platonism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism.

The sufis were organized into orders or Silsilahs named after the name or surname of the founder of the particular order, such as Chisti, Naqshbandi, Suhrawardi etc. Silsilahs were generally led by a prominent mystic who lived in a khanvua at hospice along with his disciples. The link between the teacher (pir) and the disciples (murids) was very important for the Sufi system. The Sufi orders are broadly classified into two: Ba-shara, that is, those which were not bound by it. Both groups of orders prevailed in India, the latter being adapted more by wandering saints. These saints did not establish an order.

In the sixteenth century there were as many as fourteen Sufi orders in India. Of the different orders, largely found outside India, only two Chisti and Suhrawardi. The Chisti order, largely found outside India by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. Chisti were the first to succeed in establishing themselves firmly on Indian soil. The chief centers of the Chisti silsilah, the most popular order, were Ajmer, Nagaur, Narnaul, Sarwal, Hansi, Hadaun, Ayodhya and other towns of Uttar Pradesh. The famous Chisti saints like Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti, Khawaja & Qutubuddin

Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khanja Fariduddin, Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Dehlvi, Shaikh Alual, Haq, Shaikh Adhi Seraj etc. The Suharwardi order's activities were confined largely Multan and Punjab. The great well known saints of such arwaridi order were Shaikh, shihubuddin, Suharwarli and Hamidud-Din Nagori, Wahatat-ul-Wujud or the unity of the being was their basic doctrine. It identified the unity of the half and the Khalf i.e., the creator and the created. The philosophy of Sufism believes in one god and regards every individual and everything else as part of him.

8.7 Bhakti Movement:

The Bhakthi movement in Hinduism was one remarkable feature of the medieval age. It remained influential for many centuries and has left deep impact on modern Hinduism. The concept of Bhakti means single-minded devotion to one god. According to Hinduism there are three ways to attain salvation viz., Gyan (knowledge), Karma (duty), and Bhakti (devotion to god). During the medieval periods saints belong to Hinduism emphasized on Bhakti as a way to attain Moksha or Salvation and that resulted in the Bhakti movement. Its philosophical concept had been fully evicted in the Upanishads and subsequently, the Bhagavad Gita in Mahabharata emphasized devotion and love as pathways to God.

The Bhakti movement was essentially monotheistic and the devotees offered prayers to one personal God, who could either have Suguna (form) or be Nirguna (formless). The followers of Nirguna Bhakti discarded idol worship. This movement rejected the sacrifices and rituals as modes of worship. This was an egalitarian movement. The Saints of both north and south preached in the simple language of the common people. According to Bhakti cult, knowledge could be gained through a guru or teacher.

This movement was a widespread movement that embraced the whole of the country for several centuries. It played a vital role in reforming the Hindu religious so as to enable it to withstand the onslaught of Islamic propaganda and proselytism and compromise between Islam and Hinduism. The high and less sections of Hindu society forgot many of their prejudices and differences. Majority of the people believed in the message of the saints of the Bhakti movement that all people were equal in the eyes of God and that birth was no bar to moksha or salvation.

Nanak (1469-1534)

Guru Nanak, from whose teachings the Sikh religion derived was born in a Khatri household in the village of Talumoli (Nankana) on the bank of the river Ravi in 1469. Like Kabir, he also preached a casteless, ethical, monotheistic, anti-ritualistic, universal and highly spiritual religion. He did not believe in the incarnation of God. Nanak gave much more weightage on the purity of character and conduct as the first condition of approaching God, and the need of a teacher or guru for guidance. He was strongly reject idol-worship, pilgrimages and other formal observances of the different faiths. Nanak's mission was to reform the Hinduism and aimed at bridge distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims.

After his death, his followers called themselves 'Sikhs' and a new religious sect, Sikhism was founded.

Dadu(1544-1603):

One of the famous followers of Kabir's ideals was Dadu, he was born of Brahmana parents in Ahmedabad in A.D.1544 and died in 1603. He practiced the teachings and preachings of Kabir. The main aim of his life was to unite all the divergent faiths in one bond of love, and he founded Brahman Samapradaya to give effect to this great ideal. Like Kabir, he was also a householder, and he believed that the natural life of a householder was best suited for self realization. Among the many disciples of Dadu, Sundaradasu (A.D.1597-1689) Rajjab and other were distinguished personalities.

Malukdasa(1574-1682):

He was also one of the follower of Kabir. The monasteries of his sect are found all over North India and even beyond from Bihar to Kabul. He too rejected the idol worship and other external forms of religion.

The following saints are belong to Suguna School.

Chaitanya(1486-1533)

His original name was Vishwanmbar and he was born at Nanadwip in 1486. He was responsible for the popularity of Vaishnavism in Bengal through his Kirtans, he preached the message that ragamarga or the path of spontaneous love was best for moksha or salvation. He was a great exponent of Krishna form of Vaishnavism. He created sensation in Bengal, Orissa and Assam. He attracted a wide following including some Muslims and low caste people in the eastern part of India. After the death of Chaitanya, his disciples and followers systematized his teachings and organized themselves into a sect called Gaudiya Vaishnavism.

Surdas(1498-1569):

He was a disciple of Vallabhacharya of South India. He was a staunch devotee of Lord Krishna and Radha. He popularized the Krishna cult by singing songs, glorifying Lord Krishna's leelas. He believed that salvation can be achieved only through the devotion of Lord Krishna. He was the author of three books. They are : Sur, Sarwali, Sahitya Ratna and Sursagar. All the three works of Surdas are very popular.

Tulasidas(1532-1623):

He was born in a Sanyasarian Brahmin family in or about 1532 in Varnasi. He was a worshipper of Rama. Tulasidas was not only a poet but also a great devotee of Lord Rama. He composed Ramacharita Manas in Hindi expounding the various aspects of Hindu dharma. Besides this, he wrote several other books, such as Gitawali, Kavitaawali, Vanya Patrika, etc. He was considered as a great Vaishnava devotee or bhakta.

Mirabai(1498-1546):

She was a great devotee of Krishna. She was born at the village of Kudvi in Merta district in or about A.D. 1498. She was a follower of the Krishna cult of Vaishnavism. Mirabai was one

of the greatest saint in North India. She was written too many devotional songs. They are written in Brijehasha and partly in Rajasthani, and some of her verses are in Gujarati. Her Kirt or lyrics are full of devotion and spiritual ecstasy. She addressed all her lyrics to Lord Krishna.

Sankaradasa(1532-1623):

He was a contemporary of Chaitanya. He was the greatest religious reformer of medieval Assam. He was preached Vaishna bhakti. He was believed in monotheism. He did not recognize a female associate of the supreme deity (Parvathi, Sita, Radha etc.) He emphasized Niskama bhakti. He rejected caste system, idol worship and ritualism.

8.8 Anti-Brahmin Movements:

The Backward Castes movement in South India was an anti-Brahmin movement. In the 19th century, the Brahmins have enjoyed educational, economic and political privileges created by British rule. Educated caste Hindus therefore challenged this supremacy through anti- Brahmin movements. The western educated elite from among the backward castes took up the leadership of the anti-Brahmin movement. The educated youth from the intermediate castes movement. The important backward classes' movements in pre-independence India are Phule's movement and self-respect movement.

8.9 Jyotiba Phule's Movement:

Jyotiba Phule (1827-1899) was Sudra. Her belonged to the Mali caste (Gardener). In 1851, he became the first Hindu to run a school for the untouchables. Phule founded the Satya Shodak /samaj (Truth seeking Society) in 1873. The leadership of the Samaj came from the backward classes, namely, the Malis, Kunbis, Telis and Satis. The main aim of the Samaj is to redeem the Shudras and Adi-Sudras (Untouchables) from the influence of Brahmanical scriptures and to liberate them from mental and religious slavery. He thus started the first protest movement among the lower castes. He has against Brahmin domination. He aimed at the total abolition of the caste system and socio-economic inequalities in the society. His supporters were mainly the urban non-Brahmin contractors and trader. His movement remained confined, during the life time, to some urban centers of the state of Maharashtra.

After the death of Jyotiba Phule, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Shahu Chhatrapati took the leadership of the movement. He plays a prominent role of the eradication of untouchability and upliftment of the untouchables. The main thrust of his effort was to encourage the formation of a modern elite from among the non-Brahmin peasant castes. Though sympathetic to social reform, he was personally more attached with Arya Samaj, which believed Vedas and traditions. Under Shahu Maharaja, Phule's movement spread, but lost much of its militancy.

The Anti-Brahmin movement not only confined to Maharashtra, it also spread to Mysore and Madras in the first decade of the 20th Century. In Mysore, the Vokkaligas and Lingayats started their respective organizations in 1906 and 1909. These two castes along with Muslims established the Praja Mitra Mandali in 1917. They demanded for concessions to non - Brahmins in government employment, education and political representation. In the old Madras Presidency, some section of the Reddi's, Kammas, Vellalas etc. strongly opposed the supremacy of the

Brahmin and launched the justice party in 1916. This organization only represented the interests of the mercantile bourgeoisie and feudal landlords. This elite anti-Brahmin party lack of sympathy for the untouchables. The justice party declined after 1927 and was practically extinct by the end of 1930's.

Self-Respect Movement:

Periyar E. V. Ramaswami Naicker (1879-1973), a ³⁷Periyar Naide had begun his political life with the Indian National Congress party in the 1920's and **started the self-respect movement in 1925.** **This movement was an anti-religious, Brahmins, pro British movement aimed at abolition of caste system.** Naicker publicly, criticized the Hindu puranas as fairy tales, not only irrational and imaginary, but immoral. According to Naicker, Hinduism had been founded by the Brahmins, "for their own power ³² interests; they built on the illiteracy, ignorance and poverty of the people and exploited them. **In order to propagate his ideas, he founded a Tamil Journal, Kudiarasu (people's government), which was soon followed by others of similar nature, Pakutharivu (Discernment), Puratchi (Revolt) and Vidadhalas (liberty).** He led various activities of direct action like breaking of idols, forcible entry of temple, burning of Hindu sacred books, exclusion of Brahmin priests in marriages and other functions, etc.

In the 1930's and early 40's the self-respect movement collaborated with the British and worked against the nationalist movement. In 1944, under the leadership of Ramaswami Naicker, the Justice party was reconstituted as Dravida Kazhagam. Which was induced with not only the anti-Brahmin, anti-north, anti-Hindu philosophy, but also separatist sub-nationalism? The main aim of the Dravid Kazhagam was the achievement of a sovereign independent Dravidian Republic, which would be federal in nature. The Dravida Kazhagam in Tamil means the organization of Dravidians. The conflicting political lines developed within the K.M.K., on line, represented by Ramaswami Naicker, set itself in front against the independence movement and demanded freedom from "Brahmin Raj". The other trend, represented by C.N. Annadurai, came out for accommodation with the freedom struggle even while continuing to focus on the demand for independence from 'Aryan Congress Yoke'. In 1970, M.G. Ramachandran founded the All India Anna Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). While Periyar ³⁷ continued to fight against caste system and supremacy of Brahmins till his death in 1973. Both **D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K.** has taken an **anti-Brahmin** stance in politics.

These movements spread some liberal ideas, struggle for higher status and forget for educational, economic and political advantages. Some of the leaders play a reformist or even a reactionary, however challenge the caste system as radically as the dalit liberation movements.

8.10 Dalit Movements

Schedule caste or Dalit socio-political movements are very few in number. The first dalit movements took place among the Nadars of Tamilnadu and the Izhavas of Kerala. Sri Narayana Guru of Kerala led an uncompromising revolt against the caste system. The Izhavas were the first caste to give up untouchability. Many dalit liberation movements emerged in the 1920's.

⁶¹ **The main issues around which most of the dalit movements have been centered in colonial and post colonial periods are confined to the problem of untouchability.** ⁷⁵ **The most important of the early dalit movements were the Adi-Dharm movement (Punjab), Adi-Dravida**

Movement (Tamilnadu), Adi-Andhra Movement (Andhra Pradesh) and Nama Shudra Movement (Bengal).

8.11 Summary:

“Social Movement” is one of the important forms of collective behavior. **Social movement is a collective effort with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part.** It plays a prominent role in highlighting some of the social problems. It is a force that might possibly, save the society from destruction.

8.12 Key Words

Social Movement
Religion
Backward classes
Backwardness.

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8.14 Questions:

1. DefineSocialMovementsandExplainitscharacteristics?
2. Givefunctionsofsocialmovements?
3. Pointoutthecausesofsocialmovements?
4. Explaintypesofsocialmovements?
5. DescribetherolesplayedbyBuddhismandJainismasprotestmovements?
6. ExplainSufiandBhaktimovementsinthe15thand16thCentury?

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Lesson - 10

5

MARRIAGE, FORMS AND TYPES OF MARRIAGE IN INDIAN SOCIETY

60

9.0 Objective:

The objectives of this lesson are to explain the marriage system in Indian society, forms and types of marriage.

Contents:

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Definition of Marriage
- 9.3 Characteristics of Marriage
- 9.4 Functions and Importance of Marriage
- 9.5 Forms of Marriage
- 9.6 Polygyny
- 9.7 Polyandry
- 9.8 Monogamy
- 9.9 Other Forms of Marriage
- Summary
- Technical Terms
- Self Assessment Questions
- Reference Book

9.1 Introduction

Marriage is one of the universal social institutions. It is established by the human society to control and regulate the sex life of man. It is closely connected with the institution of family.

¹⁶ In fact, family and marriage are complementary to each other. As *Gillin and Gillin* have said, "marriage is a socially approved way of establishing a family of procreation". As *Westernmarck* has remarked, "Marriage is rooted in the family rather than the family in the marriage". Marriage is an institution of society which can have very different implications in different cultures. Its purposes, functions and forms may differ from society to society, but it is present everywhere as an institution.

9.2 Definition of Marriage

¹⁶ There is no definition which adequately covers all types of human marriage. It has given a number of definitions and explanations among which the following may be noted.

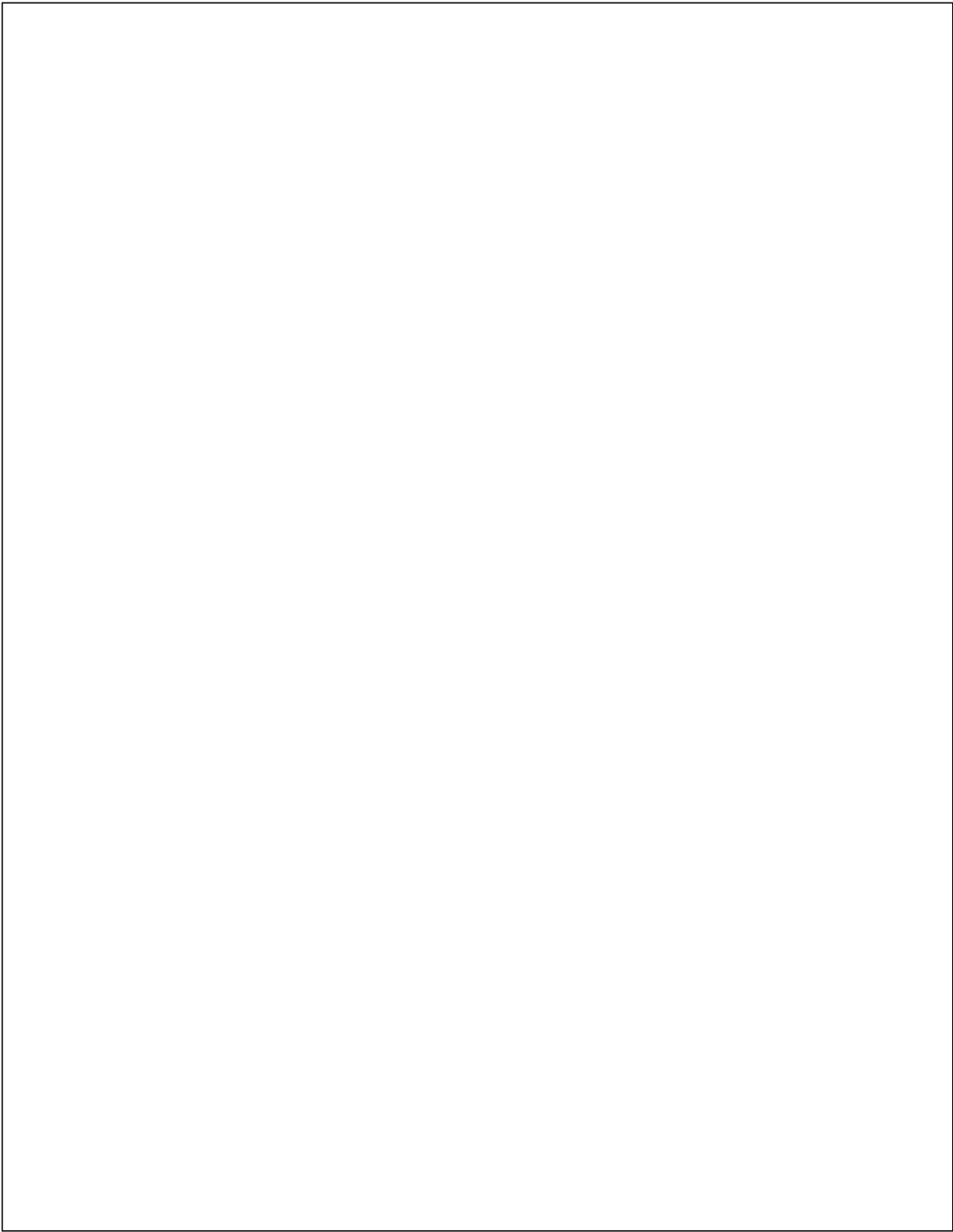
- i. Edward Westernmarck in his "History of Human Marriage" defines marriage as "the more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring".

- ii. Malinowski says that marriage is a “contract for the production and maintenance of children”.
- iii. According to Robert H. Lowie, “Marriage is a relatively permanent bond between permissible mates”.
- iv. Broadly speaking, however, marriage may be defined as “a socially sanctioned sex relationship involving two or more people of the opposite sex, whose relationship is expected to endure beyond the time required for gestation and the birth of children”.- Duncan Mitchell’s “A dictionary of Sociology”.
- v. Alfred McClung Lee writes, “Marriage is the public joining together, under socially specified regulations of a man and woman a husband and wife”.

9.3 Characteristics of Marriage

- 1) **Universality** Marriage is more or less a universal institution. It is found among the preliterate as well as literate peoples. It is enforced as a social rule in some of the societies. Examples: in Japan, celibacy is publicly condemned. In Korea, unmarried individuals are called ‘half’ persons. Among the Hindus, marriage is a sacrament which is regarded as more or less obligatory. The Todas of Nilagiri refuse to perform funeral rites for a girl if she dies before her marriage. But they do perform it after completing some sort of marriage ceremony for the corpse. According to the Chinese philosopher Confucius, as individual who remains unmarried throughout his life commits a great crime. As Levi-Strauss has observed that the unmarried primitives of Central Brazil are made to lead to miserable life.
- 2) **Relationship Between Man and Woman** Marriage is a union of man and woman. It indicates relationship between one or more men to one or more women. Who should marry whom? One should marry how many? – are the questions which represent social rules regarding marriage which differ significantly.
- 3) **Marriage Bond is Enduring** Marriage indicates a long lasting bond between the husband and wife. Hence it is not coextensive with sex life. It excludes relationships with prostitutes or any other sexual relationship which is viewed as casual and not sanctioned by custom, law or church. Marital relationship between man and woman lasts even after the sexual satisfaction is obtained. The Hindus, for example, believe that marriage is a sacred bond between the husband and wife which even the death cannot break.
- 4) **Marriage Requires Social Approval** A union of man and woman becomes a marital bond only when the society gives its approval. When marriage is given the hallmark of social approval, it becomes a legal contract.
- 5) **Marriage is Associated with Some Civil or Religious Ceremony** Marriage gets its social

recognition through some ceremony. This ceremony may have its own rites, rituals, customs, formalities, etc. It means marriage has to be concluded in a public and



Lesson - 11

Family as a Social Institution, types of Families and Changing Trends**10.0 Objective:**

The objectives of this lesson is to explain Family as a Social Institution, types of families and Changing Trends in Family system.

Contents

- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Meaning of Family
- 10.3 Characteristics of Family
- 10.4 Nature of the Family
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10.1 Introduction

The family is the most important primary group in society. It is the simplest and the most elementary form of society. It is the most basic of all social groupings. It is the first and the most immediate social environment to which a child is exposed. It is an outstanding primary group, because, it is in the family that the child develops its basic attitudes.

Further, of all the groups that affect the lives of individuals in society none touches them so intimately or so continuously as does the family. From the moment of birth to the moment of death the family exerts a constant influence. The family is the first group in which we find ourselves. It provides for the most enduring relationship in one form or other. Every one of us grows up in a family and every one of us too will be a member of one family or other.

The family, almost without question, is the most important of any of the groups that human experience offers. Other groups we join for longer or shorter periods of time for the satisfaction of this interest or that. The family, on the contrary, is with us always. Or rather more precisely, we are with it.

10.2 Meaning of the Family

Some of the definitions of family are as follows:

- (i) 'family is a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children'. – MacIver
- (ii) 'Family is a more or less durable association of husband and wife with or without children or of a man or woman alone, with children'. – Nimkoff
- (iii) 'Family is a group of persons whose relation to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are therefore, kin to another'. – Davis
- (iv) 'Family is the biological social unit composed of husband, wife and children'. – Eliot and

Merrill

10.3 Characteristics of the Family

On the basis of these definitions, the following characteristics of a family may be deduced.

- (i) **A mating relationship:** A family comes into existence when a man and a woman establish a mating relation between them. This relation may be of a shorter duration or lifelong. When the marital relations break up, the family disintegrates.
- (ii) **A form of marriage:** Mating relationship is established through the institution of marriage, which may be solemnized in a simple way as is the case in Europe, or its celebration may be a long process as is generally in India.
- (iii) **A system of nomenclature:** Every family is known by a name and has its own system of reckoning descent. Descent may be reckoned through the male line or through the female line. Usually, the wife goes and joins her husband's relatives, but sometimes the husband may also go and join his wife's relatives.
- (iv) **An economic provision:** Every family needs an economic provision to satisfy the economic needs. The head of the family works to earn money to maintain the family.
- (v) **A common habitation:** A family requires a house for its living. Without a dwelling place the task of child bearing and child rearing cannot be adequately performed.

10.4 Nature of the Family

Beside the characteristics mentioned above, a family is possessed of several distinctive features.

- (i) **Universality:** Family is the most universal group. It is the first institution in the history of mankind. It has existed in every age and in every society and is found in all parts of the world. No culture or society has ever existed without some form of family organization. Each one of us is a member of a family. No other group is so universal as the family is.
- (ii) **Emotional basis:** The family is a fundamental unit of human society. It is based on out impulses of mating, procreation, and parental care. It is a close-knit group that fortifies these emotions.
- (iii) **Limited size:** A family is usually a small-sized organization. Its size is generally defined by biological conditions, which it cannot transcend. Other groups may be smaller than a family, but they are not formed because of biological condition.
- (iv) **Formative influence:** The family exercises the most profound influence over its members. It moulds the character of individuals. Its influence in infancy determines the personality structure of the individual. From its initial units, the father and mother, the child receives his/her physical inheritance. Freud and other psychologists have proved that a child exhibits the same character and mental tendencies in adult age that he acquires in the family. Confucius rightly remarked that if you want to improve society, improve family. 'to be well born is to possess the greatest of all gifts. To be ill born there is nothing which this world can afford that will be adequate compensation for the lack of good heredity'.
- (v) **Nuclear position:** The family is the nucleus of all other social groups. The distinctive characteristics of marriage, parental obligations, and sibling relations make family the primary institutional cell of a society. The whole social structure is built of family units.
- (vi) **Responsibility of the members:** In the family the child learns the meaning of social responsibility and the necessity for co-operation. As Maclver aptly describes, 'In times of crisis men may work, and fight and die for their country, but they toil for their families all

their lives. In it, the child develops his basic attitudes and ideals. It is a great agency of the socialization of the child".

- (vii) **Social regulations:** The family is peculiarly guarded by social customs and legal regulations. It is not easy to violate them. Family is the group in which the consenting parties may freely enter, but which they cannot easily leave or dissolve. Marriages are not trivially taken.
- (viii) **Permanent and temporary:** Family as an institution is permanent and universal, while its association is temporary and transitional. When the son marries, he goes out of the family and starts another family, which again may give rise to more families.

All these trends show that although the family is one of the most limited groups of the society, it differs from all of them in being a distinct type of group. It is the smallest kinship group. It usually begins when the partners marry; it changes when the sons marry, it ends when one of the partners dies. When the children are young and entirely dependent on parents, the family looks like a compact human group. When children grow in age, this compactness becomes loose and when they marry the old family disintegrates and new families rise up. The original relations are reversed, the parents become dependent on the children.

10.5 Functions of the Family

Davis has characterized the main social function of the family into four divisions: reproduction, maintenance, placement and socialization of the young. It also performs individual functions, but these are a corollary of its social functions.

Lundberg has enumerated the following basic functions of the family:

- (i) The regulation of sexual behaviour and reproduction.
- (ii) Care and training of children.
- (iii) Co-operation and division of labour.
- (iv) Primary group satisfactions.

Besides, there are many auxiliary functions as well. Ogburn and Nimkoff have divided family function into six categories: (i) Affectional, (ii) Economic, (iii) Recreational, (iv) Protective, (v) Religious, and (vi) Educational.

Reed has described the following functions of the family: (i) Race perpetuation, (ii) Socialization, (iii) Regulation and satisfaction of sex needs, (iv) Economic functions.

MacIver divides the functions of the family into two categories – essential and non-essential. Under the essential he includes three functions: (i) stable satisfaction of sex need, (ii) production and rearing of children, and (iii) provision of a home.

Under the non-essential functions he mentions religious, educational, economic, health, and recreations which, he says, have now been transferred to specialized agencies in society.

10.6 Essential Functions

(i) **Satisfaction of sex need:** This is the first essential function that the family performs. Manu, the Ancient Indian law-giver, regarded sexual satisfaction as the aim of family; Vatsyayan also looked upon sexual satisfaction as the primary objective of the family. Satisfaction of sex instinct brings the desire or lifelong partnership among males and females. The satisfaction of sex instinct makes for normal personality. If sex instinct is suppressed, it may produce personality maladjustments and disrupt social relations. According to Havelock, 'With failure of sexual harmony, the marriage structure rests on shifting sand'. The modern family satisfies this instinct in greater degree than the traditional family. In the traditional family the sexual act was combined with reproduction. The fear of pregnancy, as a result of intercourse, prevented the couple to satisfy their sex urge. But in the modern families the task of sexual satisfaction has been eased by the invention of contraceptives and other methods of birth control. The present wife is in a better position to satisfy sex instinct without any fear of conception.

(ii) **Production and rearing of children:** The inevitable result of sexual satisfaction is

procreation. The task of race perpetuation has always been an important function of the family. The Hindu scriptures hold that the religious activities of man cannot be consummated unless he has a son. They permit a second marriage if there is no issue from the first wife. In the Hindu marriage, the groom says to his bride that 'I accept you in order to obtain good progeny'. Although childbirth can occur outside the family, nowhere is illegitimacy approved. Family is an institution par excellence for the production and rearing of children. Some countries, especially Soviet Russia after the Revolution practiced experiments in communal child rearing, but they soon abandoned it. The function of child rearing is better performed today than in the past because now more skill and knowledge are devoted to the care of the unborn and newborn child. The infant death rate has shown a marked decline. In the achievement of this result, specialized agencies such as nursing and child welfare centres have come to the aid of the family. Looking at the data collected in the west it is seen that the number of illegitimate children is falling down, the practice of prostitution is vanishing away and the number of marriages is increasing, which clearly shows that the function of procreation of race is only performed through family. It is claimed that with the practice of birth control methods the function of child procreation is now being given up by modern families.

10.7 Non-essential Functions

Economic: The non-essential functions of a family are various and varied. First, it serves as an economic unit. In the traditional families, most of the goods for consumption were made at home. The members of the family were all engaged in the family industry. The ancient Hindu joint family served as a type of mutual insurance society. It was a unit of production and the centre of economic activities. Today, the importance of family as an economic unit has been lessened, as most of the goods for consumption, including food, are purchased ready-made from the market. The members of the modern family do not work together as they did in the past times. They are engaged in different activities outside the home. However, the old pattern has not been completely destroyed, it has merely changed. In the family, one or the other term has not been completely destroyed, it has merely changed. In the family, one or the other profession is still carried on though of a different sort and in a different atmosphere. There is a clear division of labour between man and woman. The family members help in the economic adjustment of the family. Every family has its own economic capacity. The members purchase property-movable and immovable for the family. Property is an important economic institution that is protected and maintained by the family. The use and transmission of the property is usually prescribed by rules of the society. The equal distribution of property is an important function of the family.

Religious: The second non-essential function that the family performs is of a religious character. It is a centre for the religious training of the children who learn various religious virtues from their parents. In the traditional family, different religious practices such as idol worship, yagya, religious discourses, and sermons by pundits were held, which made the outlook of the children religious. In the Hindu scriptures, religious rituals are considered incomplete in the absence of wife. The modern family, however, does not observe religious practices and has become secular in outlook.

Educational: Another function performed by a family is the education of children. Family is an important educational agency. Every child learns the first letter under the guidance of parents. The traditional family was the centre of vocational education also because the children from the early childhood were associated with the family task. The modern family has delegated the task of vocational education to technical institutes and colleges.

Health: The functions related to health that were performed in the old family have now been transferred to hospitals and clinics. Formerly, a sick man was cared for in the family by his own kith and kin, but today he is admitted to a hospital and looked after by nurses. The child is born today not in the comforting

fragrance of a home, but in the maternity wards of a well-equipped hospital. Instead of 'the house where I was born', the phrase 'the hospital where I was born' is more relevant to modern conditions.

Recreation: The old family provided recreation to its members. They used to sign and dance together and visit the family relations. In modern family, relation is individual rather than collective. The present forms of recreation such as a bridge, tennis, carom, and movies provide for only individual or couple participation. Today, people prefer to go to a club or a hotel for recreation.

Civic: Family is the school of civic virtues. The child learns the first lesson of citizenship in the family. The virtues of love, co-operation, toleration, sacrifice, obedience, and discipline are first learnt by the child in the family. These qualities enable him to grow into a good citizen. That is why family has been called the cradle of civic virtues.

Social: Family imparts the knowledge of social customs, mores, etc. to the younger generation. It exercises social control over its members, which helps in the maintenance of a well-organized society. Family is an important agency of social control. It is also the custodian of culture and serves as the natural and convenient channel of social continuity.

10.8 The Changing Family Patterns

The family as a basic social institution has been undergoing change. The modern family radically differs from that of the traditional one. The family has never been at rest. Both in its structure and functions changes have taken place. Some of these changes may be examined here.

Changes in the Functions of the Family

Some of the functions of family have radically changed today while some others have received more attention of the public. A glance at these changes would clarify this point.

1. *The Sexual Regulation Function* of the family has not changed much. The family through its agent, marriage, still regulates the sexual impulse of the people. Illicit sexual behaviour is fairly uncommon. But it is true that in the Western societies pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations are on the increase.

2. *The Reproductive Function* of the family has suffered particularly in the Western societies. In the Western societies, it is said, parents no longer desire more children. Absence of children has become the most glaring feature of the Western families. However, it is impossible to take away this reproductive function of the family. The very survival of the human race is based on reproduction.

3. In the past fifty years *the Parental and the Educational Functions* of the family have been shifted to certain external agencies like hospitals, out-patient clinics for mothers, maternity homes, the baby clinics, nurseries, kindergartens, etc. "The modern home is not equipped to train children for their adult careers, because the specialized division of labour requires specialized training, which only the specialized agency of the school can supply". - A.W. Green.

4. *The Protective Functions* of the family have declined particularly in the West. Families are no more the place of protection for the physically handicapped, mentally retarded, aged, diseased, infirm and insane people. Other agencies have taken over this function. But, for the young children it continues to provide physical and emotional protection.

5. *The Economic Function* of the family has been disturbed a great deal. The family is no longer the economic unit, neither is it self-sufficient. It is no longer limited by shared work. For its members work separately. It is more a consuming unit than a producing centre. However, the family is not completely losing this function, but it is transforming this function to some external agencies.

6. It seems that the *Socialization Function* of the family is gaining increased attention particularly in the Western society. An earlier generation knew little about the personality development.

We know something today of the role of emotional development, school progress, career success, physical well-being, and practically all other aspects of the good life.

7. *The Status-Ascription Function* has been weakened since in modern society much emphasis is laid on achieved status. Still, the ethnic, religious, class, residential, nationality and other kinds of statuses are ascribed by the family to the individual at least in the initial stages in some way of other.

8. *The Recreational Function* of the family is losing importance. External agencies have taken away this function. Modern recreation is highly commercialized. Movies, dance halls, night clubs, gambling centres have come into being. People leave home to seek these commercialized recreations. But they tend to leave home as single adults or married couple, as adolescents or children, rather than as a family unit. This has affected the cohesion of family.

10.9 Forms or Kinds of Family

Families may be classified variously, as follows:

1. On the basis of authority a family may be patriarchal or matriarchal.

- (i) **The Patriarchal Family:** Under the patriarchal family the male head of the family is possessed of inclusive powers. He is the owner and administrator of the family property; to him all persons living in the family are subordinated. He presides over the religious rites of the family. In short, the father or the eldest male descendant is the protector and ruler of the family, enjoying full authority over the family members. The chief characteristics of patriarchal family are the following:

- The wife after marriage comes to live in the husband's house.
- The father is the supreme lord of the family property.
- Descent is reckoned through the father. The children are known by the name of their father.
- The children can inherit the property of their father only. They have no right over the property of the mother's family.

- (ii) **The Matriarchal Family:** MacIver prefers to call it by the name of maternal family rather than the matriarchal family. In a matriarchal family, the authority vests in the woman head of the family with the males being subordinate. She is the owner of the property and rules over the family. There are grave doubts whether this type of family ever existed in society, although L.H. Morgan, McLennan, and Bachop believe it to have been the earliest form of family. Bachop maintained that in early times, mankind lived in a state of promiscuity and that the earliest type of family was the matriarchal. Morgan referred to as the 'father of American anthropology' postulated that the family evolved through various stages, from the lowest promiscuity to the highest monogamy. The chief characteristics of matriarchal family are the following.

- Descent is reckoned through the mother and not the father, because maternity is a fact, whereas paternity is only an opinion.
- Marriage relations are transient. The husband is sometimes merely a casual visitor.
- The children are brought up in the home of the wife's relatives.
- The authority in the family rests in the hands of the wife or in the hands of some representative of the wife's kin.
- Property is transferred through the mother and only females succeed to it.

The Matriarchal family is said to prevail among the primitive people who led their lives as wanderers or hunters. The father roamed far and wide, coming home irregularly and staying away for long periods of time. The absence of the father from the home made it necessary for the woman

to 'stay on the job'. She was the leader of the clan for a great deal of time. Hence, she came to possess authority in the family. But a fault is of the opinion that the earliest form of family was matriarchal and that the patriarchal type emerged only with the development of agriculture and economic dominance of men.

2. On the basis of Structure the family can be classified as nuclear and extended family.

A nuclear family is one which consists of a husband, a wife, and their children. The children leave the parental household after marriage. A nuclear family is an autonomous unit free from the control of the elders.

An extended family can be viewed as a merger of several nuclear families. Thus, a small extended family may include grandparents, their son, the son's wife, and the son's children. A large extended family may include multiple generations in the family. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, their unmarried children, married sons and their wives along with their married/unmarried children live together within the same household.

There are two important features of an extended family. First, an extended family is continuous, whereas a nuclear family is not. In an extended family, a person is a member of a residential kin group that has probably persisted for many generations. Second, while a nuclear family is, to some degree, a separate and independent unit run by husband, wife, or both, an extended family is usually run by the patriarch. Its constituent nuclear families may have little power for independent decision-making.

3. On the basis of Residence the family may be classified as follows:

- (i) **Matrilocal Family:** In this type of family, the husband goes to live in the house of his wife.
- (ii) **Patrilocal Family:** In this kind of family, the wife goes and lives in the house of her husband.

4. On the basis of Marriage the family may be classified as follows:

- (i) **Monogamous family:** In which one man marries only one woman at one time.
- (ii) **Polygamous family:** In this kind of family, one man marries many women at one time.
- (iii) **Polyandrous family:** In this kind of family, one woman marries many men and lives with all of them or with each of them alternately.

5. On the basis of Ancestry the family is classified into (i) matrilineal and (ii) patrilineal.

In the matrilineal family, mother is the basis of ancestry. A woman is believed to be the ancestor of the family. The rights of each member of the family depend on his relation to the mother.

In the patrilineal family, ancestry continues through the father. This is the common type of family prevalent today.

6. On the basis of in-group and out-group affiliation a family may be classified into endogamous family and exogamous family. An endogamous family is one that sanctions marriage only among the members of the in-group, whereas an exogamous family sanctions marriage of members of an in-group with the members of an out-group.

7. On the basis of blood relationship: A family may be conjugal family or consanguineous family. A conjugal family consists of spouses, their offspring, and relatives through marriage.

A consanguineous family consists of blood relatives together with their mates and children. It may also be pointed out that the patriarchal or patrilineal or patrilocal family is more common also undergoing the process of disintegration, which is partly due to the influence of Christianity and partly due to the migrations of educated Khasis to the cities. Although it may also be said that the patriarchal family, in traditional sense, has also changed in its nature on account of the new social and economic forces, particularly the women's liberation movement, yet the fact still remains that family system is patriarchal in the greater parts of the world.

10.9 Summary

⁶⁸ Family is a group of persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are therefore, kin to another. ¹⁹ The family is the most important primary group in society. It is the simplest and the most elementary form of society. It is the most basic of all social groupings. It is the first and the most immediate social environment to which a child is exposed. Family is the most universal group. It is the first institution in the history of mankind. It has existed in every age and in every society and is found in all parts of the world. No culture or society has ever existed without some form of family organization. Each one of us is a member of a family. No other group is so universal as the family is.

10.10 Technical Terms

Polyandrous
Monogamous
Polygamous
Patrilocal Ancestry

10.11 Self Assessment ¹ Questions

1. Define family and discuss its characteristics and features.
2. Explain the various kinds or forms of family.
3. Discuss the essential and non-essential functions of family.

10.12 Reference Books

1. Davis, Kingsley: Human Society
2. Bottomore, T.B.: Sociology a Guide to problems in introduction
3. Johnson, H.M.: An Introduction to Systematic Sociology
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5. Inkles, Alex: What is Sociology
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Lesson - 12
Tribal Communities in India

11.0 Objective:

The main objective of this lesson is to explain tribal communities in India

Contents:

- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Definition of Tribe
- 11.3 Characteristics of Tribes
- 11.4 Geographic Distribution of Tribals
- 11.5 Geographic Distribution of Tribals in India
- 11.6 The Tribal Zones
- 11.7 TRIBAL SOCIETY
- 11.8 Tribe differs from caste
- 11.9 Structure and features of Tribal society:
- 11.10 Summary
- 11.11 Key Words
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- 11.13 Questions

11.1 Introduction:

“Tribes” in the Indian context today are normally referred to in the language of the Constitution as “Scheduled Tribes.” It was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution, who preferred the concept of Scheduled Tribe to “Adivasis” for enumerated the tribes and hence has a specific meaning. The “Scheduled Tribes” constitute the second largest group of the backward classes that come under what is known as the “unprivileged section” of the populace. The scheduled tribes, generally known as “tribes”, constitute 8.8% of the total population [1991 census report] of India. The tribal people who are regarded as the earliest among the present inhabitants of India have survived here with their unchanging ways of life for centuries. Many of them are still in a primitive stage and are far from the impact of modern civilization.

11.2 Definition of Tribe:

There is no agreement among the sociologists and anthropologists regarding the definition of the term “tribe.” Some of the definitions may be examined here:

D.N. Majumdar: A tribe is “a collective of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.

11.3 Characteristics of Tribes:

Definitions of tribe cited above point out some of the characteristics of tribe. Tribal community including the tribals of India generally reveals some of the characteristics of which the following may be noted.

1. **Common Territory:** A tribe is a territorial community. It means the tribe has a definite territory in which its members reside. For example, the Naga, Rengma Naga, Sema Naga and other groups reside in Nagaland; Garos, Khasis, Jaintias live in Assam; Bhils in Madhya Pradesh; Soligas in Mysore; Thodas in Nilgiri Hills of Tamil Nadu, and so on. In the absence of a common locality or Territory a tribe would lose its uniqueness.
2. **Collection of Families:** As the definitions of tribe cited above clarify, tribals constitute a collection of families. These collections may have various sizes. These families which normally have blood relationships among themselves could be matriarchal or patriarchal in nature.
3. **Common Name:** Every tribe has its own name. Each tribe is known to other tribes by its name. Examples of some Indian Tribes: Garo, Khasi, Khasa, Naga, Rengma Naga, Sema Naga, Limbu, Santal, Munda, Gond, Kota, Badaga, Urali, Thodas, etc.
4. **Common Language:** The members of a tribe speak a particular language. Different tribes speak different languages. These languages are not only different from the language of the civilized people, but they themselves differ from one another. Common language contributes much to the development of community feeling. Since these languages do not have a script of their own, education of the tribals has become problematic.
5. **Common Ancestor:** The tribals claim that they have a common ancestor. A major cause of the sense of communal unity in the tribe is "the tie of blood relationships" between its members. Out of common ancestry, the tribals are bound by kinship bonds.
6. **Common Religion:** Religion plays an important role in the tribal organization. The members of a tribe usually worship a common ancestor. Also, nature worship is common among them. In addition to the ancestral worship and nature worship, the tribals practice other types of faith such as —fetishism, animism, and totemism. Magic is also widespread among them. The tribal social and political organization are based on this religion. Participation in common religious ceremonies, functions and festivals contributes to the unity of the group. A sizeable proportion of Nagas, Mizos, Santhals, Oraons and Mundas, etc., have embraced Christianity while some tribals such as Bitia, Lepcha, Chakma have largely identified with Buddhism.
7. **Common culture :** Each tribe has a way of life of its own. Each tribe has its own way of behaving, thinking, feeling and acting. Each has its own customs, traditions, moral values, its own peculiar institutions in brief, its own culture. The very peculiarities of a tribe reveal that it has a distinctive culture of its own.
8. **Common political organization:** Each tribe has its own political system. The tribal chief normally exercises authority over all the other members. The chieftainship is normally hereditary. He occupies an important position in the tribal society. The tribals do not

possess a government in the modern sense of the term. But they do have their own tribal government, tribal council and tribal court or judicial system. Santhal, for example, an advanced tribe, has a village council the members of which are democratically elected. Nagaland emerged on the first of December 1963 as the 16th State of the Republic of India and Meghalaya in the month of April 1910.

9. Feeling of Unity: The members of a tribe always feel that they are united. This sense of unity is essential for them to retain their identity. Tribals are normally cohesive and they fight against common enemies as one man. They are ever ready to avenge the injustice done to the group or the individuals.

10. Common Economic Organization: As against 13% national average, 91% of the tribal workers are engaged in agricultural. About 3% of tribals are engaged in manufacturing against the national average of 11% and 5% in tertiary servicing [against the national average of 16%]. Just 1% tribals are engaged in forestry and food gathering. Their economic position is very poor. Though they are poor, against the national average of 43%, nearly 51% of tribals are economically active. In spite of that, they get very poor returns for their efforts.

11. Organization of Clans: The Clan or sib is an important part of tribal organization. The clan includes all the relatives of mothers or fathers and the children of one ancestor. People belonging to a clan trace their origin to one ancestor. The descendants of a clan are of either matrilineal or patrilineal lineage. The tribal society may include in itself many clans. There exists mutual helpfulness among the members of different clans.

12. Prevalence of Dormitories: Tribal community has a peculiar feature which is evident in the form of common sleeping chambers or dormitories. Such organizations train the youth in the tribal ways of life. These are the centers which preserve tribal legends, music, dance, paintings, etc.,. Young boys and girls spend much of their time in the night in these dormitories and often they are vested with the responsibility of giving protection to the community people. Till they get married they continue to become the members of the dormitories and are supposed to maintain secrecy relating to their activities. After their marriage their memberships of the dormitories get cancelled. Members of the dormitories are expected to follow the rules and regulations strictly.

13. Simplicity and self – Sufficiency: A tribal society is not complex but simple in character. Hunting, fishing, and collection of roots, fruits, nuts, berries, honey and forest products are their main means of subsistence. Some have taken to cultivation also. They do not possess, neither do they enjoy the facilities of civilized people. There was a time when the tribals were self-sufficient; that has gone. They are becoming more and more dependent on the

¹⁷civilized community and also the government help. They are simple, honest, frugal and some of them very hospitable also. They are not educated neither are they interested in it.

14. **The Need for Protection:** The tribals always experience the need for protection. Hence they are a cohesive group. The tribe is a homogeneous group also. There is less diversity and more unity and uniformity. Ethnic, political, religious and other kinds of prejudices and mutual distrust between the civilized and the tribal people have made the tribals feel insecure. Hence they experience the need for protection. Their political organization is established mainly to protect themselves.

15. **Endogamous Group:** Though not always, the members of a tribe generally marry among themselves. Marrying within one's own group is called endogamy. Each tribe has many clans within itself and these are exogamous in nature. The tribals practice endogamy probably to maintain the purity of blood and cultural peculiarities and to preserve the property within the group. But today, due to the influence of the civilized people and increased contacts, exogamy is also practiced. The tribe is not necessarily an endogamous group, though originally it might have been so says Imperial Gazetteer of India. All known tribal societies have laid stress on the rule of exogamy. An individual is not allowed to marry inside a definite set of his own kin-group, that is, clan. In conclusion, it can be said that taken together as a unit, each tribe is largely endogamous, but various sub-groups that it consists, namely clans, are mostly exogamous.

11.5 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBALS:

According to 1991 census, there are about ⁷²61.16 million tribals in India, who form 8.08% of India's total population. This is more than the population of Britain. India, in fact, has the second largest tribal population in the world next only to Africa.

As far as Karnataka is concerned, the tribals share is around 5% of the state's total population. ¹³Though in the beginning our Constitution gave recognition to [in 1956] only 414 tribal groups and termed them as "scheduled tribes", the number of such groupings now runs to a few more hundreds. At the national level, in 329 taluks the tribals are in a majority. More than 65% of the ⁵³tribals live in the areas in which the tribals form more than 50% of the population of those areas. From the point of view of their numbers, the tribals are a "dominant group" in many local areas.

Geographic Distribution of Tribals in India:

³⁹The tribes in India are spread over the length and breadth of this country. They vary in strength from a few hundreds to several lakhs. About 2/3 of the total tribal population of the country are found in the five states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The highest number of tribals according to the 1991 census are found in Madhya Pradesh [15.4 million], followed by Maharashtra ³⁹[1.3 million], Orissa [1 million], Bihar [6.6 million], and Gujarat [6.1 million]. In states like Rajasthan, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh tribals ³⁹with more than 20-25 lakh population are found. In four states and Union Territories such as Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh the tribals constitute 10% to 95% of the total

population of the state territory. In Mizoram, the tribal population constitutes 95% of the total population, in Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh in each, in Tripura 10% in M.P and Orissa 23% each, in Gujarat 14% in Rajasthan 12% and in Assam and Bihar 10% each.

11.6 The Tribal Zones:

The tribes in India are not found in any one particular region alone, but distributed among the various states. For example, the Gonds whose population is around 4 million are found in M.P., Maharashtra and A.P. The Bhils too have a strength of about 4 million and are distributed in Rajasthan, Maharashtra and M.P.. These two tribes have a high number of tribals, Santhals who are a strength of 3 Million are spread over Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. The Andamanese is the smallest community with a strength of only 19 people. Dr. B.S. Guha has given a three-fold territorial distribution of the tribals which is as follows:

- (1) The North and North-Eastern Zone,
- (2) The Central or the Middle Zone, and
- (3) The Southern Zone.

C.B. Marmoria adds to this list the fourth zone a small one, consisting of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

1. The North and North-Eastern Zone

This zone consists of the sub-Himalayan region and the hills and mountain ranges of North Eastern frontiers of India. It includes Himachal Pradesh, northern U.P., Sikkim and seven states of the North-East consisting of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura. The tribals of the zone mostly belong to the Mongoloid race and speak languages belonging to the Tibetan-Chinese family. This zone is inhabited by the tribes such as —Gurung, Limbu, Lepcha, etc. on. It is estimated around 12.50% of the total tribal population is found in this zone.

2. The Central or the Middle Zone

The tribal group of this zone are scattered all over the mountain- belt between the rivers Narmada and Godavari. It includes West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Southern U.P., Southern Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The main tribes of this area are the Gonds, Munda, Kandh, Baiga, Bhil, Bhuiyam, Bhuiyan, Bhumji, Koli, Savara, Kharia, Oraon, Santal, Juong and so on. The tribes living in this region form the largest assemblage of India's aboriginal population contributing to almost 81% of the total tribal population.

3. The Southern Zone:

This zone falls south of the river Krishna. It includes Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and the two union territories, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep. The tribals of this zone are regarded as the most ancient inhabitants now living in India. This zone consists of the tribes like Chenchu, Kota,

Kurumba, Badaga, Toda, Kadar, Malayans Muthuvan, Urali, Koya, Soliga, Kanikkar, Paniyan, Yerevan, etc. This zone contains around 6.50% of the total tribal population.

4. The Small Zone consisting of Andaman and Nicobar Islands

This is the smallest but isolated zone consisting of only 21,000 tribals [1991 census] with form around 9.54 of the total population of these two islands. The main tribes living in this zone are the Jarawas, Onge, North Sentinelese, the Andamanese and the Nicobars. The Andamanese are to be the smallest tribal community and their total strength is 19. Though separated from the main body of India's original tribes, they are ethnically connected with them. Though they are numerically the smallest tribes, they are anthropologically very important.

Elwin's classification Based on Cultural Differences and Development:

Ferrier Elwin classifies the tribal groups into four classes according to their cultural development.

1. Class I refers to those tribes which have been protected from contacts with other groups on account of geographical conditions. They have retained their social organization, culture etc., in their pure form.
2. Class II refers to those tribes which have been experiencing contact with the other groups and consequently have been undergoing change. This group, though retaining their tribal mode of living, exhibits changes due to contact with the non-tribal groups.
3. Class III includes tribes which are in a peculiar state of transition. They are tribals only a name, but have become backward Hindus, constituting a sizeable section of the lower rung of the Hindu society.
4. Class IV denotes a minority, which have secured the benefits of civilization without injury to themselves. They retain their old tribal name their clans and totem rules, and observe elements of tribal religion, though they have also adopted the Hindu faith. According to Elwin, tribals of this class have won the battle of culture contact.

Advises under the influence of Caste?

Most of the primitive tribes have come under the influence of the caste system and have increased the number of "depressed" communities; while others have been converted to Christianity and have escaped the tyranny of caste rules. "Where the tribals have lived for long in association with the lower castes and where the tribes do not suffer from much discomfort or exploitation at the hands of the alien groups, the tribes have gradually entered into the social economy of the caste system". However, the line of demarcation between popular Hinduism and tribal religions is thin and it is difficult to know when a tribe crosses into Hinduism. As Majumdar has pointed out, where there is a clash of interest between the tribal people and the Hindu landlords the tribals have been subjected to hardships or have been dispossessed of their rights to land or have been reduced to servitude, and where the middlemen have forced them into the grip of moneylenders,

Christianity has proved a great friend of the tribes. Majumdar cites the example of the rapid spread of Christianity in Chota Nagpur where 98% of the Indian Christians have been recruited from the tribal population. This conversion is due more to the secular benefits, the Christian converts enjoy, than to the spiritual side of the new religion.

11.7 TRIBAL SOCIETY:

Before we examine the structure and features of tribal society, it would be relevant to understand the meaning of the word "Tribe" as used in Sociology. According to George Peter Murdock, tribe is a social group in which there are many clans, nomadic bands, village or other sub-groups which usually have a definite geographical area, a separate language, a singular and distinct culture and either a common political organization or at least a feeling of common determination against the strangers. As defined in the Imperial Gazette 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 usually not endogamous, though originally it might have been so. "According to Bogardus, "The tribal group is based on the need for protection, on ties of blood relationship and on the strength of a common religion." The tribe is a group of persons having a common religion and a common culture. They are united by blood relationship and have a peculiar political organization.

The following are the chief characteristics of tribe:

1. Common Territory. The tribe lives on a common territory.
2. Sense of Unity. The members of a tribe are possessed of a sense of unity.
3. Common Language. The members of a tribe speak a common language.
4. Endogamous. A tribe is an endogamous group.
5. Blood Relationship. The members of a tribe are related by blood.
6. Political organization. Each tribe has its own political organization. There is a chief of the tribe who exercises authority over all the members of the tribe.
7. Importance of religion. Religion plays an important part in the tribal organization. The members of a tribe worship a common ancestor.
8. Common Name. The tribe has a common name. A tribe differs from a clan. The clan has no definite territory, and no common language and is an exogamous group.

11.8 Tribe differs from caste.

(1) Tribe is a territorial group, whereas caste is a social group.

(2) Caste originated on the basis of division of labour, tribe came about because of the evolution of division of labour, tribe came about because of the evolution of community feeling in a group inhabiting a definite geographical area.

(3) The tribe is a political organization, whereas caste is never a political organization. After having looked into the meaning of tribe, we may now explain the structure and feature of tribal society

11.9 Structure and features of Tribal society:

A tribal society is a type of primitive society which existed in the early period of human history, though it can be found even today in the backward region of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

(1) Economic structure. In tribal society people live close to the physical environment

³ Which supports them and determines their economic activity? Their main economic activity is hunting and food gathering. Some tribe societies rely primarily on hunting. Except for some supplementation through plant-gathering, they depend upon animals not only for food but also for shelter, clothing and tools. Their chief technology, therefore, consists of hunting skills and the techniques for processing the animals into edible food, shelter and clothing and basic tools. Some tribal societies rely primarily upon food-gathering rather than hunting. Roots, wild grains and wild fruits provide the food. Mats and housing are obtained by the weaving of bark and plant fibers. Wood is used in making tools and weapons.

In tribal societies division of labour beyond simple sex and age differentiation is almost non-existent. Women generally take care of the home-front, gather and prepare food and are responsible for the children. The men hunt, fight enemies, when necessary and take part in tribal ceremonies. Each tribal group has its food supplier. Except for a few items obtained by trade, everything the family needs- clothing, footwear, containers, tools are made by the family members. Specialization in production, if any, exist in a very rudimentary form.

The tribal society is also devoid of the institutions of private property, exchange and credit. The people in tribal society no doubt possess hunting weapons and war regalia but their sense in possessing these articles cannot be institution of private property. There is no need of money lending agencies, systems of exchange or governmental subsidies.

Thus the patterns of economic activity in tribal societies are simple and undifferentiated in comparison to complexity of industrial society.

(2) Social Life. Life in a tribal society is simple and integrated. It is not departmentalized

³² Into the economic, religious, educational and recreational categories which cause each personality in modern society to play five or dozen specialized role. Social interaction in tribal society is of a primary group. The maintenance of order depends more on folkways and mores rather than upon the power of the tribal leaders. Group censure or, in extreme cases banishment are the form of punishment rather than official censure. The socialization of the young is mostly carried in the family and the intimate relationships of day-to-day living. Each tribe knows the norms of behavior and it is the responsibility of the tribal elders to see to it that the young learned the proper ways of behaving. The tribal people are religious in their outlook and believe in totemism, magic, and fetishism.

⁶³ To conclude, the tribal society is simple, homogeneous, integrated, and undifferentiated as compared to the industrial society which is complex, heterogeneous, disintegrated, and differentiated.

11.10 Summary

The tribal population is identified as the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. They are most vulnerable section of our society living in natural and unpolluted surrounding far away from civilization with their traditional values, customs, and beliefs. As per the census report of 2001, the total tribal population of India has been estimated as 8,43,26,240 that constitutes about 8.2 per cent of the total population of the country.

11.11 KeyWords

- ❖ EndogamousGroup
- ❖ Clans
- ❖ CommonTerritory
- ❖ CommonLanguage

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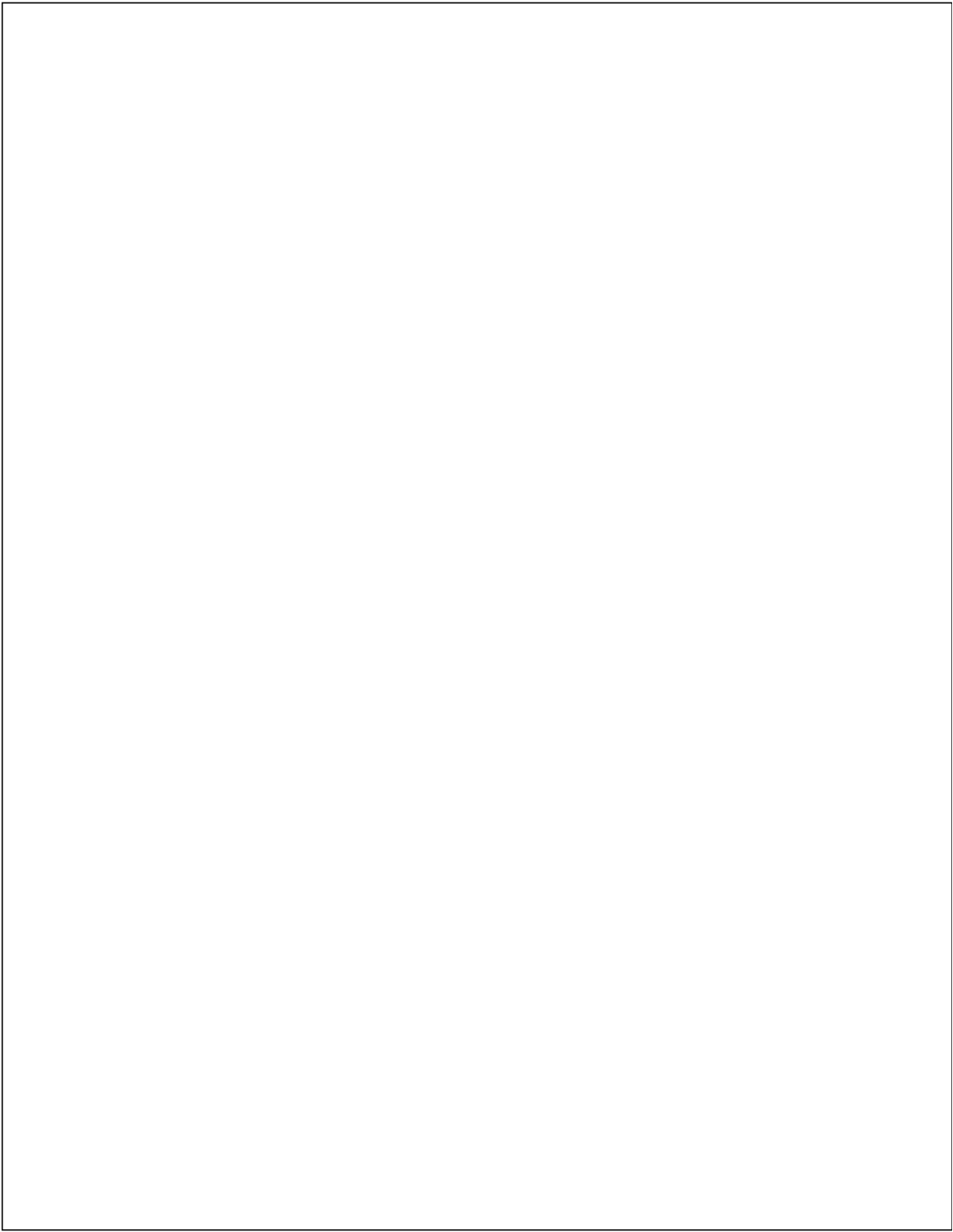
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11.13 Questions

1. Define community and explain its meaning and characteristics?
2. Explain the features of tribal communities in India?



Lesson No. 13

⁴¹ Features of Tribal Economy, Urban Economy, Industrial Sector and Informal Sectors

12.0 Objective:

The main objective of this lesson is to understand the features of ⁴¹ Tribal economy, Urban economy and Industrial sectors and informal sectors.

Contents:

- 12.0 Objective
- 12.1 Tribal Economy
- 12.2 Types of Shandies
- 12.3 Features of Tribal groups
- 12.4 Urban Economy
- 12.5 Industrial sector
- 12.6 Characteristics of Industrial Sector
- 12.7 Divisions – Industrial Sector
- 12.8 Informal Sector
- 12.9 Types of Informal Sector
- 12.10 Role of Informal Sector
- 12.11 Concept of Informal Sector
- 12.12 Importance of Informal Sector in Indian Economy
- 12.13 Summary
- 12.14 Key Words
- 12.15 Questions
- 12.16 References

¹³ 12.1 Tribal Economy:

The Tribal Economy is largely influenced by the habitat in which they are inhabiting and level of knowledge accumulated about the natural resources and skills for

exploiting these resources. The factors governing production, distribution and consumption may be different in tribal areas when compared to non-tribal economy. They are guided more or less by ethnic, cultural, non-acquisitive and non-monetary factors. Even the food gathering tribes divide the traditional areas of collection of Minor Forest Produce on the basis of wants of each household and their ability of collection. The entire village community takes care of destitutes, widows, physically handicapped etc. The tribal communities are generally at subsistence level of economy. The concept of property is also distinct and different.

The various tribal communities of Andhra Pradesh can be divided into following economic levels but this is not watertight classification and evolutionary in progression.

1. Food gathering – Hunting, fishing, food collection including minor forest produce.
2. Pastoralism,
3. Shifting Cultivation,
4. Settled Cultivation,
5. Artisan
6. Industrial and Mining Labour.

Food Collection, Hunting & Fishing: The tribal communities, who are totally dependent upon flora and fauna of nature, are very few except tribes like Jarawas and Sentinelese of Andaman Islands of our country. These hunter-gatherers require vast geographical areas and the tools and implements devised by them are very simple and primitive. Even if the resources are available, they could not acquire sufficient or required skills and tools to exploit these resources for their advantage. They shift their habitat from place to place as per availability of wild game or forest products but they don't move out from the traditional territory. The concept of property is not very well known to them. The material culture of these groups is very scanty and simple.

¹¹**Pastorals:** Banjaras or Lambadas, Goudus are mainly pastorals and they largely subsist by rearing cattle, selling milk and milk products. All other tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh domesticate cattle but mainly for agriculture purpose. The real pastoralists lead nomadic life and move according to a season and availability of pastures. But in modern times, the traditional pastorals are becoming “settled pastoralists” and agriculturists and domestication of cattle is becoming their secondary occupation. Even the hunter gatherers like Chenchus domesticate the goats and they consider sheep and goats as their property. The Goudus in the Agency areas of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari are good pastoralists. They not only rear their cattle but also rear the cattle of the respective villagers. The pastoralists in the past used to transport articles, food grains etc., on their pack ¹¹villagers. The pastoralists in the post used to transport articles, food grains etc., on their pack bullocks. But they gave up their occupation after introduction of modern methods of transportation.

Tribal Livelihood Food Resource and Forest: Sociologically, ⁷⁸tribal life is connected, in one way or the other with the forests, right from birth to death. Their folklore, rites and rituals revolve around the forest. In times of distress, the forest is the late resort for them. Even in areas where forests do not exist, tribals continue to periodically visit the distant forests to procure traditional requirements. Forests are their economic resource bases occupy a central position. In other words, tribals and forests have a symbiotic relationship. Tribal life is profoundly affected by whatever happens to the forests.

The consumption of food in the tribal groups depends on the extent of availability of the forest. Most of the tribal depends completely for their food on forest produce, Hunting, Fishing, Shifting Cultivation and Settled Cultivation.

Tribal economy is intimately connected with the forests production efficiency. The forests, in their ecological and economic values have suffered a tremendous loss, while in others the tribal economy has been shattered and ⁷⁶matter of concern as it adversely affects the weakest groups, and the imbalance in the socio-economic structure

tend to increase. A clear understanding of the underlying factor in the socio-economic structure of the tribal communities.

Forests –Shifting Cultivation (Podu): A sizeable section of the tribal population practice shifting cultivation as their main stay. Shifting cultivation ⁴⁰ means cultivating a plot of land for a temporary period and then leaving it, again search for some other plot of land for cultivation in the given specific forest territory consisting of plain and hill slopes. Most of the tribals, follow this same method, but the different regions, it is called in various names. Shifting cultivation is extensively practiced in many areas of the region, especially India, Indonesia, Malasia, Republic of Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Thailand. As it destroys large tracts of valuable forestlands it is generally believed that other forms of cultivation could be substituted to yield a better return for the labour expended. In Andhra Pradesh usually it is called as Podu, Jhum in ³⁸ tribes of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, Bewar in Madhya Pradesh.

The tribals who live mainly in high hills are depended on Podu cultivation. ⁹ Even very steep slopes are being cleared off and small millets and pulses are dibbled in the ashes of the burnt trees and bush wood. As the tree stumps are left standing there is little erosion. Moreover, some of the stumps sprout again and thus facilitate the growth of secondary jungle after the Podu has been abandoned.

Market System in Tribal Areas: Economic systems and factors governing these institutions are different from agricultural societies ¹¹ living in the plain areas and industrial societies living in the urban centers. The non-economic factors are intricately interwoven with the various processes of distribution. ¹³ The barter exchange is predominantly prevalent in various parts of the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh in addition to the gift and ceremonial exchange. The gift exchange takes place in the circles of institutionalized friendship. Monetization was introduced along with the process of planned development. Commercial out look in distribution and exchange are more or less not given much importance.

¹³**The Weekly Markets:** The weekly markets are very popular economic institutions in tribal areas. It is known as “Hat” in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam district, and ‘Santa’ in other parts. ⁴⁶There are no regular markets or regular shops in most tribal villages in view of geographical, linguistic and cultural barriers, private traders and merchants from the neighbouring plain areas penetrated into tribal habitats. ¹³In the past, the weekly markets were held at the foot of hills or fringe of mountains where bullock carts could reach and after development of roads and consequent transport ⁴⁶facilities the weekly markets are being organized at Central Tribal Villages. Male members carry the minor forest produce or agricultural produce on bamboo device called “kavadi” and women folk carry on their heads. In the remote villages, horse is an another means of transport of produce to weekly markets even till today. In the past, tribals used to walk long distances to purchase essential items like kerosene, salt and clothes.

12.2 Types of Shandies:

¹³These markets can be classified into three categories namely

1. Specialized Markets,
2. General Markets and
3. Sub Markets of Feeder Markets.

In specialized weekly markets only certain specific items or articles like cattle, goats and vegetables are sold. For example, there are specific markets for ⁴⁶selling and purchasing animals such as plough bullocks, milch cattle, sheep and goats. Tribals have to walk distant markets in order to purchase these cattle. ¹³In general weekly markets, all kinds of articles, provisions, vegetables, meat, beef, pork, clothes, salt, pots, and eatables are sold. In sub-markets or feeder markets certain agents of merchants and traders open sub-markets at important junctions to the main centers of shandy and purchase these articles brought by tribals in the mind way itself and later on bring all these articles purchased to the main centers. ¹³In view of communication barriers, the traders employ local tribals as middlemen (dalari) to negotiate with local tribes in local dialects.

12.3 Features of Tribal groups:

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It is pertinent to point out that no single criterion has been hitherto adopted to distinguish tribal from non-tribal population, different and even contradictory criteria have been employed by anthropologists, social reformers, Government officials Census Commissioners and others for this purpose. Dr. Ghurye in his work, 'The Scheduled Tribes' has pointed out how factors like religion or occupation or racial features have proved inadequate to distinguish the tribal people from the non tribal population in India.

However, the purest of the tribal groups, which have been still resisting acculturation or absorption, possess certain features which can be considered as common features once possessed by all the tribal groups. They are as follows:

1. They live away from the civilized world in the inaccessible parts lying in the forests and hills
2. They belong either to one of the three stocks – Nagritos, Akustroloids, or Mongoloids;
3. They speak the same tribal dialect
4. They profess primitive religion known as 'Animism' in which the worship of Ghosts and Spirits is the most important element;
5. They follow primitive occupations such as ¹⁸gleaning, hunting and gathering of forest produce
6. They are largely carnivorous or flesh or meat eaters
7. They live either naked or semi-naked using tree barks and leaves for clothing
8. They have nomadic habits and love for drink and dance.

12.4 Urban Economy:

India has over 108.8 million city-dwellers according to the 1971 census. In India ²⁵urban population is better educated compared with rural population, and the better educated people in rural areas trend to migrate to urban areas. There has been a steady

shift towards urbanization in India from 1921 onwards. In 1921 the ratio between rural and urban population stood at 88.8 : 11.2. According to 1971 census more than 438 million people live in the villages and about 110 million live in towns or cities. According to 1971 census there were 575721 villages and 2641 towns and town agglomerations.

Today large number of people are migrating towards the towns or cities from the rural areas. The present population of urbanization are already great. Urban settlements are cropping up faster than ever and towns and cities are growing and quiet exasperated in his attempts to gain control over the situation to his greater advantage. In urban areas most of the migrated people ²⁵ live in a squalid chaos of tenements, hovels and shacks, huddled together in narrow congested lanes in areas where the absence of basic amenities is almost total. Anti-social behaviour such as crime, delinquency and prostitutions are the natural consequences of such sub-human conditions of living. Dissatisfactions and frustrations arising from such situation has the serious implications for existing urban and rural dichotomy and for an India's urban future. In fact, some have even gone so far as to state with Malthusian pessimism the "population growth and urbanization can destroy the world".

We see the rapid growth in urban population but it is good to analyze in urbanization and urban growth whether there is the balance in growth. It is quiet worth to evaluate the present situation. ²⁵ The rapid growth of population and the consequences created in surrounding is a serious matter to think of. ²⁵ What determines the growth of urban settlements, is a significant question. Here we are concerned not only with urban growth but with urbanization as well, more particularly with urbanization which results from rural to urban migration and which is reflected in the differential growth rates of towns and cities. There can be many factors responsible for the growth of urban settlement and the urbanization. It is very much clear that industrialization and urbanization is factor for the rapid economic development.

There is regular stream of people constantly flowing into the city, and comparatively very few are going out of it. The natural consequences is the growth of slums. This is the major problem arising in urban growth. It can be seen all over the world, not only in developing countries. It is said that “current informed estimates place production of slum at higher rate than the productions of houses, with more people now living in slums than on farms.”

²⁰ The latter criterion aims at distinguishing towns from villages, where the community, for the most part, produced its own means of subsistence – those villagers not directly involved in agriculture undertaking supportive roles (e.g. blacksmith). We know that many of the residents of towns engaged in agriculture to some degree – the common fields and pastures that are features of most towns are one piece of evidence; this was in part to furnish their own larders but also to supply the businesses of themselves or others – such as commerce in victuals, brewing and baking, or operating taverns and cook shops. It will be noted that the definition does not required that a majority of the town people be in non-agricultural occupations, but not does it try to specify what proportion might be considered significant. The numbers are less important that the fact of what is referred to as “occupational heterogeneity”, that is, townsmen earning their living through a variety of activities, including agriculture, land-holding (i.e. income from rents), commerce, crafts and industry, and administrative and other professional services. The original “bourgeoisie” was not necessarily a mercantile class. Medieval townsmen in fact tended to be multi-occupational; although many had a primary source of income, they also had side-activities that earned them money.

³⁵ 12.5 Industrial sector

An energy-consuming sector that consists of all facilities and equipment used for producing, processing, or assembling goods. The industrial sector encompasses the following types of activity: manufacturing, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, mining, including oil and gas extraction, and construction. Overall energy use in this sector is largely for process heat and cooling and powering machinery, with lesser amounts used for facility heating, air conditioning, and lighting. Fossil fuels are also used

as raw material inputs to manufactured products. Note - This sector includes generators that produce electricity and/or useful thermal output primarily to support the above-mentioned industrial activities.

¹² The industrial sector of the economy is one that make finished products which can then be utilized viz. construction and manufacturing industry. Industrial sector is also known as secondary sector.

Industrial sector or secondary sector is one of the 3 sectors that make up a country's economy. The other two are the primary sector (includes agriculture, fishing, and mining) and service sector (includes hospitality, consultancy and nursing). Secondary sector is one that makes a complete product which can then be utilized. Examples of industrial sector are manufacturing industry and construction.

12.6 Characteristics of Industrial Sector:

Industrial sector usually accepts the primary sector end product and then applies them to construct completed products that are then either purchased by the end user or sent for further processing or fabrication. The industrial or secondary sector can be classified into two types: heavy industry and light industry. Most industries transform raw materials into finished products. Large quantities of energy are consumed to run the process. Manufacturing industries tend to generate pollution and are the source of environmental problems.

Construction is making a building or the fabrication of infrastructure. Effective planning is required for successful execution. The activity requires a mastery of multitasking.

12.7 Divisions – Industrial Sector:

A few common industrial sector divisions are:

1. Automobile industry

2. Chemical industry
3. Consumer electronics
4. Industrial equipment
5. Steel production
6. Tobacco industry
7. Aerospace manufacturing
8. Brewing industry
9. Textile industry
10. Energy industry viz. electricity industry, natural gas industry, petroleum industry
11. Metalworking
12. Telecommunications

Better quality of life

Economists are of the opinion that manufacturing industry creates wealth compared to the service sector. The service sector is regarded as a consumer of wealth. Countries that export manufactured goods are usually found to have higher marginal GDP growth. This translates into a better quality of life for that country's citizens. Manufacturing promotes economic development. This sector employs a better quality of white collar professionals. Social mobility in the upward direction is also created.

12.8 ¹⁵ Informal Sector

The informal sector or informal economy is that part of an economy that is not taxed, monitored by any form of government included in any gross national product (GNP), unlike the formal economy. Examples are barter and gift economy..

Although the informal economy is often associated with developing countries, where up to 60% of the labour force (with as much 40% of GDP) works, all economic systems contain an informal economy in some proportion. The term *informal sector* was used in many earlier studies, and has been mostly replaced in more recent studies which use the newer term.

The English idioms *under the table* and *off the books* typically refer to this type of economy. The term black market refers to a specific subset of the informal economy in which contraband is traded; where contraband may be strictly or informally defined.

Definition

Informal economic activity is a dynamic process which includes many aspects of economic and social theory including exchange, regulation, and enforcement. By its nature, it is necessarily difficult to observe, study, define, and measure. No single source readily or authoritatively defines informal economy as a unit of study, although the work of economic anthropologist Keith Hart was integral in defining the term.

To further confound attempts to define this process, informal economic activity is temporal in nature. Regulations (and degrees of enforcement) change frequently, sometimes daily, and any instance of economic activity can shift between categories of formal and informal with even minor changes in policy.

Given the complexity of the phenomenon, the simplest definition of informal economic activity might be: any exchange of goods or services involving economic value in which the act escapes regulation of similar satchel acts.

12.9 Types of Informal Sector:

⁴² The two types of informal sector activities can be described as follows:

1. **Coping strategies (survival activities):** casual jobs, temporary jobs, unpaid jobs, subsistence agriculture, multiple job holding;
2. **Unofficial earning strategies (illegality in business):**
 - a. Unofficial business activities: tax evasion, avoidance of labor regulation and other government or institutional regulations, no registration of the company;
 - b. Underground activities: crime, corruption – activities not registered by statistical offices.

12.10 Role of Informal Sector:

³¹ The informal sector plays an important and controversial role. It provides jobs and reduces unemployment and underemployment, but in many cases the jobs are low-paid and the job security is poor. It bolsters entrepreneurial activity, but at the detriment of state regulations compliance, particularly regarding tax and labor regulations. It helps alleviate poverty, but in many cases informal sector jobs are low-paid and the job security is poor. The size of the informal labor market varies from the estimated 4-6% in the high-income countries to over 50% in the low-income countries. Its size and role in the economy increases during economic downturns and periods of economic adjustment and transition.

12.11 Concept of Informal Sector:

¹⁴ The concept of the informal sector was introduced into international usage in 1972 by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in its Kenya Mission Report, which defined informality as a “way of doing things characterized by

- a. ease of entry;
- b. reliance on indigenous resources;
- c. family ownership;
- d. small scale operations;
- e. labor intensive and adaptive technology;
- f. skills acquired outside of the formal sector;
- g. unregulated and competitive markets”.

Since that time, many definitions were introduced by different authors and the ILO itself. The ILO/ICFTU international symposium on the informal sector in 1999 proposed that the informal sector workforce can be categorized into three broad groups:

- a. owner-employers of micro enterprises, which employ a few paid workers, with or without apprentices;
 - b. own-account workers, who own and operate one-person business, who work alone or with the help of unpaid workers, generally family members and apprentices;
- and

c. dependent workers, paid or unpaid, including wage workers in micro enterprises, unpaid family workers, apprentices, contract labor, home workers and paid domestic workers.

Operationalizing the concept of informality for the purpose of measurement is not easy both because the two categories of the informal sector overlap and because the border between the informal and the formal sector is blurry. First, if unofficial earning strategies are exercised by a low-profit small enterprise with low quality working conditions, then workers of this enterprise and the enterprise itself can be classified as belonging to both informal market categories. An example of such a case is an unregistered one-person low-profit street trade enterprise - these characteristics combine unofficial and survival activities. Second, some formal market jobs or enterprises can be classified as informal if it is found that they have poor work protection or if the life style and opportunities they entail are considered undesirable. If the street trader from the previous example registers her enterprise, the enterprise and the trader herself could be categorized as belonging to the formal sector if the profit is considered above the survival level.

12.12 ⁹ Importance of Informal Sector in Indian Economy:

About 370 million workers constituting 92% of the total workforce in a country were employed in the unorganized sector as per NSS Survey 1999-2000. It plays a vital role in terms of providing employment opportunity to large segment of the working force in the country and contributes to the national product significantly. The contribution of the unorganized sector to the net domestic product and its share in the total NDP at current prices has been over 60%. In the matter of savings the share of household sector in the total gross domestic saving mainly unorganized sector is about three fourth.

Thus unorganized sector has a crucial role in our economy in terms of employment and its contribution to the National Domestic Product, savings and capital formation. At present Indian Economy is passing through a process of economic reforms

and liberalization. During the process, merger, integration of various firms within the industry and up gradation of technology and other innovative measures take place to enhance competitiveness of the out put both in terms of cost and qualitative to compete in the international market. The low inefficient units either wither away or merge with other ones performing better. In this situation, there is a special need to take care of the interests of the workers by providing them training, upgrading their skills, and other measures to enable them to find new avenue of employment, improve their productivity in the existing employment, necessary to enhance the competitiveness of their product both in terms of quality and cost which would also help in improving their income and thereby raising their socio economic status. It has been experienced that formal sector could not provide adequate opportunities to accommodate the workforce in the country and informal sector has been providing employment for their subsistence and survival. Keeping in view the existing economic scenario, the unorganized sector will expand further in the years to come. Thus, it needs to be strengthened and activated so that it could act as a vehicle of employment provider and social development.

12.13 Summary:

¹³ The Tribal Economy is largely influenced by the habitat in which they are inhabiting and level of knowledge accumulated about the natural resources and skills for exploiting these resources. India has over 108.8 million city-dwellers according to the 1971 census. In India ²⁵ urban population is better educated compared with rural population, and the better educated people in rural areas ¹⁹ trend to migrate to urban areas. Industrial sector or secondary sector is one of the 3 sectors that make up a country's economy. The other two are the primary sector (includes agriculture, fishing, and mining) and service sector (includes hospitality, consultancy and nursing). Secondary sector is one that makes a complete product which can then be utilized. The informal sector ⁵⁷ or informal economy is that part of an economy that is not taxed, monitored by any form of government included in any gross national product (GNP), unlike the formal economy

12.14 Key Words:

Industrialization

Occupational heterogeneity

Pastoralism,
Shifting Cultivation,
Informal Sector

12.15 Questions:

1. Explain the Features of Tribal groups and discuss the aspects of Tribal economy?
2. Write an essay on Industrial Sector and Informal Sector in India?

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Lesson No. 14

41
**Agrarian and Non-Agrarian Classes, Emergence of Middle Class,
Dominant Caste, Changing Trends in Caste**

13.0 Objective:

The main objective of this lesson is to understand the concepts of **41** Agrarian and Non-agrarian classes , emergence of middle class, dominant caste and changing trends in caste system.

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- 13.2 Agrarian Class Structure
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13.1 Agrarian Society - Introduction:

Man is a Social animal. **2** This planet on which man lives is made up of people in social relationship with each other. It breaks down into specific societies where people with a common culture carry on a shared life based on their interdependence. The type of society has not been the same everywhere on this planet nor has it been similar throughout the course

of human history. Three main types of society tribal, agrarian and non-agrarian (industrial) have been marked out on this globe. The African society is tribal, the Indian society is agrarian while the American society is industrial. Now we will discuss the brief description of the structure and features of these societies as follows.

Agrarian Society:

Societies are classified on the basis of dominant types of economic activity into agrarian and industrial societies. In an agrarian society the dominant type of economic activity is agricultural whereas in an industrial society factory production is the dominant type of economic activity. Only in the past century and a half has the world known industrial society. Even today, from two-third to three-fourths of the world's people live in agrarian or peasant societies.

The earliest men lived in relatively small bands, formed on the basis of family and blood ties. Their economy consisted of seed and root gathering, of hunting and fishing. The Neolithic Revolution marks one of the greatest changes in the history of society, one matched only by the Industrial Revolution. The Neolithic Revolution began in the Near east and the Nile Valley about 13,000 years ago. It spread to central and western Europe three or four thousand years later. During this period men began to polish some of their stone tools, giving them a sharper cutting edge, and they invented the arts of pottery and weaving. But these were not the most important changes. It was the domestication of plants and animals which laid the foundation of agrarian society.

The development of agriculture greatly altered the social structure and institutions. The new form of economy made possible a more rapid growth in population. It also meant a more settled abode. Man founded villages and thereby created the need for new forms of social structure and social control.

13.2 Agrarian Class Structure:

²² The concept of "Agrarian Class Structure" refers to the type of the class structure that prevails in an agricultural society or set up. Scholars such as S.Bhargava, D.R. Gadgil, and others have stated in their studies that the agrarian classes did exist in re-independent India.

The agrarian social structure consists of agrarian classes which represent different social groups in rural India.

An analysis of the post-independent Indian rural set up reveals the existence of four classes. They are

1. Landowners
2. Tenants
3. Labourers, and
4. Non-agriculturists.

As A.R. Desai has stated (1) the land-owners⁴ constitute about 22% (2) tenants about 27% (3) agricultural labourers about 31% (4) non-agriculturists about 20%.

It is also found that a large majority of the cultivators (about – 60%) are marginal cultivators with less than 2 hectares of land, followed by small cultivators (about 16%) with 2 to 5 hectares land, medium cultivators (about 6%) with 5 to 10 hectares land, and big cultivators (about 18%) with more than 10 hectares land.

Daniel Thorner's Classification of Rural Classes into Three Social Categories

Daniel Thorner classified rural classes in to three social categories namely (a) maliks, (b) kisans, and (c) mazdoors, on the basis of three criteria which are as follows:

1. Income Obtained from the Land that is, through rent, one's own cultivation or wages.
2. The Nature of Rights that is, ownership rights, tenancy rights, share-cropping rights, or no rights at all.
3. The Extent of Field Work Actually Performed that is, doing no work at all, doing partial work, doing total work, and doing work for others to earn wages.

The three agrarian classes which Daniel Thorner spoke of are (a) Malik, (b) Kisan and (c) Mazdoor. According to Thorner, the prevalent agrarian relations can also be analyzed in terms of three specific terms.

1. **Maliks or Landlords:** The term "Maliks" refers to the big landlords and considerably rich land owners who constitute the relative affluent class in the village set up. The

Malik obtains his agricultural income mostly, but not solely, from property rights in the land. It means, a share of the produce of land, (i.e. the land over which he has his rights) is realized by him either in cash or in kind, or sometimes both. The Malik sometimes cultivate lands personally by making use of hired labourers. They may employ managers to supervise the cultivation of land.

2. **Kisans or Working Peasants:** The term “Kisans” refers to the working peasants. They occupy the intermediary position in the three-tier agrarian class structure. This class consists of small landowners or tenants. In comparison with the Malik, the Kisan owns land which is smaller in size and unlike the Malik, the Kisan and his family members actually take part in the cultivation work that goes on in the field. Some of these Kisans secure relatively poor income and hence in order to compensate it they, along with their family members often work as agricultural labourers. They very rarely employ outside labourers, but often invite others to work in their fields on exchange basis. It is also probable that most of the Kisans belong to what are known as “intermediary castes”.
3. **Mazdoors or Labourers:** The term “Mazdoors” refers in the rural context to the landless villagers who work as labourers on wage basis. They obtain their livelihood primarily from working on other people’s land. The class of Mazdoors may consist of poor tenants, share croppers and landless labourers. The Mazdoors receive wages in cash and sometimes in kind also. These Mazdoors are often forced to migrate to the neighbouring villages, to other districts or states, particularly when they fail to find enough work in their own villages. Some of them even turn out as construction or industrial workers.

Dhanagare’s Model of Agrarian Classes:

Prof. D.N. Dhanagare has commented that Thorner’s classification of agrarian classes suffers from its own limitations for it is not based on any specific theoretical assumptions. Dhanagare himself has suggested yet another model of agrarian classes. Dhanagare’s model consists of five categories or classes which are as follows:

1. Landlords
2. Rich peasants
3. Middle peasants
4. Poor peasants and
5. Landless labourer

13.3 ² Features of Agrarian Society:

1. **Occupational Structure:** An agrarian society is generally associated with the domestication of plants and animals. The domestication of plants means farming and that of animals means herding. Often there is mixture of farming and the use of such domesticated animals as cow, goat and sheep. Along with agricultural and herding there are other economic activities of the people in an agrarian society. Thus there are artisans like weavers, potters, blacksmiths, petty shopkeepers, service holders such as sweeper, watchman, domestic servant and others pursuing lowly occupations.
2. **Forms of Landownership in Agrarian Societies:** Generally there are landlords, supervisory farmers, cultivators and share croppers. The landholders own the land but do not work on it. They let it out for sharecropping. The supervisory farmers are those who live by having their land cultivated by hired labourers. The cultivators cultivate the land for themselves. The share-croppers are those who live by tilling other people's land on a crop-sharing basis. The artisans own their means of production and produce by their own labour in their homesteads. The traders are not large size businessmen. It may be noted that the artisan and trader class in an agrarian society sometimes also own land which they either cultivate through hired labour or let it out for shareholding.
3. **Village Community System:** An agrarian society is highlighted by the institution of village community system. The agrarian economy made fixed dwelling houses necessary. Living close together for protection and co-operation and living nearer to the land gave birth to agricultural villages. The village is not only the residential place of farmers, it is also the social integrator. It serves as the nucleus of the society and life operates almost completely within the village. The life-partners of the people are fixed. Their habits, attitudes and ideas are sharply marked off from those of the people living in the industrial society. The production-relations between the different classes living in the village community become so stabilized that even the new forces find it difficult to break them through. In spite of all the talk of uplifting the 'Harijan' (agricultural labourers) from their miserable conditions, the Indian leaders have not succeeded to break through the production-relations between the agricultural labourer and his landlord.
4. **Role of family:** ³ One striking feature of the agrarian society is the great importance of the family, not only as a reproductive and child-rearing agency but as an economic

unit. In many societies it is not the individual as such but the entire family as a group that tills the soil, plant and harvests the crops, and carries out co-operatively the other necessary farm functions. The farm family is of the patriarchal type: the father is the final arbiter in most of the family's major decisions. The status of the family is the status of the individual. There are established family traditions in regard to marriage, religion, recreation and occupation. The life of all men and women is merged in family life. Since there are not many special organizations, family is the only organization to perform the tasks of aid and protection.

To conclude, it may also be said that agrarian society in our times is being influenced more and more by the features of non-agrarian society.

13.4 Non-agrarian Society (Industrial Society):

A very important factor in the history of society has been the Industrial Revolution which has brought about far-reaching consequences in the structure of societies. This social structure began to change with the beginning of Industrial Revolution. An entrepreneur, and individualist, capitalist came in and took over some of the operations. Factory production, fixed capital and free labour were the characteristics of this revolution. As a result of this economic revolution, several important alterations occurred in the social structure and a new type of society called industrial society was born.

13.5 Features of Non-agrarian Society:

1. **Emergence of Modern Family:** The emergence of modern family in place of traditional patriarchal family is the first feature of Industrial society. The family in industrial society has moved from an institution to companionship. The woman is no longer the devotee of man but an equal partner in life with equal rights. It is not only the males who go to the factory and offices for work, but the women also are as good earning members as the men. The family has changed from a production to consumption unit. It now no longer performs the functions which it did in the pre-industrial society. The machines and appliances have lessened the drudgery of cooking, bathing, cleaning and washing. The family members of industrial society are individualized in their outlook. In short, the structure and functions of the family in industrial society are different from those in the agrarian society.

2. **Economic Institutions:** The most important difference between in the industrial society and pre-industrial society can be seen in the structure of economic institutions. The industrial society is marked by a new system of production, distribution, and exchange. In place of house-holds there are factories where the work is divided up into little pieces. Large plants have been set up. Corporations have come into existence. Ownership has been separated from control.
3. **Status to Contract:** The most important feature for an understanding of industrial society is the trend that sociologists describe as movement from status to contract. In medieval society the serfs had lands because of their status. A baron was born a baron. His grandfather had been a baron and it was his right. The serfs owed him certain obligations not because of achievement, but because each man was born into his status. The whole society was structured on ascribed status. The industrial society has shattered this structure. In an industrial society most people work for big organizations and contracts are substituted for status system. There is a wage contract, a social security contract, an unemployment insurance contract and so on. In place of mutual obligation system there is found contract system in industrial society.
4. **Social Mobility:** Since an industrial society has moved from status to contract, therefore, as a consequence thereof, it is marked by social mobility. The member of industrial society can by his achievement raise or lower his status during his life time. The role of caste as a factor in determining status gets minimized in an industrial society.

3 To conclude, the industrial society has brought about great changes in the institutional structure and norms. The American society is an industrial society where the people are highly literate, scientifically trained, economically prosperous but individualistically oriented. Will human relationship in such a society be more stable and integrated? The answer is not definite. However, more and more agrarian societies are entering the phase of industrialization and in future we shall have more industrial societies.

13.6 Emergence of ²³Middle Class:

One of the more noticeable outcomes of the recent socio-economic and political processes in India has been the emergence of the socio-economic group described as the

‘middle class’. By all reasonable estimates, the strength of the middle class in India is bigger in size than the entire population of many nations.

²⁸ Emergence of middle class is not a “passive phenomenon” and it does not come out on its own. The grit, determination, stamina and putting the next generation’s needs before its own are some of the factors which make the emergence of this class possible. And today this class is acting as the architect of modern India, providing human capital not only to India but to many countries of world, working as watchdogs to preserve the highest institutions of the country, attracting global players to use India as a hub, pumping money in the economy, and adjusting well to the shifts, be it cultural, economic, technical or social. Since independence, India’s major achievement is the rise of world’s largest single middle class, on which rests the other achievements of our country

The emergence of the middle class ³³ was facilitated by modern education and the consequent work opportunities available in offices set up for commercial, administrative and other purposes by the colonial government. The conceptual and political boundaries of Indian middle class rested on mediation between the colonial rulers and colonial subjects. The relationship was premised on subordination to colonial power but at the same time providing cultural leadership to the indigenous people. In the post-colonial India, the middle class were identified as ‘Nehruvian civil service-oriented salariat, short on money but long on institutional perks’. In the contemporary period, the ‘new’ middle class, as a social group, is depicted as negotiating India’s new relationship with the global economy in both cultural and economic terms. Against this ⁶⁶ brief backdrop, the authors would be requested to explore the structural continuities and patterned discontinuities between the colonial, post colonial and the ‘new’ ⁴⁴ middle class.

Indian middle class is growing fast, real fast. It is not the same what it was just a decade back. They were then branded as a conservative and thrifty people. Not anymore, India’s middle class is now dynamic, educated, liberal and form the pillars of this vibrant Indian economy due to their spending nature.

13.7 Dominant Caste-Definition:

⁵⁶ Caste is a system of stratification which lies at the very root of Indian Social Structure, more so in rural ⁴³ India. By social structure, we mean the persistent patterns of social interaction existing within and among social groups. These patterns of interaction are guided by the normative system of the society.

Definition:

⁵⁹ According to M.N. Srinivas “A caste is dominant when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, when it also wields preponderant economic and political power, and when it enjoys a high ritual status in the local cast hierarchy.”

13.8 The concept of ⁶⁷ Dominant Caste:

The notion of Dominant Caste was first introduced by Professor M.N. Srinivas in his analysis of the social system of Ramapura, a Mysore Village. This notion was elaborated into a concept by him in a latter paper titled The Dominant Caste in Ramapura. ³⁶ Srinivas claims that the concept of dominant caste is of crucial importance in understanding social and political life in rural India. The influence of a dominant caste is almost omnipresent. It influences matters as remote and rigid as the principle of descent and affiliation and things as live and immediate as the style of life. M.N. Srinivas observed that ³⁶ dominant caste set the model for the majority of the people living in rural areas, including, occasionally, Brahmins.

In the words of M.N. Srinivas, “ A caste may be said to be dominant when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste can more easily be dominant if its position in the local hierarchy is not too low.

Srinivas later adds modern education and modern occupation as factors contributing to the dominance of a caste and mentions The twin Sanctions of Physical Force and Boycott, as facilitating the exercise of dominance. He writes in this context the capacity of a caste to field a number of able bodied men for a fight and a reputation for aggression as an important aspect of its dominant character.

13.9 Attributes of Dominance: Thus, from the above description we can derive seven elements of dominance:

1. Numerical Superiority
2. Economic Status
3. Political Power
4. Ritual Status
5. Non-traditional Education; (Modern Education)
6. Modern Occupation and
7. Physical Force

These attributes of a dominant caste mentioned by Srinivas belong to three categories;

1. Ascriptive 2. Achievement Oriented and 3. Demographic.

1. **Ascriptive:** Ritual Status, Economic Status as measured through ownership of land are ascriptive attributes.
2. **Achievement Oriented :**Modern Education and modern occupations are achievement oriented.
3. **Demographic:** Numerical strength, reputation and ability for physical aggression are the qualitative and quantitative demographic characteristics.

If all these elements are conjointly formed in a given caste it is said to be enjoying a decisive dominance. However, it is important to note that for a meaningful analysis of inter group relations, one needs to know the relative importance of the elements attributes involved and the context of dominance.

13.10 The Context of Dominance:

The dominance of a particular caste is manifest in the setting of decision-making in the village. Srinivas observed that the settlements of disputes in the village occasionally brings out the importance of one caste which is locally dominant, and the dependence of the other castes on it.

The observation is with reference to the power that a caste wields in getting its decisions accepted by other castes. In other words, dominance by dominant caste takes place mainly in the secular context. The secular dimensions may be fabricated into various aspects-economic including occupation, political, educational and numerical. Srinivas, in this context implicitly refers dominance to the exercise of political power – both formal and informal in

village affairs, be it in the administration, of development benefits in settling disputes or in any other situation.

The concept of dominant caste is more meaningful in traditional rural social setting where villagers approach the traditional decision making bodies for settling their disputes; and the effective operation of a dominant caste in a village requires that the village should be a politically autonomous system. In other words the concept of dominant caste is useful in a closed social system.

Factions, migration, sale of land to other castes erodes dominance. Dominant castes enjoyed power and autonomy at the village level due to poor communication on part of the State in village affairs.

It is relevant to note here that dominance often enough is not purely a local matter in rural India. A caste group which has only a family or a two in a particular village but which enjoys decisive dominance in the wider region will still count locally because of the network of ties bonding it to its dominant relatives. What is equally important is that others in the village will be aware of the existence of this network. Contrariwise a caste which enjoys dominance in only one village will find that it has to reckon with the caste which enjoys regional dominance.

One another feature of caste that needs to be remembered is that the existence of significant regional differences. Caste is undoubtedly an all India phenomenon. But the existence of this universal feature should not lead to ignore the significant regional difference. To the average Indian, the names of castes and their relative importance and ranking in hierarchy in other linguistic areas/regions make sense only when they are fitted into the procrustean frame of Varna. Caste mainly exists and functions as a regional system.

13.11 Nature of Dominance:

The leaders of dominant caste resemble chieftains and evoke fear and respect from ordinary folk. Each leader is the head of a faction composed of kinsfolk, caste folk and clients from other castes. The relations between leaders of rival factions are distinctly unfriendly, and constitute for the erosion of dominance. Thus, unity is central to dominance. All individuals who constitute a dominant caste are relatively more powerful compared to the members of other castes. This is so because the members of a dominant caste have a greater

accessibility to those who hold power positions and wield power and hence can influence the decisional process in the village context.

Land ownership is a crucial factor in establishing dominance. Generally the pattern of land ownership in rural India is such that the bulk of the arable land is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of big owners as against a large number of small owners who wield a considerable amount of power over the rest of the village population. The big land owners are patrons of the bulk of the poor villagers. Tenants, labourers, artisans and members of servicing castes stand in a relation of client ship to the land owning patrons; and client ship involves a variety of duties. Traditionally these ties have been stable, continuing from generation to generation and are thus enduring and form permanent and hereditary caste groups which is a unique situation in India. Thus land ownership confers prestige, power and dominance.

The power and prestige which land owning castes command after their relations with all castes including those ritually higher. This is true of parts of the Punjab where the land owning JATS look upon the Brahmans as their servants. Beidelman observed in Senapur and Ramapur that the Brahmans were not the powerful or economically superior caste, but were subordinate to the Jats and Thakurs. However, it is important to note that ritual superiority has an independent existence and power of its own. Therefore the villagers of Senapur and Ramapur would agree that these same Brahmans are ritually supreme.

13.12 Role of Dominant Caste:

The elders of the dominant caste in a village are the watch dogs of a pluralistic culture and value system. Traditionally, they prevented the members of a caste from taking over the hereditary occupation of another caste whose interests would have been hurt by an inroad made into their monopoly, the only exceptions being agriculture and trade in some commodities. The dominant caste probably ignored the minor changes in the ritual and style of life of a low caste, but when the latter refused to perform the services—economic or ritual which it traditionally performed or when it appropriated an important higher castes symbol, then punishment followed swiftly.

During the recent years the political influence of the dominant caste has considerably increased. By making use of freedom, democracy and universal adult franchise the dominant castes have become politically strong and powerful. They have very good representation in assemblies and in the parliament. With the introduction of the “Panchayat Raj System” these castes have extended their area of influence even in villages, taluks, and districts. Political power have given them an opportunity to strengthen their political position and economic strength. They have used the political instruments to obtain for their caste members, particularly for young men and women, good education and prestigious jobs.

The dominant caste thus maintain the structural distance between the different castes living within their jurisdiction. Many of the rules they upheld and enforced are local rules, while a few – such as ban on the donning of the sacred thread by a low caste – are rules of the Great Tradition. However, it is likely that in these areas where peasant castes enjoyed decisive dominance, they had only perfunctory knowledge of the Great Tradition. Since, in the traditional system only the Brahman priest was the repository of the knowledge of the Great Tradition. The dominant cast was able to prevent cultural trespass by ensuring that a priest served only the high castes. Understandably enough, priest had a healthy respect for the susceptibility of the dominant caste’s and of his own caste fellows.

The influence of dominant caste seems to extend to all areas of social life including so fundamental a matter as the principle of descent and affiliation. In this regard M.N. Srinivas cites the instances of two patrilineal Tamil trading caste, the Tarakans and Mannadiyars who gradually changed from patriline to matriline owing to the influence of Nayers, the dominant matrilineal caste of Kerala.

13.13 Changing Trends of Caste System in India:

While discussing the Caste system we had the occasion to remark that the caste system is a rigid system. But it is not possible to maintain an absolute caste system. In India the system was never perfect. Long before the Muslims or the British, there were factors in India that worked against the system. In fact, a system which lays emphasis on the ideal of absolute social inequality is inherently contradictory. It is not only internally inconsistent but also incompatible with societal needs. To be practicable, the ideal would require a static social order. But society is never static. The external conditions in which the society lives and to which it must adjust if it is to survive, are constantly changing. Social change requires

social adaptation. The social system must adjust to the changing conditions, and such adjustment inevitably leads to a certain amount of social mobility and the consequent contravening of the principle of absolute fixity of status.

In ancient India, absolute rigidity was never maintained. Here and there flexibility was visible, e.g. Vishwamitra, the chaplain of Sudasa, and the famous rival of Vashisth, according to tradition, was a kshatriya. In modern times this rigid element of caste system has undergone further changes and looking at events one can confidently say that rigid distinctions are watering down. The various factors that have brought about these changes in caste system may be now described.

1. **Reformist Movement:** The first important factor nibbling at the root of the caste system was the spread of western education. The British brought with them to India a casteless culture and literature full of thoughts on individual liberty. The Indians who studied this literature could not but be impressed with the progressive ideas of English writers. Swami Vivekananda observed, "The Caste System is opposed to religion or the Vedantas". All our great preachers have tried to break it down. From Buddhism onwards every sect has preached against caste and every time it has only riveted the chains. Some of the social reform movements launched by social reformers during the British rule also attacked the caste system and its inequalities

The Brahma Samaj: Founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1820 and developed by Devendranath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen condemned the barriers of caste divisions, idol worship, human and animal sacrifices. It advocated universal brotherhood of man.

The Arya Samaj: Founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswathi in 1875 repudiated the caste restrictions, protested against prohibition of sea-voyages and insisted that even the shudras could study the Vedas. It tried to remodel the Hindu society on the basis of the Vedic ideals. It functioned as a militant force to protect the Hindu society from the 'onslaughts of Western rationalization'. It started the "Shuddhi" movement to re-Hinduism the converts, the fallen, the outcastes and other externals.

The Ramakrishna Mission: This was started by Swami Vivekananda, a great disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, in 1897 represents the synthesis of the ancient or oriental and the modern or western. Vivekananda who had imbibed in

himself Raja Ram's rationalism and Dayananda Saraswathi's spirituality, was pragmatic in his approach. He condemned caste inequalities, exploitation of lower caste and women. He stressed on education, self-reliance and freedom of women. He even predicted that the Shudras would dominate in the years to come.

2. **Education:** ⁴⁸ Spread of English education exposed Indians for the first time to the western world. The popular western ideas and values such as "liberty, equality and fraternity", democracy, rationalism, individualism, women's liberation, secularism, humanitarianism etc. made their inroads into India. These ideas had deeply influenced the western educated Indians. People who had hitherto been the targets of atrocities, deprivation, exploitation and humiliation could now voice their protest by asserting their rights. Increasing influence of science and technology added greater strength to the growing awareness of the masses.
3. **Industrialization:** ⁴⁸ The advent of industrial revolution also affected Indian socio-economic conditions. The British brought modern machineries and introduced factory system of production. New industries, occupations, employment opportunities, salary-based service system came to be established. The growth of industries destroyed the old crafts and household industries and provided for countless ways of earning livelihood. Introduction of railways, telegraph and laying of roads helped trade and commerce. People of all castes started making use of new economic opportunities.

Industrialization also resulted in occupational and geographic mobility. Movement of people from the compact ancestral village to the towns and cities started breaking down many of the caste norms. Crowded trains and buses could bring together lakhs of people of all castes and left little room for the niceties of ceremonial purity. Taboos against some foods and accepting food and water from persons of lower castes, also started weakening. Hotel system of food and hostel system of residence served to bring together people of different caste. The jajmani system of economy which had made economic interdependence of different castes, started declining. It slowly gave place to the capitalist system of economy. These industrial and their concomitant developments made caste-members to come out of the hold of caste-based occupations and to resort to the new occupational avenues based purely on personal preferences and choices.

4. **Urbanization:** ⁸ In order to reap the benefits of new educational and occupational opportunities people started moving towards towns and cities in large number. The necessities of city life relaxed the commensal taboos imposed by caste and lessened the dominance of Brahmins. As Srinivas has pointed out, the non-Brahmins refused to show the same respect to the Brahmins which they used to show earlier. The growth of city life with its migratory population brought about changes in the rigidity of the caste system.
5. ⁸ **Influence of Freedom Movement and the Role of Gandhiji:** Indian freedom struggle also altered the character of caste to some extent. The freedom struggle organized by the Indian National Congress brought together people of different castes, classes, religions and regions under one banner. The Congress led by Gandhiji launched a campaign against Untouchability and roused the conscience of the people against its practice. Participation of the lower castes in the freedom struggle boosted their image. At the end of the British rule, though the traditional influence of caste started declining, its organizational strength was increasing. As Ghurye observed, "At about the end of the British rule in India, caste-society presented the spectacle of self-centred groups more or less in conflict with one another".

13.14 Summary:

Man is a Social animal. ² This planet on which man lives is made up of people in social relationship with each other. ⁴⁹ Societies are classified on the basis of dominant types of economic activity into agrarian and industrial societies. In an agrarian society the dominant type of economic activity is agricultural whereas in an industrial society factory production is the dominant type of economic activity. The concept of "Agrarian Class Structure" ⁴ refers to the type of the class structure that prevails in an agricultural society or set up. ⁴ An analysis of the post-independent Indian rural set up reveals the existence of four classes. They are (i) Landowners (ii) Tenants (iii) Labourers, and (iv) Non-agriculturists. ⁴ Daniel Thorner classified rural classes in to three social categories namely (a) maliks, (b) kisans, and (c) mazdoors.

Caste is a system of stratification which lies at the very root of Indian Social Structure, more so in rural India. By social structure, we mean the persistent patterns of social interaction existing within and among social groups. These patterns of interaction are guided

by the normative system of the society. The dominance of a particular caste is manifest in the setting of decision-making in the village. Srinivas observed that the settlements of disputes in the village occasionally brings out the importance of one caste which is locally dominant, and the dependence of the other castes on it. Changing Trends of Caste System in India are Urbanization, Industrialization, Education and the Reformist movements.

13.15 Key Words:

Landownership
Industrial society
Industrial Revolution
Dominant caste
Industrialization
Urbanization

13.16 Questions:

1. Describe the features of Agrarian and Non-agrarian Classes? Discuss the emergence of Middle class?
2. Define Dominant Caste and discuss the nature and role of dominant caste? Describe the changing trends of the caste system?

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