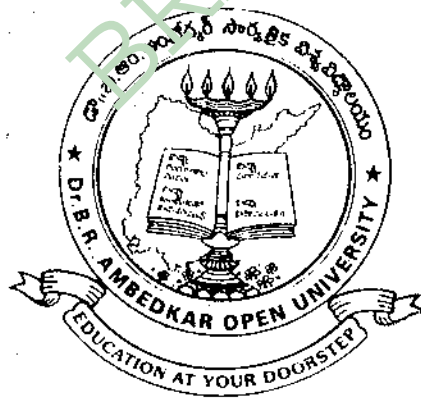


**SOCIAL STRUCTURE
AND
CHANGE IN INDIA**



**Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD**

1992

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PREFACE

The Indian society is one of the oldest in the history of civilisation. It has passed through many vicissitudes in the course of its evolution. It experienced both dynastic and colonial rule without losing its distinctive character or resilience and also without disintegrating. It has had to reckon with attempts made to change its pattern of life. This course aims at answering such questions as "What are its significant features?" and "What is social change and how does it take place?".

This book deals with topics in Social Structure and Change in India included in the Third Year Programme of undergraduate course offered by the Andhra Pradesh Open University. The syllabus for the sake of convenience is divided into units, each of which comprises a number of lessons. Each unit constitute the broad areas into which comprises a number of lessons. Each unit constitute the broad areas into which the course is divided. The lessons are prepared by specialists in accordance with a format so designed as to enable the student to read and understand them without much difficulty. Each lesson begins with a statement of its objectives followed by a synopsis and has at its end assignments for self assessment.

The 'nuts and bolts' of Social Structure and Social Change are dealt with in the first and the second units. The Hindu, Muslim and Christian as well as the Tribal Social Organisations are discussed in the third, fourth and fifth units respectively. An analysis of the Economic and political organisations figures in the sixth and seventh units. The 'Process of Change' is discussed in the penultimate unit, i.e., the eighth, and the discussion concludes with an examination of problems of integration in the ninth unit.

The University hopes that this material will help the student to get acquainted with the principal issues in Social Structure and Change in India.

BRAOU

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BLOCK - 1 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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UNIT-1: MEANING OF SOCIETY, SOCIAL SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Aims and Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Definition of Human Society
- 1.3 Characteristics of Human Society
- 1.4 Functions of Human society
- 1.5 Social System
- 1.6 Social Structure
- 1.7 Social function
- 1.8 Social Organization
- 1.9 Functional Problems of Social Systems
 - 1.9.1 Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management
 - 1.9.2 Adaptation
 - 1.9.3 Goal Attainment
 - 1.9.4 Integration
- 1.10 Summary
- 1.11 Suggested books
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1.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to define the fundamental concepts in sociology and explain the nature of human society.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- Define human society,
- discuss the characteristics of human society,
- explain the functions of human society,
- explain what is a social system, Social structure, social function, and social organization,
- explain the functional problems of social system.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will study about the meaning of society, social system and social structure.

1.2 DEFINITION AND NATURE OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Human society is a dynamic, ever-changing and on-going entity. Individuals who are members of the society may come and go but society goes on for ever. The study of the structure and functions ¹

of human society is the subject matter of Sociology. Human society is a "web of social relationships" between human beings who are its members (Maco Iver & Page). Some of these relationships are simple and some complex, some are permanent and some temporary. Understanding the variety and the net work of social relationships leads to the understanding of human society.

Human society may be defined as a collection of people with a common identity, who are sufficiently organized to bring about the conditions necessary to living together harmoniously. In other words, society is an aggregate of people which is self-sustaining, which has a definite location and a long duration and the members of which share a way of life. The impact of society on individuals is natural and necessary, since it moulds them from the moment of birth. Man, once conditioned by the society, can hardly live outside of it and remain normal for long. Separation of individuals from human association is almost unknown. The individual's participation in society is necessary for the development of the human personality. We learn, grow and mature through our experiences in society. In short, our general attitudes and values come primarily from the social organization that surrounds us. Therefore, society is the essential milieu in which all persons live.

1.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAN SOCIETY

A given human society is recognized through its population, territorial boundaries, patterns of interaction, feeling of solidarity, culture and organization.

- (1) If we treat human society as a demographic whole, it consists of a population- males and females of all ages. Population will continue to exist generation after generation and this makes the society a going concern. Birth, growth and death are the major events which the individuals would experience in society.
- (2) The population of a society occupies a definite common geographical area within some well-defined territory based on the natural or man-made boundaries. Living together, the people share common resources of that area which lead to the development of unity, oneness, integrity and collective consciousness among individuals.
- (3) Human beings in the society constantly act and react upon one other. Each society has its own pattern of relationships among human beings. Because of inter-communication and multiplicity of common needs and interests, the individuals are inter-dependent and interrelated. Further, division of labour among individuals is responsible for functional inter-relationships and interdependence between individuals.
- (4) A definite feeling of solidarity and oneness prevails among the individuals on account of common history, common belief, common territory, common cultural ethos and common purpose and goals. People think of themselves as belonging together as they live together and share together the common mode of life.
- (5) Each society has a culture of its own. Individuals relationships are organized and structured by culture. It is culture through which we can distinguish one society from another. It is culture that distinguishes man from animal. Culture, in the sociological sense, is something that is shared by all the people, not something that a person alone can possess. It is a kind of stream flowing down through the ages from one generation to another. Each generation contributes something to this stream, but in each generation, too, something is left behind.
- (6) Members of a society are socially organized which is yet another important characteristic feature of human society. Organization is maintained through institutional net work.

All the individuals in human society do not perform similar functions. They perform different functions or roles depending upon their status as determined by age, sex, interests, abilities, skills and qualifications, and in the process each one specializes in one activity, function or other. In short, work is divided and distributed among the members and accordingly each member performs his functions in accordance with the rules and regulations governing them. The interdependencies and interrelationships between the differentiated functions or functionaries are the chief bases of orderliness in human society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Define a Human Society.

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2. What are the characteristics of Human Society ?

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1.4 FUNCTIONS OF HUMAN SOCIETY

- (1) Human society not only meets the basic requirements of the members like those of food, clothing and shelter but also protects them from disease, internal conflict and external aggression.
- (2) Every ongoing human society replaces its members primarily through biological reproduction of its own members. No society could continue in the long run without such reproduction.
- (3) Yet another function of human society is to provide ready-made and adequate means of communication for its members. Social life would breakdown if proper communication and transportation facilities are not provided to the people.
- (4) Another important function of human society is socialization of its new members. The child comes into the world with inherited capacities for acquiring the general ways of any society. Within the limits of his own inherited endowment, he can acquire any kind of 3

behavior pattern entirely through learning. All the experiences involved in this process of learning, we call socialization.

- (5) A society would make collective life possible and this collective life provides safety to the individuals. Social life provides a network of relationships based upon similarity of interests, objectives and needs and are governed by the values and norms established by the society.

1.5 SOCIAL SYSTEM

Generally, Sociologists analyse human society in terms of "social system". This term is designed to help one visualize human society as a system whose parts are interdependent and interlinked with one another. Social system should be understood as that which is made up of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure these interactions. According to Sorokin the significant unit of social system comprises the meaningful interactions of two or more human individuals and through these interactions one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other. Similarly, Parsons observes that "participation of an actor in a patterned interactive relationship" is the most significant unit of social system. In each system there is usually a central system and various sub- systems.

One may think of social systems at two different levels. At one level a social system may be considered in terms of a concrete social structure (for example, a family, a school, etc.) that is composed of persons who interact more with members than with non- members when operating, to attain their objectives. At the other level, a social system may be viewed in terms of an abstract entity in which patterns of relationships prevail from generation to generation in a given region.

1.6 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As indicated earlier, social structure is the essential part of human society or social system. It is one of the central concepts of Sociology. According to Johnson, the structure of anything consists of the relatively stable interrelationships among its parts. In other words, when we use the term structure, we are referring to some sort of ordered arrangement of parts or components. For instance, a building has a structure, and so also human society. The components or units of social structure are persons or groups of persons who occupy specific positions in the given society.

The participants in a social system can be thought of as occupants of roles. Roles are more stable than the role occupants themselves. Moreover, role occupants are organized in sub-groups within the larger system and some of these sub-groups last longer than any particular member. Roles and sub-groups are normatively defined and stability, regularity and recurrence in social interaction are due to the social norms that define the roles and the obligations of sub-groups. In addition to relational and regulative norms, we include cultural values as part of social structure. A value, according to Johnson, is a conception or standard, cultural or merely personal, by which things are compared and approved or disapproved in relation to another. There are different

4 kinds of values corresponding to different spheres of activity, different aspects of life.

In a nutshell, the structure of a social system includes :

- (1) Subgroups of various types interconnected by relational norms,
- (2) Roles of various types,
- (3) Regulative norms governing sub-groups and roles, and
- (4) Cultural values.

Each of these elements are discussed in the lessons that follow.

1.7 SOCIAL FUNCTION

The concept of function is of fundamental importance which enables us to deal with the continuing relation of structure and process. Any part of the structure - a group, a role, a norm or a value - is said to have a function, if it contributes to the fulfilment of one or more of the social needs of a social system. Similarly, any partial structure is said to be dysfunctional if it hinders the fulfilment of one or more of these needs. Social function, in other words, is the interconnection between the social structure and the process of social life. Here, function is to be distinguished from purpose. A purpose is something subjective which will be in the mind of the participant in a social system. But a function is an objective consequence of action. The three concepts of structure, function and process are thus components of a single theory as a scheme of understanding and interpretation of human social systems.

1.8 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Though inter-related, the two concepts, namely social structure and social organization, are different from each other. While social structure is an arrangement of persons in institutionally controlled or defined relationships, organization refers to an arrangement of activities. For example, the structure of a modern school consists of systematic arrangement of various interrelated but interdependent groups - students, teachers, management, etc., - Whereas, the organization of the school consists of the arrangement of the activities of its students and teachers during working days or on holidays. Social organization, in other words, refers to human action in so far as the actor takes into account the actions of others. As persons interact, they develop mutual expectations and concerns and if interaction continues over a period of time, more or less definite patterns of behaviour emerge. Hence social organization is a dynamic process, since the patterns of human relationships constantly change despite the fact they are also regular and predictable. The student of sociology studies social organization as both a condition and a process. On the one hand, he looks into the structure of social action and on the other, concerns himself with the processes of change in social action.

1.9 FUNCTIONAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Every social system solves four functional problems. If it does not, the system would cease to exist as an independent or distinctive entity.

These four functional problems are discussed here under one by one :

1.9.1 PATTERN MAINTENANCE AND TENSION MANAGEMENT

The pattern of a social system, its social structure must be maintained in the sense that the units of the system, whether role occupants or sub-groups, must learn the patterns and invest them with the appropriate attitude of respect. Any social system, therefore, must have mechanisms of socialization through which cultural patterns come to be incorporated in the personalities of individual members.

As for the function of tension management, it is to be noted that the units of any social system are subject to emotional disturbances and distractions which must be managed, if the units are to be able to carry on effectively. For example, one of the functions of an organization is to keep its members in good working order by relieving anxiety, providing encouragement and caring for their health and other needs.

1.9.2 ADAPTATION

A given social system should adapt or adjust itself to its social and non-social environment. This is possible through division of labour or role differentiation among the members of the society. Even if every person could acquire the knowledge and skill necessary for the performance of diverse tasks, there would still have to be role differentiation, for no one person can perform simultaneously all the tasks that have to be so performed.

1.9.3 GOAL ATTAINMENT

Every social system has one or more goals to be attained through cooperative effort. Adaptation to the social and non-social environment is, of course, necessary if goals are to be attained. But, human and non-human resources must also be mobilized in some effective way according to the specific nature of tasks. Proper allocation of sources is necessary for both adaptation and goal attainment.

1.9.4 INTEGRATION

Whereas pattern maintenance and tension management is concerned with the state of the units of a system, integration is concerned with the inter-relations of units. The members of a system to some extent must be loyal to one another and to the system as a whole. The only way the system as a whole achieves solidarity and oneness. In every social system some members or sub-groups violate the norms thereby posing a threat to the system. Therefore, the need for social control becomes important in order to protect the integrity of the system.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. What are the structural elements of Social System?

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4. What are four functional problems of Social System?
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1.10 SUMMARY

Human society is a dynamic, ever changing and on going entity. A given Human society is recognized through its population, territorial boundaries, patterns of interaction, feeling of solidarity, culture and organization. Sociologists analyse Human Society in terms of social system. Every social system solves four functional problems - pattern maintenance and tension management, Adaptation, Goal attainment, and Integration.

1.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Bertrand, A.L	:	Basic Sociology
Johnson, Harry. M.	:	Sociology : A Systematic Introduction
MacIver & Page	:	Sociology/Introductory analysis
Anderson W.A & Parker	:	An Introduction to Sociology
Smelser, N.J	:	Sociology An Introduction

1.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines
1. Explain the nature of human society ?
 2. Discuss the characteristics of human society ?
 3. Examine the functions of human society ?
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines
1. Enumerate the advantages of social life.
 2. Bring out the relationship between structure, function and organisation.
 3. Explain the functional problems of social system.
 4. Define social system.
 5. What do you mean by social structure.
 6. What are the structural elements of social system.

UNIT-2: ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

CONTENTS

- 2.0 Aims and Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Social Structure-Definition
- 2.3 Structural Elements
 - 2.3.1 Status and Role
 - 2.3.2 Norms
 - 2.3.3 Institutions (customs, folkways, mores and beliefs)
 - 2.3.4 Values
 - 2.3.5 Groups (Types)
 - 2.3.6 Association and Community
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Suggested
- 2.6 Model Examination Questions

2.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim is to acquaint you with the components of social structure and their importance in society.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- explain the components of social structure,
- explain their importance in society.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about human society and its functions. We have also studied about the meaning of social structure, social function, and social organisation and social system and its functional problems. In this unit we will study about the components of a social structure and their importance in society.

2.2 SOCIAL STRUCTURE - DEFINITION

Social structure can be defined as a recurring pattern of social behaviour which induces orderly relationships between the elements of a society. The social structure consists of the elements, relatively stable, to maintain the pattern in the relationship of these elements. It refers to the web of interacting social forces from which various modes of following and thinking have arisen. As social structure consists of the inter-related acts of members, the structure must be sought in some degree of regularity or recurrence in their acts.

Radcliff-Brown defines social structure as "an arrangement of persons in relationship institutionally defined and regulated". It includes numerous structural forms that men constitute in consequence of their associations. They are so arranged in a structural form to enable the society to function in a co-ordinated manner. Talcott Parsons says that the social structure has "a particular arrangement of the interrelated institutions, agencies, and social patterns as well as the statuses and roles which each person assumes in the group". The groups, associations, institutions, values, norms, status, and role are the aspects of the social structure. Thus social structure is bound by its elements, and their interdependence and unity. The social structure aims at securing the fulfilment of the objective of its members and the social system. In other words social structure is a functional one, through its constituent parts such as role, status, norm, value, group, institution and association

2.3 STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

Let us discuss the importance of each of the structural elements.

2.3.1 STATUS AND ROLE

The social position has two parts, one consisting of obligations and the other, rights. A person who occupies a social position has this cluster of obligations and rights. These two parts of a social position are called as Role and Status. The role refers to the obligations and the status refers to the rights. Thus every social position is a status-role combination. A social position may be occupied by more than one person. Sometimes certain social positions are occupied by only one person at a time. Further, the same person occupies many social positions, for example, a member may be an Engineer, husband, father and a club-member. Thus the social position of a member also gives him some kind of degree of authority over other members, and reward for playing the role with certain privileges and some prestige by virtue of his status. Linton meant by status a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals, the role as a behavioural enactment of the patterned expectations attributed to the position.

a) STATUS

Recognition of the position of an individual in the social system and the authority he holds is because of the status he enjoys. Status is historical and at the same time universal because it is also inherited and acquired. Thus status is a position that one holds in a given system. According to Davis "status is a position in the general institutional system recognized and supported by the entire society, spontaneously evolved and rooted in folkways and mores". It is a position in a social group in relation to the other positions held by the other individuals in the same group. The authority one wields is socially defined and limited as it involves the degree of submission or control.

The basis for status varies from society to society. In primitive communities where categories were not formed, prestige is gained by personal achievement. Status may be based upon deference of birth, wealth, occupation, and political power. Frequently status is determined by a combination of two or more of these factors, when the attitudes of the members of a community become firmly attached to specific marks of status; when they become a part of the social heritage, they form the

pattern of the society. There are, of course, many such systems. Yet the character of the social structure is most clearly revealed when status is associated with a single controlling factor around which the others cohere. Thus the essence of status is based on the positions of superiority or inferiority. The individual gains more respect when his status increases.

b) ASCRIBED AND ACHIEVED STATUS

In a society, status may be categorised into two ways such as ascribed and achieved statuses. The ascribed status is one which can be inherited by birth. For example, in a family, a female child may get a particular status depending upon its culture. Generally certain privileges are attributed to a person on the basis of sex, but the degree of ascribed status varies from one society to another, and is also, different at different times within the same society. Also we can observe the ascribed status on the basis of age. It means every society bestows a particular status to the members of a society on the basis of age. Further in Hindu society one's status is based on the caste one belongs to, and hence caste status is ascribed in character. Other religious groups also have such similar ascribed statuses based on age, sex, etc.

Society also provides an orderly and legitimate change for its members, which will give them a status correspondingly. An individual by his manifestations of skills and efforts may acquire a distinct status. Thereby the society recognizes the skills and efforts of members, and opportunities are given to them to contribute something to it. For example specialization in education, work, vocational skills, and professions are the factors conducive to achievement of status, but restricted by qualifications. In modern society there are many opportunities to individuals to enhance their status and therefore sociologists generally feel that society is moving from one with emphasis on ascribed status, to one based on achieved status. Achieved status helps social mobility. We see this process taking place in India in all groups including Hindu society. Various positions based on birth and caste are now giving way to positions based on achieved skills.

c) ROLE

The performance of a conspicuous part of a task is role. It is the manner in which, a position is supposed to be filled. It is the group's expectation of conduct by the status holder. According to Ogburn and Nimkoff a role is "a set of society's expected and approved behaviour patterns, consisting of both duties and privileges associated with a particular position in a group". Role is the behaviour enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position". In role performance, the emphasis is on quality. One's role as a father implies a more specific and particular manner of performance.

a) ASCRIBED AND ACHIEVED ROLES

A role may be also categorized as ascribed or achieved. "A role is said to be 'ascribed' if its occupants acquire it automatically or as the result of objective characteristics or relations to others, which are beyond their control". Like status, the ascribed role may be the performers by virtue of birth in a particular family, sex and age. In an achieved role, the emphasis is on fulfilling the expected role to meet the high expectations of the group. Roles are also classified as instrumental and expressive. The instrumental role refers to the performance of tasks and the

expressive role to the manifestation of sentiments. Generally speaking, the roles are organized more traditionally than those of women around instrumental roles, and the roles of women more largely around expressive roles.

b) **ROLE CONFLICT**

Conflict of roles arises, when one has to perform a number of roles; or the roles of several actors are ill-defined, or when one feels that the role assigned to one is not in agreement with one's status. Role conflict is inevitable in a complex and heterogeneous society. The possibility of conflict of role, in a simple society is less, but it is also not free from it. A woman as a wife, as a mother and as a mother-in-law performs a complex of roles. It has often given rise to conflict of roles causing mental agony and social maladjustment. This does not imply that role conflict is common and that the multiplicity of roles cannot be performed. If so, the social system will break down. A simple device resolves the conflicting roles.

c) **ROLE-SET**

Role-set means complement of role relationships in which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status. For example a student of medicine, entails not only the role of a student, but also an array of other roles relating to his status, i.e., to other students, doctors, nurses and others. The role-set differs from the structure pattern which has been identified as that of "multiple roles", which refers to the complex of roles associated not with a single social status, but with the various statuses in which individuals find themselves, the roles. We identify this complexity of social statuses of an individual as his status-set, and each of the statuses in turn having its distinctive role-set.

The concept of role-set and status set are structural and refer to the parts of a social structure at a particular time. The patterned arrangements of role-sets, consists the social structure.

The concept of role-set explains to us the fact that even the seemingly simple social structure also consists of extreme complexity. For efficient operation of social structure, it requires these status-sets and role-sets.

2.3.2 **NORMS**

Norms are guide-lines for social action. Behaviour of humans exhibits certain regularities which adhere to the common expectations. Thus the term norm refers to the social expectations about the patterns of behaviour by implying the legitimacy. A norm is an abstract pattern held in the mind, sets certain limits for behaviour. They provide the standard of behaviour which regulates the character. The individual when striving for a goal is being guided by these norms as they provide guidelines for an action. It means that norms are considered worthy of following and one feels that one ought to conform to them. This feeling of conformity to them means that one's conduct in accordance with the social norm is usual. While norms guide general human behaviour, they may not be able to provide guidelines for every kind of action, as every act is unique in itself. The norms give cohesion to the society by influencing the behaviour of the members. Conformity to the norms is defined in accordance with the socially defined situation. Violation of norms results in loss of prestige and social ridicule.

The norms may be divided into two categories. Some norms specify positive obligations (prescriptive) which usually differentiate among roles and sub-groups. Thus the positive obligation of a family are not the same as those of a business concern. The second type of norms specify the limits (proscriptive) permissible. For example, a role occupant must do certain things, may do certain others and must not do still others. Norms of the former category may be called 'relational' since they specify the relations between role occupants and sub-groups. Norms of the second category may be called 'regulative' as they differentiate the relations between roles and sub-groups.

2.3.4 INSTITUTION

The concept closely connected with the norm is institution. The term 'Institution' is used to describe the social practices that are sanctioned and maintained by the norms of society. Thus it is an established procedure of major significance in the maintenance and continuation of social structure. It means if anything is established socially for practice it is called an institution. This broad usage is illustrated by Barnes as "a machinery through which human society organizes, directs and executes the multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs". The family, marriage and government are some of the examples of institutions. In other words, the institutions are the established forms or conditions of group activities. When the associations are formed, the rules and procedures are also formed, for the regulation of the members with one another. Every association has its own interest and character, for its continuation. The temple, for example, has its own sacraments of worship and its rituals. Further, we belong to associations, but not to institutions. we do marry and worship but we do not belong to them. These established forms of procedures are clearly methods used by groups, whether they are the enacted instruments of associations or the unofficially developed patterns of community practice. Institutions in life cannot be separated from those who follow their ways. Sometimes a confusion arises between an institution and an association, because the same term in a different reference, may mean either one or the other. If something is considered as an organized group, it is an association if it is a form of procedure, it is an institution. Association denotes membership; institution denotes a mode of procedure of association. When we regard a college as a body of teachers and students, we are selecting its associational aspect. But when we regard it as an educational system we mean it in its institutional aspect.

a) CUSTOMS, FOLKWAYS AND MORES

In the more formal order of institutions and associations there exist usages or modes of behaviour such as the procedure of eating, conversing, meeting folks, wooing, training the young etc. The socially accredited ways of acting are the customs of society. We conform to the customs of our own society, in a sense, "unconsciously" as they are strongly imbedded in our group life. They are so strongly imbedded that we are unable to distinguish any particular custom with the only correct way of doing this or that. people follow customs and they behave accordingly. According to Sumner the whole array of these socially created usages are "folkways" or "mores". The folkways are the recognized or accepted ways of behaviour in society. They include conventions, forms of etiquette and the various modes of behaviour men have evolved and continue to evolve. Once folkways are not merely the norms of behaviour but become regulators of conduct, they are called mores. Every social usage, every folkway is also in a degree, an agency of social control. Even the

most trivial rule of etiquette, attaches to itself, the quality of being the right and the prescribed way of doing things. It expresses the group standards, the group sense of what is fitting and right to well-being. Thus the folkways and mores represent the social character of a group or community. They both compel behaviour. In their forbidding function, they are known as taboos. They are the expectation and the limitation of the groups life and influence the community towards conformity. They act as such in the life of the individual, from infancy to old age. The "non-conformist" is one who fails to abide by these folkways and mores. When mores are accepted in a legal frame-work, they become legal norms or norms of law of the society.

b) **BELIEF**

It is difficult to explain belief. It is an awe of the uncontrollable, and the feelings generated by the super-natural and the mystery of nature, that made man reconcile with the unfolding situations. Belief is a question of mind and faith. It is not rational but a theological concept. For example, God and Religion are matter of belief which have remained dominant in social life. It works as a means of social control. From knowledge and cognitive errors we may distinguish beliefs which, in empirical terms, are neither true nor false. The beliefs are also implicit and not conceivable. Faith in a particular type of preaching or superstition belong to this category, and no society or group is free from this.

2.3.4 VALUES

Value may be defined as a conception or a standard, cultural or merely personal, by which things are compared and approved or disapproved, and considered as more or less correct. In simple terms, the value is a relatively enduring awareness plus emotion regarding an object, idea or person. Bertrand lists four qualities of values as follow :

1. They have a conceptual element which is more profound than mere sensations, or needs. In this sense, values can be thought of as abstractions drawn from one's experiences.
2. They are effectively charged, or involve some understanding, which has an emotional aspect. Emotion may not be actually expressed but is always a potential.
3. They are not concrete goals of action, but do relate to goals in that they serve as criteria for their selection. One strives for those things one places value on.
4. They are important matters and not in the least trivial to the individual. This can be seen in the fact that values relate to choices, which in turn precede action.

Viewed in this meaning, values are shared by all, and thus have all effective consent of groups and are considered as matters of collective welfare. Thus values are one of the important elements of the social structure. They decide the objects of legitimacy for the realization of the members of society. Thus values are goals of a system and become part of the sentiments of its members. Hence social values are inseparable from the attitudes of the members. Some times we confuse beliefs with that of values because of their close relationship. But beliefs are convictions with some reality, whereas values are feelings of approval or disapproval. Further they are cognitive in nature. Values are so close to norms that sometimes we are unable to differentiate between them. Thus values are general standards and may be regarded as higher order of norms.

2.3.5 GROUPS

Social groups are collection of individuals who interact and form relationships. It means two or more persons in interaction constitute a group. The membership of a group may be involuntary or voluntary. It has a common aim. Its foundation rests on its utility and its continuity depends on the possibility of the realization of its aims. A group may be a family, or a group of friends. The members of a group need not necessarily be in physical contact with one another, they are related to one another through rules and norms. It means a group has a structure and a definite role to play. Thus a group is composed of such members who have reciprocal relationships with a common interest, similar behaviour and a sense of unity. Above all, the members are bound by the common consciousness of interaction. Thus, a social group is a system in which members interact socially.

All groups have social relationships but not all social relationships are groups. Thus a group involves a kind of understanding and co-operation among its members for reaching the common desired ends or goals. The understanding and cooperation varies slightly either way depending upon the nature and components of the group. For example, the co-operation of members of a group does not preclude a kind of competition or even antagonism among themselves. Thus, though a group may consist of individuals with rivalries, still it can settle the hatred, and remain as a group with co-operation through interaction, while seeking the common desired end or goal. Further the members of a group have obligations and duties which are binding on them as members. These rights and obligations are essentially rules of behavior which is a normative pattern. A group consists of persons in their capacity as members and every one could also be a member of many other groups. sometimes one never can observe a group in a spontaneity of time, even when all its members are gathered in the same place, because of lack of the necessary interaction and common goal or end. Social interaction involves contact and communication.

a) TYPES OF GROUPS

Sociologists, while postulating the scientific principles to explain society, classified social groups into different categories. The classifications are based on the principles of togetherness, unity and its size, such as ingroup-outgroup, primary-secondary, and Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft etc.

Sumner classifies groups into ingroup and outgroup. The former is on the basis of intimate feeling of 'We' and "exclusive living together" such as family, kinship, a village. Outgroup, in contrast to the ingroup, is defined as the feeling of 'they', the relations, being based purely on 'formal relations' such as membership in organizations and associations.

Tonnies classified groups into two types on the principle of togetherness. Gemeinschaft (community) is one having intimate or informal relations and Gesellschaft (association) is one having formal relations among its members. The basis of this classification is the sentiment of unity among its members. Gemeinschaft represents personal and collective living, whereas Gesellschaft, in contrast, is based on public relations consciously and deliberately entered into.

Stimmler considered size of the group as the criterion for classification. He named them as monad, the single person, as the focus of group relationships and the dyad, the triad and the tetrad or smaller collectivities involving slightly more network relationships. To him, the larger groups are entirely

different in character from these smaller groups. Durkheim classified groups on the basis of the nature of the solidarity. Organic solidarity refers to the solidarity of larger or complex groups which are based on complex division of labour, while mechanical solidarity is among small kinship groups based on simple organic division of labour.

Cooley has classified social groups on the basis of the type of contact the members of the group have amongst themselves. In sociological literature, Cooley's classification of groups is more popular than any other classification. He classified groups into two types as primary and secondary groups. The primary groups are characterised by intimate, face-to-face association and cooperation. The primary group in the simplest sense, is a way of describing the wholeness by saying that it is 'we' which involves a sort of mutual sympathy and identification. The most important of these groups according to Cooley is the family, the play group of children and the neighborhood or community. Also there are certain basic conditions for a group to be primary. They are small in size, face-to-face interaction, common culture and reasonably long duration or enduring character of relation. They are thus small groups with intimate contacts among members. Their relationships have no extrinsic intent or goal. They have no social function other than the affective relationship of feeling and sentiment. Therefore, primary groups are best realized in spontaneous, freely chosen, and informally organised relations. The presence and participation of others in a group act as a stimulus to each other, Cooley's definition of primary group as indicated by Davis is based on three conditions-physical proximity of members, smallness of the group, and the enduring character of the relations.

Secondary groups can be defined as the opposite of everything that characterises the primary groups. Among the members of the secondary group face-to-face contact is not present. Their relations are not intimate. The size of a secondary group is regulated by the specifically laid down rules and regulations. A member knows only a few others of the group, and functions in ignorance of most of the members. Their co-operation is indirect. The relations of the members are formal and impersonal. The members may be active or inactive. It is an organizational arrangement and goal oriented. But being broad based and comprehensive in character, secondary groups are efficient in functioning. Modern society consists of more and more associations of this kind.

b. REFERENCE GROUP

A reference group does not refer to the classification of groups as such. This is used in a different context when an individual or a group for reasons social, economic and psychological, regards some other individual or group as worth imitating. Such an individual, or group imitated, is called a reference group. The person or group in question accepts the reference group as a model, or ideal to imitate or to follow. Reference groups, therefore, can be numerous. As one goes after models, one wants to follow those whom one observes progressing. The social and economic standard, and psychological level of the individual, or group, is generally accepted as the reason for reference group behaviour. Members of lesser strata try to follow the cultural level of higher strata, so also weaker minds are influenced by the stronger ones.

2.3.6 ASSOCIATION AND COMMUNITY

The association is defined as an organisation within the community. It is an arrangement of individuals to strive together as a group to achieve the intended goal. It is an organization and its membership is limited on the basis of need or aim. The community on the other hand means a group of people living together in a fixed geographical area with a common culture and common interest. It exists within the society. The contrast between the association and community is revealed by considering the interest aspect of associations. Because the association is organized for particular purposes, for the pursuit of specific interests, we belong to it only by virtue of these interests. But we do belong to a community by virtue of our birth or residence in that particular

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community. The membership in an association has a limited significance. The belongingness to our associations is only by virtue of some specific interests that we possess. Consequently, there can be a multitude of associations within the same community and the individual, of course, may belong to many associations though he belongs to only one community.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the qualities of values

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2.4 Summary

Social structure is an arrangement of persons in relationship institutionally defined and regulated. The groups, associations, institutions, values norms, status and role are the structural elements of social structure.

2.5 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Johanson Harry, M	:	Sociology: A Systematic Introduction.
Davis. K	:	Human Society.
Anderson & Parker	:	An Introduction to Sociology
Smelser, N.J	:	Sociology: An Introduction.

2.6 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines
1. Define social structure and briefly explain the elements.
 2. Describe various types of groups and explain the characteristics of primary group.
 3. Define norms and state its forms and their importance.
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines
1. Distinguish between role and status.
 2. Explain the importance of Role and the causes for role- conflict.
 3. Define Group & Explain what is reference group.
 4. What do you mean by an Institution? Explain its importance in the social structure.

BLOCK - 2 SOCIAL CHANGE

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UNIT-3: MEANING OF SOCIAL CHANGE, EVOLUTION AND PROGRESS

CONTENTS

- 3.0 Aims and Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Significance of the Study of Social Change
- 3.3 Meaning and Definition of Social Change
- 3.4 Dimensions of Social Change
- 3.5 The Direction and Rate of Social Change
- 3.6 The Sources of Change
- 3.7 Factors of Social Change
- 3.8 Theories of Social Change
 - 3.8.1 Evolutionary Theories
 - 3.8.2 Equilibrium Theory
 - 3.8.3 Conflict Theory
 - 3.8.4 Rise and Fall Theory
- 3.9 The Concept of Evolution
- 3.10 The Concept of Progress
- 3.11 Summary
- 3.12 Suggested Books
- 3.13 Model Examination Questions

3.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim is to explain you the concept of social change in simple terms and relate it to its variants like Evolution and progress and to acquaint you with some of the theories of social change.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the significance of the study of social change,
- explain the meaning of social change,
- explain the dimensions, direction and rate of social change,
- explain the sources and factors of social change,
- explain the concepts, evolution and progress.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about social structure. In this unit we will study about social change, evolution and progress.

3.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Auguste Comte, the father of Sociology divided the subject of sociology into two major parts, namely, Social Statics (Social Order) and Social Dynamics (Social Change). This shows that Comte regarded the study of social change as significant as the study of social order. A survey of the writings of the other pioneers of sociology like Herbert Spencer, Lester Ward, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber will bring out the importance of what each of these classical sociologists have attributed to the study of social change.

The study of social order and that of social change are closely related and the understanding of one leads to that of the other. The existing society can be understood only if we know something about its history-the process of change that it has undergone.

The study of social change has acquired added significance because of the increased emphasis that is given to planned change and development by the developing countries of the world today. The sociologist's knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of social change acquires added importance in this context.

3.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Change is the process of becoming different. Change is the law of life. All nature testifies to the pervasiveness and inevitability of change. The child matures, the adult ages, the seasons change, and so do societies change. Social change denotes the variations in social life through time. All societies, primitive or simple and complex, undergo change but they vary from one other in speed, direction and consequence of change. Broadly speaking, social change implies change in social system through time. The definitions of social change vary depending upon what is considered to be the scope of or implied by social change. Some sociologists limit its scope to only changes in social relationships, where others take a wider view of social change to include in its scope both social and cultural changes.

MacIver and Page view social change as distinct from cultural change and define social change as change in social relationships. Every change in man's relation to his environment leads to some change in his relation to his fellow beings.

There are other sociologists who define social change as social structure change or social system change.

Johnson defines social change as change in social structure. Social structure includes structural elements like values, norms, statuses, roles, groups, sub-groups and collectivity. Hence change in any one of these structural elements may be regarded as social change. As the social system

functions within its structural framework, structural change has consequences also for the function of the system. Therefore, social change is change in the structure and function of the social system.

Bottomore defines social change as change in social structure (including changes in the size of society) or in particular social institutions or in the relationships between institutions.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Define Social Change.

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3.4 DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Having discussed social change it would be useful to make certain distinctions on the basis of the dimensions of change. The dimensions are (i) magnitude, (ii) time.

(i) Magnitude of change - Large scale vs Small scale change:

The magnitude of change depends upon:

- (a) the number of units affected by change - the more the units affected by change, the greater is the magnitude of change. For example, from the point of view of Indian society, the British rule in India resulted in change that affected almost all the institutions and even the value system of the society. As such, it is an example of large scale change.
- (b) the strategic significance of the units affected by change. For example change in roles have less impact on the social system and is therefore, considered small scale change whereas change in values have a high impact on it.
- (c) the structural complexity of the social system. Developed societies which are structurally complex are capable of dispersing the impact of change. In such cases the magnitude of change will be small. In simple societies where there is no such major structural differentiation the impact of change will be great.

(ii) Time: Short term change Vs Long term change:

Short term and long term changes represent the temporal dimension of change. By and large, large scale change correspond to long term change and small scale change to short term change. However, this need not always be true. Revolution is a short term change but has large scale impact. A typical example of short term change is that of market fluctuations. The theories of Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin which center on the cyclical change of growth and decline of civilization are good examples of long term change.

3.5 DIRECTION AND RATE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change in its strict sense implies only change in a social system over a period of time (structural functional differentiation over a period of time), which does not involve either the direction of change or the rate of change. However, the examination of certain terms that denote the variants of special change will illustrate the different directions and rates of social change. However, the examination of certain terms that denote the variants of special change will illustrate the different directions and rate of social change. Take, for example, the terms, "evolution", "progress", "development" and "regress". Each one of them has the element of direction in them. (Structural functional differentiation over time + direction). But the direction of change indicated is a continuous forward movement in the cases of evolution, progress and development whereas it is a backward movement in the case of regress. The different directions of change can be illustrated at concrete levels. The diminishing size of the family and the increasing size of economic units are examples of the two opposite directions of change.

Let us consider the terms, "evolution" and "revolution". Evolution stands for a gradual continuous change in a forward direction (gradual structural function differentiation over time + direction + continuity). As against this, revolution stands for rapid, radical and violent change. These two variants of social change illustrate the difference in the rates of social change.

Ogburn's theory of "Cultural Lag" provides a good example of differential rates of change. In this theory, Ogburn deals with the different rates of change characterizing the material culture and non-material culture. He focuses attention on the rapid rate of change in the technological sphere and the slow rate of change in familial, political and other institutions of traditional beliefs and attitudes and points out how changes in the non-material culture lags behind changes in the material culture.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between evolution and revolution?

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3.6 SOURCE OF CHANGE

According to Parsons, the sources of change can be classified as endogenous (from within the social system) or exogenous (from outside the social system). Very often both kinds of these changes work together and the origin of change cannot always be assigned wholly to either endogenous or exogenous sources. For example, many of the structural changes that India is going through to-day started with the Western impact on Indian society.

3.7 FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

One question that has interested social thinkers through the ages is why the tempo of change is different in different periods and in different societies. In other words, they were concerned with the causes of social change. Social change has been found to be the effect of not one cause but a multiplicity of causes. These causes are termed the 'factors' of social change. Some of the common factors of social change are: (1) Geographic factor, (2) Biological factor, (3) Cultural factor and (4) Technological factor.

Based on these and some other factors of change, there have been certain deterministic theories of change. Each of these theories treats a particular factor of change as the 'Prime mover' in accounting for change. Contemporary scholars, however, do not view theories of change built around a single factor as valid or meaningful because these factors are found to be at best limiting factors, not determining factors of change.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Give some examples of technological factors of change

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3.8 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Theories of social change are so many in sociology that it is not possible to consider every one of them here. Therefore, we shall classify them according to certain broad theoretical considerations.

Appelbaum classifies the theories of social change into four main categories.

- (a) Evolutionary theories
- (b) Equilibrium theories
- (c) Conflict theories
- (d) Rise and fall theories or Cyclical theories.

3.8.1 EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES

Sociology began with the evolutionary theory. Evolutionary theory in the 19th century drew heavily upon the biological sciences in general and Darwin's theory of the evolution of species in particular. The thinking of the early sociologists was dominated by the conception of society as evolving from a simple to a complex state in a linear manner. Almost all the Classical evolutionists have viewed evolution in unilinear terms. Auguste Comte, for example, chartered three well marked stages through which all societies must go in the theological through the metaphysical to the positivistic. Henry Sumner Maine traced the unilinear development of society from relationships based on statuses to relationships based on contract. Lewis Henry Morgan saw societies as moving through a fixed series of stages as they progressed from savagery through barbarism to civilization. Ferdinand Tonnies also talks of a linear movement of society from community like *Gemeinschaft* to corporate like *Gesellschaft* society.

Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim have worked within the evolutionary tradition, but their theories emphasize not just ever increasing societal complexity but inter-relatedness of the parts of society as well. Spencer developed the analogy between society and living organism. Both grow throughout their life cycle increasing in size and mass and at the same time becoming structurally differentiated. Spencer regarded evolution as a process whereby societies pass from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity. According to Durkheim, societies have evolved from simple societies where the degree of specialization or the division of labour was low to societies where division of labour is high. Along with the changes in the division of labour, social solidarity changed from mechanical solidarity (arising from similarities among individuals) to organic solidarity (arising from the necessary inter relatedness of unlike individuals).

Modern variants on the evolutionary theory like the modernization theories are said to be unilinear in that they view all societies as undergoing a parallel series of transformations in the process of modernization.

The universal theory of evolution, another type of evolutionary theory, declares that every society does not necessarily go through the same fixed stages of development. According to this theory, the culture of mankind as a whole has followed a definite line of evolution from simple to compound and doubly compound. The anthropologist, Leslie White, has been a leading exponent of this theory.

Social Darwinism is yet another kind of evolutionary theory. This theory applies the principle of natural selection and the survival of the fittest of society. William Graham Sumner, for example, justified the privileges of the upper classes over the unprivileged classes on the ground that such differentiation follows a law of nature in keeping with the principle of the survival of the fittest.

Darwin's principle of natural selection becomes less and less applicable to civilized societies. Another factor, namely social selection, becomes a substitute for it because natural environment is being gradually superseded by man's intervention in the destinies of societies. Social selection takes two forms - direct and indirect - depending on the direct or indirect role that society plays. For example, when society directly controls death rate through better sanitation and hygiene

measures, it is a case of direct social selection. Indirect social selection occurs when in many ways society organizes itself without consciously intending to alter the balance of birth and death rates. For example certain occupations like stone cutting have a high mortality rate because those engaged in it are likely to suffer from tuberculosis. Here society is responsible for the diminished chances of survival which is the lot of the stone cutters.

There are also the neo-evolutionary theories. An example of the neo-evolutionary theories is the recent multilineal evolutionary theory. Julian Steward is an exponent of this theory. Those who share this perspective attempt to explain neither the straight line evolution of each society nor the progress of mankind as a whole but try to identify the different sequential patterns for different types of cultures.

The following are the merits and demerits of the evolutionary theory of social change.

MERITS

1. The evolutionists are the first to recognize that social phenomena are not random and haphazard but orderly and subject of scientific laws.
2. We see the nature of a system better as it 'unfolds' itself. Evolution is an order of change in which potentialities lying within a system are made manifest. For example, the evolutionary principle enables us to understand how institutions evolve from the interests, attitudes and needs of the people.
3. The evolutionary enables us to set a multitude of facts in significant order, giving them the coherence of successive stages.
4. The evolutionary clew also aids us in the search for causes.

DEMERITS

1. Evolutionists have concentrated on tracing the origin of societies without studying societies as they are currently functioning.
2. The assumption that the same sequence of development characterizes all societies is not supported by empirical evidence. Since societies grow not only on account of the forces operating from within but also on account of the ideas and institutions borrowed from other societies.

3.8.2 EQUILIBRIUM THEORY

The concept of 'Homeostasis' is central to equilibrium theories. The concept is borrowed from biological sciences. Homeostatis is a concept according to which every organism, if it is to survive, must try to achieve the maximum equilibrium of internal conditions. The term means uniform state and homeostatic mechanism are mechanisms for reaching and maintaining uniform states. Equilibrium theorists view societies as homeostatic, possessing 'mechanisms' designed to restore the equilibrium of society whenever it is upset.

The structural functional approach to sociological analysis is basically an equilibrium theory and can be best understood through the writings of Talcott Parsons.

Structural functionalists not only look upon society as a social system that maintains equilibrium but also as one having parts that are interrelated and interdependent.

Social systems do not remain in a stable equilibrium indefinitely. When forces from within disturb the equilibrium, control processes come into operation to bring the system to adjustment. In so doing, it seldom returns to the original state. Disturbance of the equilibrium is bound to recur, but each time in to attempt to regain equilibrium, the social system does not return to the original state. So the equilibrium spoken of here is a moving equilibrium. Thus social change occurs when the equilibrium conditions under which the system normally functions are disturbed and the system is called upon to make new adjustments. Accordingly, equilibrium and change are complimentary processes.

The structural functionalism explains the functioning of societies better than evolutionism. But their concern for 'social order' is so great that the functionalists are often criticized for not dealing with the problems of social change adequately.

3.8.3 CONFLICT THEORY

Conflict theorists do not believe in social integration and equilibrium. Instead, they focus on the conflict of interest in society owing to the scarcity of desired resources. Such conflicts may lead to sudden and radical changes. According to Karl Marx, "the history of all hither existing societies is the history of class struggle. Slave master and Slave, Lord and serf, Guild master and Apprentice, all of them have stood in constant opposition to each other and carried on an increasing struggle, at times secret, at times open, which has always ended with the revolutionary transformation of the whole society or the mutual destruction of the warring classes".

Marx explained social change in terms of the dialectic principle - the law of contradiction. For Marx, the key to understanding structural change lies in the forces of production and relation of production which together constitute the economic structures of the society. Changes in these bring about corresponding change in the superstructure of the society - the social institutions, values and beliefs. According to Karl Marx, the actual vehicle of social change is class conflict. For class conflict the relationship between the forces of production and relations of production is decisive. It is the contradictions between these that lead to class conflict and to revolutionary structural change.

Among the modern sociologists, the conflict focus can be seen in the writing of Lewis Coser, C.W. Mills, Raymond Aron, Johan Galtung, T.B. Bottomore and Ralph Dahrendorf.

As against structural functionalism which emphasize the explanation of social stability rather than social change, the conflict theory does not exclude the explanation of change. On the other hand, conflict theorists view conflict and change as ubiquitous, (present everywhere) all social organization as inherently unstable and any unity as largely due to coercion.

Marx's concept of class certainly has its heuristic value but on account of some of the predictions he has made regarding future changes in industrial societies he has left himself open to criticism.

3.8.4 RISE AND FALL THEORIES

According to this approach all societies have periods of rise and fall, growth and decline. Notable exponents of these theories are Oswald Spengler, Pitirim Sorokin and Max Weber. Rise and fall Theories are also referred by some as cyclical Theories.

According to Spengler, society passes through a cycle of childhood, youth, maturity and decline. Each society evolves its own unique social forms so that each produces a distinctive culture when it is in its developing stage. But when this productivity dies down, decay sets in and inevitable doom is the consequence.

In his book, *Social and Cultural dynamics*, Sorokin explains the socio-cultural change. According to Sorokin, the principles of socio-cultural dynamics are (i) the imminence of change (this means that the cause of socio-cultural change is in the system itself) (ii) the limits on system (this means that there are limits on each system and, therefore, change eventually has to reverse its direction.)

Sorokin sees the course of history as a continuous but irregular fluctuation between two basically different kinds of cultures- the sensate and the ideational-idealistic cultural being a stable mixture of both. Ideational, Idealistic and Sensate constitute the three cultural super systems, each dominated by a system of truth. Under the ideational culture, truth is revealed by the grace of God and is based on faith. Sensate culture is dominated by the testimony of our senses. In the idealistic or integral culture, there is a synthesis of both.

Weber's theory of social change envisions an oscillation between three kinds of authority- traditional, charismatic and rational. In the course of social development a point is reached when and old structure loses its legitimacy. At this point a charismatic leader takes over and starts building a new structure. His charismatic authority tends to become routinized over time either in a traditional or rational direction according to the historical conditions under which it arises. In the course of time this authority structure also exhausts its legitimacy and paves the way for the emergence of a new charismatic leader.

With regard to cultural development, Weber sees a path of linear movement-towards greater rationality, inner consistency and coherence. While he acknowledges the role of economic factors in structural change, he refuses to accept the primacy attributed to economic factors by Marx.

In his well known work, *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, he illustrates the role of spiritual values in economic development. He also points out how spiritual and economic factors are interrelated, thereby avoiding a one-sided approach. For this reason his approach is referred to as multi-factor approach to social change.

The 'Rise and fall' theories are characterized by a grandiose vision. Spengler's theory does not admit of any empirical verification, while those of Sorokin and Weber permit empirical verification to some extent.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the different theories of Social change?

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What is culture Lag?

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3.9 THE CONCEPT OF EVOLUTION

The concepts of change and evolution are no doubt related but a close examination of each of these concepts will enable us to distinguish one from the other.

We have seen that social change is a broad and generic term implying change in a social system through time (structural functional differentiation over time). This term has no implication as regards the quality of difference or the direction of change. On the other hand, "evolution" implies continuous change in a specific direction involving some type of qualitative change with respect to the structure and function of the system concerned (structural functional differentiation + continuity + quality + direction). When changes take place in a connected order out of earlier phases of change, the process is called evolution. 'Evolution' literally means unrolling or unfolding. It is an order of change in which the potentialities lying within a system are made actual. In other words, evolution occurs because of the inevitability of causation. However, since nothing is independent of the universe around it the evolutionary process also involve at the same time a changing adaptation of the system to its environment.

The notion of evolution dominated the 19th Century social thought. Evolutionary principle was used as a key to the understanding of the complexity and the vastness of the problem of social change. Some have argued that social evolutionism was a mere extension of Darwinism while

others are of the opinion that social

evolutionism pre-dates Darwinism theory of evolution. However, it is clear that social Darwinism is a direct result of the sociologists' attempt to adopt Darwin's theory to sociology.

The early sociologists made the mistake of equating evolution with progress. They assumed that what evolved was for the better and, therefore, equal to progress. But evolution is a neutral concept and does not imply any standard of valuation.

3.10 THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

Change and evolution are not evaluative concepts because they merely denote the process of becoming different. These two terms are, however, significant in defining progress. The implication of progress is that what emerges through change is for the better. Change refers to "what is" while progress refers to "what ought to be". When we speak of progress, we imply direction towards some final goal—a destination determined ideally, not simply by the objective consideration of the forces at work. What defines this goal is the subjective valuation of the spectator, not the inevitability of causation. Progress = Structural functional differentiation + continuity + quality + direction to desired goal.

It is possible that the evolutionary process moves in accord with our conception of desirable change but if this happens it is only a coincidence because we know that evolution takes place on account of the inevitability of causation and that it has no fixed goal or destination.

Progress, when the term is used without a qualifying adjective (for example, economic) become an ethical concept. Because what is progress to one society can be regress to another society, since what constitutes progress depends upon what one values. In brief, the standards of progress reflects the systems of values which societies possess. Though the idea of progress pertains to subjective valuation on account of which it is difficult to measure it objectively, the concept nonetheless is very important to the study of social change—particularly planned change. When it is said that sociology should be value-free, what is actually expected is that social scientists should not let human valuations of any kind interfere with the impartiality and neutrality of the scientific method. But we know that human valuations are themselves a part of the subject matter of sociology. This being the case the demand of science is simply that we avoid bias in our treatment of them.

In considering social change we tend to continually relate "what is" to "what ought to be". In other words, we cannot consider social change without confronting the concept of social progress. Every society sets goals for itself. These goals may be related to the satisfaction of their needs or the improving of their conditions. The achievements of these goals represents progress for them. So the criterion of progress becomes the satisfaction of human needs and goals. Again, of the many human needs, societies differ with regard to the importance given to each. A particular society might place emphasis on material prosperity whereas another might emphasize spiritual standards. These desired changes can hardly be achieved if left to gradual undirected change. The achievement of such desired goals calls for social planning and consciously directed social change. 29

There were early sociologists like Lester Ward who advocated planned change through intelligent interference with the course of social change. The concept of social selection as against natural selection becomes relevant here. Natural selection, as we know, demands simply adaptation to a given environment. Social selection on the other hand creates its standards in accordance with the felt needs of the society. Natural selection limits the directions along which humanity may travel where as social selection decides the direction because it reflects human purposes. The principle of social selection thus proves the way to the concept of planned change. Planned change stands for rational, conscious and deliberate attempt to bring about change.

Planned change is of great relevance to the Third World countries to-day. These are new nations which have been left behind in the development race and which are now hoping to catch up with the developed countries through planned change.

India for one, is committed to planned change. This commitment implies that instead of allowing the normal processes of change and evolution to take place, desired goals are set and a planned and deliberate effort is made to take the nation towards these goals.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between progress and evolution?

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3.11 SUMMARY

Auguste comte divided the subject of sociology into two major parts: social statics and social dynamics. Social change denotes the variations in social life through time. The dimensions of change are magnitude and time. The sources of change can be classified as endogenous or exogenous. Some of the factors of change are geographical factors, biological factors, technological factors and cultural factors. The four main theories of social change are-Evolutionary theories, Equilibrium theories, conflict theories and Rise and fall theories or cyclical theories.

3.12 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Wilbert E. More	:	Social Change
Appelbaum R.P'	:	Theories of Social Change
Dube S.C	:	Explanation and Management of Change
Harry. M. Johanson	:	Sociology: A systematic Introduction.

3.13 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines
1. Define social change and bring out its significance
 2. Explain any two theories of social change?
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines
1. Discuss about any two the factors of social change
 2. Discuss the concept of evolution.

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UNIT-4: FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

CONTENTS

- 4.0 Aims and Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Biological Factors of Social Change
 - 4.2.1 Growth of Population and Change in its Composition
 - 4.2.2 Population and Social Change
- 4.3 Cultural Factors of Social Change
 - 4.3.1 The Problem of Cultural lag
 - 4.3.2 Beliefs and Values and Social Change
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 Suggested Books
- 4.5 Model Examination Questions.

4.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to examine the factors of social change specifically biological and cultural which initiate or stimulate change in the social structure.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- explain the biological factors of social change.
- explain the cultural factors of social change.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about the meaning of social change, dimensions of social change, direction and rate of change, sources of change, factors of change and theories of change. We have also studied about evolution and progress. In this unit we will study about the factors of social change.

4.2 BIOLOGICAL FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

You have learnt in the previous unit the meaning of social change. In this unit we shall focus our attention on the biological and cultural factors of social change.

Social change is not the result of one factor but result of interaction among a number of factors. Some theorists have held the view that biological factors determine the nature of social change while we do not subscribe to any deterministic theory, we certainly believe that the biological factors influence the process of social change.

The biological factors are the size of population, the composition, selection and hereditary characteristics of successive generations. These factors may also be affected by the social attitudes, interests and values that control sex relations, marriage, racial intermixture, the size of the family and so on. Various kinds of social behavior induces biological change.

4.2.1 GROWTH OF POPULATION AND CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION

The population of any community is always changing in size and composition. A significant increase or decrease in the growth of population may disrupt social life. These population changes have occurred throughout human history due to migration, invasion, war, epidemics, famine and changing of value system. Some of the socially sanctioned customs and taboos on re-marriage, the time at which marriage is to be performed, persecution of minorities etc., tend to bring about change in the biological quality of the population. It tends to reduce the biological quality or tend to raise it. On the whole migration, (movement of people from place to place) population growth and age composition determine changes in the patterns of social life.

The world population has increased within the last 30 to 35 years. The demographers assume that at the rate of 35 millions per year, the world population may be more than six billion by 2030 A.D. This tremendous increase in the population is posing number of threats to the survival of human civilization including the threat of the possible misuse of nuclear power.

Long ago, Malthus offered two classes of checks which diminish the growth of population. He spoke of hunger and disease as positive checks, late marriage and abstinence as preventive checks. In fact population and technology were growing hand in hand. It is estimated that the world population grew to enormous size when man discovered agriculture. Population also increased due to the adoption of urban life and expansion of international trade.

The most important reason for population explosion is the significant technological changes. Spectacular advances took place in the control of disease. The death rate decreased from 40 per 1000 to 10 per 1000. Simultaneously the expectation of life or the longevity has doubled itself from about 35 years in 1850 to 70 years, now, in the U.S.A and in other advanced countries. Thus both the positive checks of hunger and disease do not operate today. Of course owing to the terrible catastrophe caused by famine in Bengal in 1944, there was a heavy mortality in India. a marked decline in the mortality is a significant feature in the context of current population growth. Even elimination of some fatal diseases has contributed immensely to the growth of population. For instance, in the past, malaria was a deadly disease responsible for the death of millions of people in India and in other countries. But, at present, it is eradicated by destroying the malarial mosquitoes with the use of pesticides.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the population growth passes through a series of the following stages.

- (1) High birth rate and high death rate leading to small or no increase in population. This feature was experienced during the middle of the nineteenth century throughout the world.

- (2) High birth rate with low death rate resulting in population increase. This was the characteristic feature of the nineteenth century in Europe and at present this situation prevails in the Asian countries.
- (3) Low birth rate and low death rate is marked current feature of the Western Europe and the United States leading of population stabilization.

Human life like all other species depends on the basic supplies of life. An increase in food supply may add to the increase in birth leading to an increase in the number of consumers or to a decline in the birth rate leading to a rise in the standard of living. It is due to the vast technological changes in the world that we are able to witness both these phenomena in different parts of the world.

As far as the developing countries of the world are concerned, they have witnessed a decrease in the death rate, but not a decrease in the birth rate and this led to population explosion. When there is a rise in the expected level of living, a large number of children become an economic liability instead of being an economic asset. In traditional agricultural societies, however, large proportion of children and even a large number of wives are considered an economic asset.

In order to check the rapid growth of population in India birth control movement has been launched. Today it is one of the most impressive and important movements. The problem of birth control involves not only changes in social values and outlook but also in the individual's attitude and behavior. The citizen has to be educated regarding the norm of a limited family and the possibility of human intervention in the biological process. The youth will have to be made aware of the steps necessary to limit the family when they are married. It is even more difficult to change the values of the orthodox people from the middle classes, while in slums and in the rural parts we have to face the problem of ignorance and illiteracy. Hence, it is more difficult to control fertility than to control mortality. The basic problem is the modification of value system and to motivate individual to adopt small family norm.

The low death rate in India and other developing countries has changed the age composition of the population and today large proportion of the population consists of young people. While the birth rate falls, the proportion of the younger people in the population decreases. For example, the population belonging to median age increased from 16 years in 1820 to 26.4 in 1930. During the period 1920 to 1930 it was found that the numbers in the age group of 45 to 65 increased by more than a third in the U.S., that is, percentage of the population above child bearing age has increased. In India 51 percent of the population between the ages of 15 to 54 years, that is, about half of the population is in the child bearing age and two fifth of the population does not contribute to economic production as the population is below 14 years of age.

VARIATIONS

There is a marked variation in birth rates and death rates for different areas, different nationality groups, different religious groups, different occupations and different ways of living. We should understand that geographical changes are not the explanations about these differences, it is the mode of life that is associated with the geographical distribution (MacIver). It is stated that in the United States in 1920 there was a significant variation in fertility rates. The agricultural areas had a high rate of fertility when compared to urban areas. Age at marriage, norms of family size, status of woman etc., influence birth control measures and the size of family. Urbanization also brings

about changes in the fertility rate and mortality rate. The 1911 census of England and Wales revealed that higher child mortality is associated with higher birth rate and lower economic status. It was found that the fertility among the unskilled workers is generally higher than that of the skilled workers. further, a lower rate of fertility was found among the clerical group and the professional group. Another important finding was that among working women there was decrease in fertility rate.

4.2.2 POPULATION CHANGE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

So far, we have seen that size and composition of the population are closely related. It is quite obvious that the improved economic conditions fall in population growth, indicate an interdependence between the two. It is also clear that changes in the birth rate and death rate determine social change. Another important factor that causes social change is the marital status (single, married, divorced and widowed) of a population. These factors effect changes in social attitudes and in social relationships. Population has also important consequences for various other aspects of social life. Population is one of the significant sources of military power. Militarists have always understood the importance of population. Thus, Nepolean in France opened a number of orphanages so that children may grow up and add to military strength and power, So also Mussoline in Italy and Hitler in Germany encouraged population growth to strengthen military power. On the other hand, in countries experiencing over-population, the entire life style is affected by a fall in the standard of living, thus inspring a change of attitude. As a result of high birth rate in India, Family Planning Program was launched, and the practice of birth control has increased. The practice of birth control on the other hand gave rise to several problems regarding family relationship and attitudes towards marriage.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are different stages through which population passes ?

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4.3 CULTURAL FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In some societies, cultures are more responsive to change than other. The response to change depends on the level of technology, the knowledge behind technology, beliefs and values, the 35

degree of complexity and the degree of contact it has with the cultures of other societies, etc. All these promote or retard social change. Social change thus becomes a part of what we broadly term as 'cultural change'. In the general sense culture is the learned human behaviour, the patterned ways of thinking, feeling and doing that we ourselves have developed and made part of our environment. Culture adapts us to our physical environment, our biological nature, and our group life. Thus in this sense cultural change includes all changes that occur in any part of the culture like art, science, technology, philosophy as well as the values and norms of social organization.

Changes take place in two aspects of culture, that is, material and non-material. Material things include new inventions such as computer, television sets, automobiles, machinery and tools. Non-material culture includes religion, art, philosophy and ideology and attitudes. Sociologists believe that value and norms are an important source of social change and when we refer to cultural factors of change we refer to these values, norms and beliefs.

4.3.1 THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL LAG

Technology is one of the important sources of social change. Technological determinists assert that technological changes produce changes in all the other spheres of social life. According to William F. Ogburn, the invention of automobiles and emancipation of women brought significant changes in the role of women. Women could participate in several activities when it became easy for them to drive cars. This, in turn, changed their roles and nature of family relationships. Thus changes in technology call for adaptive changes in the non-material culture which is inherently more traditional. These changes in non-material sphere are often too slow in adaptation that a social problem or maladjustment occurs which Ogburn called 'Cultural Lag'. As Ogburn has pointed out social change is the result of a combination of new inventions. Since cultural change influence the social relations of people, it also tends to increase social change at a greater tempo through time.

Often material inventions result in undermining the long-established social patterns and giving rise to new patterns as a result of them. Some times people fail to adapt to new conditions developed as a consequence of new technologies and inventions. Such failures occur in almost every society. Technological innovations are accepted readily from the utility point of view but social norms and values are more traditional and get adjusted much more slowly and gradually to the changed material conditions. Here you may ask the question what lags behind what? As Ogburn has pointed out it is the material part of the culture which is in advance rather than the non-material. Thus values, norms and social inventions tend to lag behind the technological inventions. According to Ogburn the various parts of modern culture are not changing at the same rate. Since there is a correlation and interdependence between several parts a rapid change in one part necessitates change in the correlated parts of culture. For example, industry and education are correlated. Any change in the industry means a change in the technology through a necessary adjustment in the educational system. As already indicated, wherever one part of culture changes first through discovery or invention, changes take place in the parts dependent upon it. This change is frequently delayed, thereby creating a lag which lasts for a considerable number of years. During this period, there may be problems of maladjustment.

4.3.2 BELIEFS AND VALUES AS VEHICLES OF SOCIAL CHANGE.

Norms and patterns of behaviour define what is expected, customary and appropriate in a given situation. Norms are guidelines and justified by what people believe and value. Each culture contains a body of knowledge, lore or science that involves intellectual awareness and technical control of matter, time, space and events. Thus one group unconsciously assumes that certain actions lead them to reach a goal but to another group the same assumption may be meaningless.

Every culture provides answers to the human existence in the universe as well as to the meaning and purpose of life, also to the mysteries, misfortune and death. Answers to these are expressed in legends, myths, doctrines, philosophy, superstitions, folklore and proverbs. They are "beliefs about what is not known". Belief provides relief from anxiety and it is a matter of faith and emotion rather than scientific truth and reality.

On the other hand values are standards or principles which may be social or personal goals chosen, by which ends, means are judged. Values consider what is important, desirable and worth while; they group together modes of behaviour which is socially approved. However, all values are considered equally important. Values are based on socio-cultural background and arranged in a scale depending on the degree of importance. Some core values dominate while others remain subsidiary. The core values define the chief goals of society and give meaning to them. All other values and goals tend to be measured on these basic values and goals directed towards their fulfillment.

Most of the important values in a society are implicit. Such values are argued, defended or attacked, or even abandoned in favour of other values by people such as artists and philosophers. People are disturbed when the basic values are rejected or challenged even though they do not pronounce them distinctly. In order to understand any society we usually study the values that members value most highly. Hence we discover the values of a society or group, say, by knowing whether the members of a society choose to preserve the old buildings because they value tradition or do they dismantle them because they value modernity and progress. Are they for way conquest or work, peace and progress? Do they stress on past, present or future? Do people spend money on land, charity, jewelry, pilgrimage or fun? Do they value education highly? All these clues to the values are known through the folklore, religion, art, and literature of a culture of a society. They are the main sources of information about values.

Max Weber has contributed a very important work in order to understand the phenomenon of social change. He emphasized that ideals, ideas and attitude towards work, savings and life have been very important in bringing about the trend of economic development in Western Europe and America. Max Weber held that the Protestant ethic was responsible for the rise of capitalism in the West. Tineberger also asserted that there is a need for a change in the outlook of the individual as well as a change in the social norms in order to bring about economic development. It is true that since last 20 years the under-developed countries have shown a great desire for economic development, but, mere desire cannot help the nation to progress economically. Economic development can take place only when a large proportion of the population change their attitudes and outlook towards better ways of doing things and more comfortable ways of 37

living. The problem of widow re-marriage and divorce in Indian Society can be removed only through change in cultural values and life patterns of families and communities. In modern societies in which cultural stress is high it gives rise to conflicting cultural patterns thereby breaking down traditional controls over personal behaviour. In some instances not only the fabric of traditional authority over the individual is broken, it is forgotten and even, strongly opposed. Thus new ones are invented and made use of. In other cases people come into conflict with the new ideas and values. Thus we see that value (or cultural) change has an effect on social structure and the web of organized relationship among the individuals and groups.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is Culture lag.

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2. Explain how growth of population brings about change.

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4.4 SUMMARY

Social change is not the result of one factor but result of interaction among a number of factors. The biological factors are the size of population, the composition, selection and hereditary, characteristics of successive generations. Cultures are more responsive to change. The response to change depends on the level to technology, the knowledge behind technology, beliefs and values and the degree of complexity and the degree of contact it has with the cultures of other societies.

4.5 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Wilbert, E. Moore	:	Social Change
Appelbaum, R.P.	:	Theories of Social Change
Harry. M. Johnson	:	Sociology A Systematic Introduction.
Davis .K	:	Human Society
Dube, S.C	:	Explanation and Management of Changes

4.6 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.**
1. What are the biological factors of social change and explain how biological factors determine the nature of social change?
 2. How does the size and composition of the population lead to social change?
 3. "Technology is one of the important sources of social change". Discuss.
- II. Answer the following in about 40 lines each.**
1. Explain culture as a dynamic factor of social change.
 2. How do variation in birth and death rates lead to social change?
 3. Briefly explain beliefs and values as vehicles of social change?

UNIT-5: TECHNOLOGICAL FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

CONTENTS

- 5.0 Aims and Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Meaning of the Term Technology and Levels of Technology
- 5.3 Technological Ages
 - 5.3.1 The Paleolithic Age
 - 5.3.2 The Mesolithic Age
 - 5.3.3 The Neolithic Age
 - 5.3.4 The Bronze Age
 - 5.3.5 The Iron Age
- 5.4 Technology, Economic Systems and Social Structure
 - 5.4.1 Hunting-Gathering Economy
 - 5.4.2 Horticultural Economy
 - 5.4.3 Agricultural and Peasant Economy
 - 5.4.4 Agricultural Technology and Social Change
 - 5.4.5 Industrial Societies Capitalist and Socialist Economies, Machine Technology and Social Change
- 5.5 Impact Of Technology on Social Norms and Values
- 5.6 Impact of Technology on Roles
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Suggested Books
- 5.9 Model Examination Questions

5.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the concept of technology, explain the relationship between technology, economy and social structure and to discuss the impact of technological factors on social change.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the term technology,
- describe the Technological ages,
- explain the relationship between Technology, economic systems and social structure,
- explain the Impact of technology on social norms and values,
- explain the impact of technology on roles.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have discussed about the biological and cultural factors which initiate or stimulate change in the social structure. In this unit we will study about the technological factors and their impact on social change.

5.2 MEANING OF THE TERM TECHNOLOGY AND LEVELS OF TECHNOLOGY

The term technology is used to mean (a) technical means and skills characteristic of a particular civilization, community or period or (b) technical methods used in a particular field of industry. When we discuss the relationship between technological factors and social change, we use the term in the first sense. Technology has three important aspects: (a) the tools; (b) the sources of energy; and (c) the know-how connected with the use of tools and sources of energy. The tools include from hoe and sickel to machines, motors, cranes etc., which are used in modern industry. There are different sources of energy including animate (for example animals and men) and inanimate such as hydraulic, electrical, chemical, mechanical, etc., most of which have been invented in recent times.

Different kinds of tools and sources of energy may be used to produce the same thing in different societies. For example, technologically under developed societies use primitive tools, animate sources of energy and simple know-how in agriculture; technologically developed societies use machines and tractors, i.e., electrical and mechanical energy and complex techniques in agriculture. Such differences may be observed between traditional societies on one hand and modernizing and modern societies on the other with respect to many activities or mode of production of goods and services.

As the advancements take place in the fields of science and technology, new inventions are made, new modes of production, new methods of acquisition and imparting knowledge, new forms of entertainment, etc., will come into practice. The changes in the levels and the degree of technology in any sphere of activity - be it production, education or entertainment will have effect on various aspects of social structure and human personality and as a result lead to social change. However, it is important to note that the technology does not by itself cause a particular pattern of change or the same changes in every society. But the choice of an alternate and new technology in the place of an old technology will alter the roles, the relationships between individuals, their attitudes and values in course of time and has lead to social change. All changes may not be directly caused by technological factors; while some of them may be direct consequences, the other may be indirect consequences. The acceptance of a few innovations may not always bring in considerable social change but the social change could be a cumulative effect of many innovations.

5.3 TECHNOLOGICAL AGES

Our ancestors used several types of tools for food-getting and other purposes. On the basis of the nature and types of these tools, the human history can be divided into several technological ages such as paleolithic, neolithic, mesolithic, bronze, iron followed by urban civilizations. However, it should be kept in mind that this classification is made on the basis of chronological order of the 41

invention of different tools and metals in one or the other parts of the globe but not necessarily sequential occurrence in the same society or country.

5.3.1 THE PALEOLITHIC AGE

Pleistocene period preceded all the technological ages stated above. It was a geological epoch that began on the earth about 3 million years ago and lasted until about 11000 years ago. It was followed by the paleolithic age, i.e., 'old stoneage'. This vast period was marked by chipped and flaked stone tools such as spear-thrower, harpoons, used by the hunting people in different continents. Stone blades were used as knives and scrapers. Apart from stone, bone tools were also used for hunting animals such as bison, camel, horse, etc.,

5.3.2 THE MESOLITHIC AGE

The Mesolithic age is also known as the Middle Stone age. It lasted from 11,000 years to 5,000 years B.C. During this age in Europe, due to changes in climate, changes occurred in vegetation and forests began to appear. Increased attention was given to fish and sea food with the invention of hook, line, sinker and seine nets. Dugout canoes were also invented which facilitated fishing. Axes were used for chopping down trees, making dugout canoes, paddles, and also house construction. Increased use of wood was an important aspect of this age. Bow and arrow were used in hunting. Human settlement proliferated along the coasts of northern Europe. Food-collecting economies also emerged.

5.3.3 THE NEOLITHIC AGE

The Neolithic age, which is also known as the new stone age, lasted between 8,000 and 3,500 B.C. The main characteristics of this age include the use of polished stone tools, domestication of animals and plants, emergence of crafts like weaving, pottery and settled village life. Domestication of plants means planting their seeds, roots or shoots by human beings. The principal tool in the early farming was the digging stick. While horticultural societies used techniques of fertilization, agricultural societies used animal-drawn ploughs and dug irrigation canals also. These developments facilitated and necessitated settled village life. Invention of axes and adzes made carpentry possible which helped in house construction, and invention of spinning techniques led to weavery.

5.3.4 THE BRONZE AGE

Bronze age followed the neolithic age and is characterized by the use of bronze tools, specialization of labour and emergence of craftsmen and marked social stratification. This stage lasted from around 3,500 to 1,500 B.C. By this time different occupational groups such as metallurgists, potters, weavers, goldsmiths, peasants, priests, etc. emerged. The technology and tools were not available to all. There were improvements in trade and communication. All these developments saw the gradual emergence of the state and increase in war between states.

5.3.5 THE IRON AGE

Iron age followed the bronze age, i.e., around 1,500 B.C. and continued up to 4th and 3rd centuries
42 of B.C. Discovery of iron and the knowledge of working with iron technology spread to many parts

of the world through migration and trade contacts between peoples. While bronze age was marked by the monopoly of metals by the specialists, merchants and royal families, the iron tools, etc., were used by the common people because of their easy availability. The emergence of coined money made of various metals gave rise to changes in economy, mainly from barter system to coin and goods exchange. Iron tools made agriculture easier and agriculture expanded greatly which led to land ownership and stratification of societies into landed and landless groups.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the important aspects of Technology?

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Write about Mesolithic age.

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5.4 TECHNOLOGY, ECONOMIC SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Having dealt with the technological developments, let us now look into different types of economies and their influence on social structure. Four major types of human societies which

appeared in evolutionary sequence could be broadly categorized into hunting-gathering, horticultural, agricultural and industrial.

5.4.1 HUNTING-GATHERING ECONOMY

This category includes societies which use hunting animals and gathering roots, fruits and shoots as the major ways of procuring food. Such societies, rather groups, use few tools and are generally nomadic. This group includes hunters, fisherman and gatherers. These people exploit their immediate environment to a large extent. The Andaman Islanders, the Chenchus of southern India, the Veddas of Sri Lanka, The African bushman of Kalahari desert, the Australian aborigines, etc., belong to this category. They use weapons and tools made of stone and wood for hunting animals, and use spears, hooks or traps for fishing. When men do the hunting and fishing, women and children collect food and thus there is simple division of labour based on sex and age. Because hunting and gathering activities cannot support large populations, such societies tend to be small in size with around 50 members each. No wonder that such groups have no marked political organization. Absence of surplus food and other commodities means lack of trade activity. When the food resources exhaust in the area in which they live, they migrate to another area and thus they are nomadic and hence they live in makeshift houses. Generally the large groups split into smaller bands when the food is not available in plenty. When there are conflicts within a band, a member can leave one band and join another. Thus the social organization is somewhat flexible with little authoritarianism. The notion of private property was absent. While hunting-gathering activities produced band organization, subsequent developments led to formation of a more complex organizations like tribal and others.

5.4.2 HORTICULTURAL ECONOMY

The method of food production followed by these societies is known as swidden cultivation or slash and burn horticulture. This involves clearing a patch of land, usually not more than an acre, first by slashing or cutting the trees and undergrowth and by burning. The ash helps as a fertilizer to the plants which are planted on the land. Such lands may yield crops only for a few years because of low fertility. Hence the horticulturists have to move from one place to another and when the land becomes fertile they move back to the same land again after a few years. This form of agriculture with some variations is practiced in Africa, South of the Sahara desert, in the South east Asian islands, New Guinea, the tribes of the Dabtas and the Apa Tani in the north east frontier of India among the others.

In spite of periodic movements the horticulturists established permanent residence in a particular location and the idea of territoriality is quite strong. Since such cultivation supports more population than the hunting gathering activities, the horticultural societies usually tend to be larger going upto around 250 members. But some horticultural societies in fertile regions of Africa are much larger. Though there are some striking dissimilarities between the horticultural societies of different regions and continents, certain similarities also could be noticed. While most of the population of these societies are engaged in food-getting, they can support some craftsmen engaged in metal making, tool making, wood carving and tradesmen who normally lead sedentary life. Their kinship and religious organizations are strong and complex, perhaps, necessiated by

their economic pursuits and dependence on nature for rains, etc. The headmen in the societies have considerable authority as several decisions have to be taken on behalf of the society and several disputes to be settled, and chances for warfare, from other regions are more compared to hunting gathering bands.

5.4.3 AGRICULTURAL AND PEASANT ECONOMY

With the increase in population, the need for higher levels of food production became necessary. The invention of the ploughs facilitated cutting through the weed-infested and grassy soil. Using manures and irrigation greatly helped increase agricultural productivity. The peasant family is the chief unit of production under this system. While a peasant maintains a family based on economy of subsistence without hired labour, a farmer is one who hires labour, grows commercial crops and seeks to expand through reinvestment.

Apart from the plough, the invention of the wheel also was crucial for agriculture in that its use in the cart and as a water-lifting device and in spinning was very important besides its use for pot-making. Coupled with these, extensive use of animal energy in agricultural operations such as ploughing, threshing, pulling carts, and drawing water for irrigation helped intensive agriculture. Other source of power were wind and water. Wind mills and water wheels were used for irrigation and grinding grain. Thus new tools and sources of energy are available to the food producer under agriculture than was possible under previous systems.

5.4.4 AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As we have noted earlier, in this unit simple tools such as hoe, sickle, etc., and animate sources of energy such as animals were predominantly used in agriculture in the past. (Even today in many technologically and economically under-developed societies such tools and sources of energy are in wide use). As a result the food production was low even though a large proportion of workers were engaged in agricultural operations. They could produce very little surplus of food grains and could not support large urban population, and consequently there were few cities. Because there was little marketable surplus of food grains and other agricultural products, the cash incomes of the peasants were meagre. So the agriculture was subsistence in nature. This economy necessitated large families and made settled village life possible.

The technological break-through in the inventions of high yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers and lift irrigation made possible by the pumps run on diesel engines and electrical motors, construction of large dams and reservoirs, tractors and other machines to perform various agricultural operations increased agricultural productivity enormously. This has several consequences for human societies. First, substantial numbers of farm labourers were freed from agriculture because of replacement of men by machines and they had to migrate to towns and cities in search of employment in industrial, commercial and service activities which contributed to the growth of population of towns and cities. The contribution of improvements in health technology and public health engineering which minimized the health hazards and led to the growth of large urban agglomerations, however, cannot be ignored. When agriculture was commercialized, it effected the farmer-labour relations making them market relations. Especially in societies such as India the traditional social organization characterized by jajmani relations has

been affected by technological changes and consequent commercialization. For example, in the past a sort of leather bucket was used to lift water from the well and lands were tilled by the plough, and now these are being replaced by the pumps and tractors respectively. As a result the castes which produced leather buckets and ploughs have lost demand for the products and the farmers (jajmans) do not depend on service castes for such tools. Commercialization of agriculture resulted in the replacement of barter economy by cash economy, greater contacts between villages and cities and consequent exposure of the villagers to the urban ways of life and changes in their attitudes.

The surplus cash created demand for consumer goods. Changes in food habits, preference for education, increase in investment in agriculture, trade and industrial activities were seen later because of industrialization.

5.4.5 INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST ECONOMIES, MACHINE TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The 17th and the 18th centuries witnessed the beginning of significant developments in pure and applied sciences and the consequent technological and industrial revolutions. The inventions such as the gun powder, the printing press, the steam engine, the telephone, the automobile, radio, the aeroplane, the movie film, television, etc., have greatly altered the lives of the human beings and the nature of human societies in several ways. The technologies of the industrial societies are different from the other societies not only in terms of the tools such as engines, motors, heavy vehicles, and several giant machines and new sources of energy such as coal, diesel, petrol, electricity, but also in the organization and relations of production.

The technological superiority of England and France in terms of navigational equipment and means of warfare enabled them to colonize many Asian and African countries for centuries together and prosper through exploitation of their colonies. However, in recent times most of the colonies were decolonized. Industrialization has become the major goal for many such countries to achieve socio-economic change. The industrial societies adopt more or less similar technologies but they could be broadly distinguished into two types, namely, capitalistic and socialistic, on the basis of their economic systems and production relations. While the capitalistic societies are characterized by private property, free and individual enterprises, with less governmental control over such enterprises, and sharp differences between the different strata of the society with respect to wealth, prestige and power; the socialistic societies are characterized by the absence of or little private property, government controlled economic enterprises, with less marked differences of wealth, prestige and power. Thus technology and economy together affect the nature of social structures though some similarities may be observed. For example, all industrialized societies are highly urbanized and people follow small family norm and mobility is high.

The pace at which new inventions are made is staggering. A new invention is made almost everyday in some part of the globe. Of course, it does not mean that the new inventions and new technologies are accepted by people, immediately when they are available to them, due to fear, or suspicion or of skeptical attitude about them. For example, the Indian farmer viewed the high-yielding

varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides with suspicion for a long time. The Indian housewife took a great deal of time to accept the gas stove. **Acceptance and use of new tools and technologies by a few people due to some value changes on a small scale may not result in social change. Only changes in values and norms in the larger society and consequent extensive use of new technology will lead to social change.** This would mean, while generally technology causes changes in the values and norms, acceptance of new technology causes changes in the values and norms, acceptance of new technology or innovations may be blocked or facilitated by the existing value and normative system. The importance of the values and norms in social system is already noted in the previous unit.

The hallmark of the modern society is the higher reliance upon and exploitation of the machine. From food production and processing to disease diagnosis, many activities are performed by machines with a minor contribution from the human beings. Thanks to mechanization, hundred of acres are tilled, the seeds are sown, the plants are watered and the crop is harvested by machines under the supervision one or two persons. The machine age has now reached a stage when the computers will store all the information and tells the management of a company how many days a worker was absent, tells the doctor what is wrong with a patient and reminds the housewife how much she should pay to whom, in a matter of minutes.

Let us now examine the impact of some inventions in the contemporary societies. The steam and diesel engines and the airplane reduced the travel time between places, regions and countries and facilitated greater movement of people and contacts with other cultures leading to large scale acculturation and assimilation. This also led to changes in family structure, values and norms in the direction of a small family per household. The printing press and radio are mainly responsible for increase in literacy, education and communication down to the lower classes. Exposure to massmedia increased awareness of the cultures and dissimilar practices, and increased tolerance for them. Introduction of mass transport in India decreased the barriers of interaction and segregation of people on the lines of caste, religion, class and ethnicity.

The shift in the technology of the guild system of production to factory system of production and its effects on social system is the most striking. The guild system of production, under which most of the goods such as tools, furniture, textiles, etc., were produced in the past, was characterized by small number of workers, and face-to-face and informal relations, personalized conditions of work and service, with little or no separation between the places of residence and work. Large-scale manufacturing activity made possible by new technology created modern factory system replacing the guild system, which required large number of workers possessing different kinds of skills. Complex division of labour and specialization which were the bases of modern factories altered the social relations at work radically. The relations between the employer and employees became impersonal, making the industrial workers feel alienated. Repetitious performance of the same job day in and day out with little change in the routine, lack of control over working conditions and timings, lack of decision making authority, dependence on machines for quality and quantity of product, lack of opportunity for self-expression created alienation, frustration and loss of the sense of workmanship among the factory workers.

Large-scale production using modern technology required men of different skills and hence recruited men on the basis of skills rather than on particularistic criteria, thus making way for more open society unlike the traditional, less-technologically developed societies which were less open. Different kinds of occupational categories emerged and opportunities for occupational and social mobility increased with new technologies coming in. With technological development greater proportion of workers were engaged in industrial activities with a sharp reduction in the number of people dependent on agriculture.

Modern factory work created class or atleast trade consciousness which has resulted in the emergence of trade unions. Factory system resulted in the emergence of new classes such as entrepreneurs, professionals, managers and white collar categories of workers. Thus machine technology and industrialization through factory system of production brought about significant social change. Improvements in health technology and public health engineering resulted in increase in the health standards, life expectancy rates, decrease in mortality rates and made the city life less health-hazardous. Invention of various techniques of birth control had not only helped control birth rates, but also led to changes in sex mores, perhaps to greater incidence of pre-marital sex, lessened the control of religion on individuals and contributed to emancipation of women.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the changes brought about by technology in agricultural society?

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5.5 IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON SOCIAL NORMS AND VALUES

In the foregoing discussion we have implicitly indicated the impact of technology on social norms, values and roles. Let us make them more explicit. We have noted earlier that the large-scale production using modern machine technology resulted in the replacement of personal or semi-personal relations at work by market relations. Under these conditions the meaning and philosophy of work has undergone changes. People work not for any intrinsic satisfaction but for money and making a living. This utilitarian and monetary outlook replaced expressive orientation. Acquisitive needs, prompted by the availability of consumer goods, became paramount. Success has become a major value orientation. The opportunities for job advancement made the modern man mobi-centric.

The traditions, beliefs and sanctity of customs lost their strength in the technological societies in which machines and electric gadgets dominate and scientific temper and reasoning become part of the human personality. Introduction of rail and bus transport was more effective in weakening the practice of untouchability in India than the legislation banning it. Similarly radio, television, movies, etc., standardized the tastes of people, exposed the people to cultures and practices other than their own and led to greater assimilation. Many scientific discoveries and inventions in medical technology led to the rejection of traditional beliefs, religious practices, etc.,

5.6 THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON ROLES

Let us now briefly examine the impact of technology on the roles. With the invention of radio and television and their wide usage for teaching purposes, teaching is performed without direct and face-to-face contact between the teacher and the student. As explained earlier, the role of the worker under factory system using latest technology has become monotonous, repetitious, isolated and impersonal. While the traditional roles underwent changes hundreds or even thousands of new roles came into existence due to technological changes. For example, the pilot, air hostess, computer programmer, cameraman, etc. The Counsellor and the Academic Guide in your study center are also examples in this regard.

The role of woman underwent considerable change due to technological factors. Use of gadgets such as gas stove, pressure cooker, washing machine, etc. reduced the time spent on household work. Use of family planning devices such as pill enabled her to be more free from child-bearing and rearing responsibilities. Free time thus gained, and the employment opportunities thrown open to her by the industrial and other activities, brought her out of the house to work and significantly altered her role and role relations. However, the developments in agricultural technology and marine technology adversely affected the economic roles of women through reducing their participation in household economic activities. For example, the fisher woman is losing her importance in fishing market.

In the past, when the technological development was low, most or all members of the household including the children were engaged in production and this necessitated higher rates of fertility and large families. Technological advancements resulted in withdrawal of children from production work and most children now go to school until they attain adulthood. This forces people to adapt small family norm and emphasize upon better education, health, etc.

5.7 SUMMARY

Technology has three important aspects a) the tools, (b) the sources of energy and (c) the know how connected with the use of tools and sources of energy. On the basis of the nature and types of these tools, the human history can be divided into several technological ages such as paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze and iron. Four major types of human societies which appeared in evolutionary sequence could be broadly categorized into hunting, gathering, Horticultural, Agricultural and Industrial.

5.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hertzler, J.O	:	Society in Action
Loomis and Beegle	:	Rural Sociology
Bierstedt, R.	:	Social Order
Bottomore T.B	:	Sociology: A Guide to Problems and literature.
OGburn and Nimkoff	:	Introductory Sociology.

5.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each:

1. How does technological change affect norms and values?
2. Discuss the impact of changing technology on the role of the women in contemporary societies.
3. 'The most revolutionary discovery after the fire was the wheel' examine.
4. Assess the contribution of health technology to social change.
5. Identify the change caused by the introduction of the computer.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each:

1. Bring out the features of food-gathering and hunting bands.
2. Compare and contrast between horticultural and agricultural societies.
3. How does the factory system of production differ from the guild system of production.
4. Explain the impact of the improvement in agricultural technology on society.
5. Examine the relationship between technological changes and city growth.

BLOCK - 3 HINDU SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

BRAOU

BRAOU

UNIT-6: NORMATIVE AND SCRIPTURAL BASIS OF HINDU RELIGION

CONTENTS

- 6.0 Aims and Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Scriptural Basis
- 6.3 Shrutis and Smritis
- 6.4 Vedas
- 6.5 Upanishads
- 6.6 Normative Basis
- 6.7 Varnas
- 6.8 Purusharthas
- 6.9 The Ashrama Scheme
 - 6.9.1 Bramacharya Ashram
 - 6.9.2 Grihastha Ashram
 - 6.9.3 Vanaprastha Ashram
 - 6.9.4 Sanyasa Ashram
- 6.10 Summary
- 6.11 Suggested Books
- 6.12 Model Examination Questions.

6.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to discuss the concepts of normative and scriptural basis of Hindu religion in order to understand their importance in regulating the social behaviour of the individuals and also to know the different scriptures of Hinduism.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- discuss the Normative basis and scriptural basis of Hindu Religion,
- discuss the Ashrama Scheme of Hindu Religion.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about social change and factors of social change. In this unit we will study about the normative and scriptural basis of Hindu Religion.

6.2 SCRIPTURAL BASIS

Majority of the population professing to be Hindus live in India. They have an exclusive social organization which is unique in several respects. The word "Hindu" is said to be a derivative of the term "Sindhu"- the name of the mighty river flowing in the western region of India, most of

which is now in Punjab. Gradually the terms "Sindhu" came to be known as Hindu. Later day visitors of India called Sindhu river as Indus and the land became India. Gradually all Indians came to be known as Hindus.

Hinduism can be called as an aggregate of faiths rather than a religion. N.K. Bose stated that "One of the aspirations of Indian civilization in the past has been to build up a federation of human faiths". The reason for this is that there is no founder of this religion unlike Christianity, Buddhism or Islam. It has evolved out of combination of a number of faiths over a very long period of time. That is the reason why one finds diverse means of worshipping God, different philosophies and various ideas and faiths about the nature and form of God. Different groups living in different regions of India believe in different forms of God and worship in various ways. The faiths vary from form-less absolute of Advaita to tribal religions which allow offering animal sacrifices to appease God. This religion is thus very complex, sociophilosophical practices forming the basis of the behaviour of its population.

Hindu social norms cannot be easily distinguished from the religious mores. The whole life pattern of a Hindu is decided by the religious norms. The norms are derived from the belief that the right actions would give a better life after death, while the wrong ones would make his next life one full of sufferings. Concepts of Papa (sin) and Punya (Virtue) are associated with every one of his actions. This belief is supported and strengthened by the writers of various scriptures which were written during different periods of history.

6.3 SHRUTIS AND SMRITIS

The basic scriptures of Hinduism are of two types: Shrutis and Smritis. Shrutis are those which were heard and not authored by any human being. It is believed that the Vedas were heard or received by the seers in the course of their meditation. They passed them on to their disciples orally. It is believed that subsequently the Vedas were categorized based on the nature of the contents into four types Rig Yajur Veda, Sama Veda and Adharva Veda by vyasa.

Smritis are those which have authors. Epics, Brahmasutras, Upanishads, (Commentaries on Philosophical exposition and discussions based on Vedic knowledge) Puranas, Bhagavadgita and Samhitas (the books which prescribe rules for social behaviour) are called as Smritis. They are also popularly termed as Shastras.

6.4 VEDIC PERIOD

Among the Vedas, Rigveda comprises several thousand "Ricks" or verses which are in praise of different forms of God. God is extolled with different names based on the nature of His help. He is called Varuna, Rudra, Indra, etc. Different gods are said to be incharge of different natural events. The Yajurveda comprises the verses which prescribe the procedure of performing 54 sacrifices and the norms that are to be observed while performing the sacrifices. Different

sacrifices are earmarked to appease different gods. As we pass on to the Atharva Veda, we find the concept of one God taking a concrete shape. He is said to be in the form of Prajapathi who rules over thirty three gods. He is supposed to give prowess to Indra. All beings come out of Him and he pervades things, animate as well as inanimate. Brahmanas which are part of Vedic literature, ask the humans to worship that supreme Prajapati.

The complexity of the prescribed rituals and the insistence on the proper conducting of even minute details led a group to specialize in learning the ways of officiating and performing a sacrifice. A section of community which could afford to interest itself in mastering all the intricacies and details of making the sacrifice fruitful to the sacrificer separated itself as a special class. Thus emerged the priestly class in Hindu society.

The Brahmanas show that the relationship between man and God is formal and a mechanical form of worship could please the latter. Those who were disgusted with this formalism seem to have gone away into forests and the result was the emergence of Aranyakas (Musings in Forests). These Aranyakas seem to have been the intuitive experiences of sages who wanted to share them with others. In their works the meaning of sacrifices and their functions are reinterpreted. They also indicate that the Ultimate cannot be reached by mere sacrifices. He could be achieved through inward vision. Thus one finds a transition from the religion of sacrifice to the philosophy of Jnana, which sought to direct man's mind inwards. This view gets further concretized in Upanishads with this new doctrine of emancipation through Jnana dominating Hindu thought.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between Smritis and Shrutis?

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6.5 VEDIC PERIOD

In the Upanishads the theory of Karma has been explained in the dialogues between Yajnavalkya and Arta Bhaga. By holy works a person becomes holy and by sinful works, sinful. The soul is here said to create a new body for himself before he parts with the old one. If a person performs good and holy works new body would be better and beautiful, otherwise, ugly. The soul is here said to create a new body for himself before he parts with the old one. The shape of the form to come 55

thus depends upon the nature of actions. A man can get rid of the cycle of birth and death when all the desires are got rid of and Karma, a link between death and rebirth is required to be performed.

Bhagavadgita extols the importance of renunciation from desires. Acquisition of right knowledge of self allows a person to eradicate desires. The Gita insists on the dispensing of the desires through sublimation rather than eradication. Bhagavadgita is stated to have been taught by Sri Krishna To Arjuna during Mahabharata war. The Vedic ideals of sacrifice and Jnana and the theory of Karma developed in the Upanishads are here coordinated and a new meaning and significance consistent with the philosophy of Karma, (which is the central theme of Gita) is given. The Bhakti marga (path) is also given importance.

In the Bhagavadgita no path is explicitly stated to be superior to the other but on close observation one can find an implicit leaning towards the superior nature of jnana path to attain liberation. A Jnani is one who looks upon all equally. To him, a man or an animal, a male or a female, a Brahmin or an untouchable makes no difference. With this outlook of equanimity towards all irrespective, of any consideration, he must be positively interested in the welfare of all beings. The Jnani would empathise with all situations and guide others by reacting to their problems as if they were his own. The Yogi takes up Karma as a social obligation with an appreciable motive of guiding people in the right direction. In Gita, Karma is recognized as an important vehicle which takes one near Jnana. The Gitacharya says that Karma can unfold the inner spirituality and thereby contribute to the supreme goal of emancipation. Karma allows one to get a reward both materially and spiritually. However a person should cultivate spirituality as against material gains. The person who whole heartedly dedicates everything to God is emancipated irrespective of one's Karma. The Gitacharya says: "Those who dedicate all their actions to me and hold me as their higher goal, those whose minds are directed to me, those whose mind and intellect are concentrated in me are my devotees and hence dear to me". It is the feeling rather than material offerings which are taken into account to bestow grace.

The Gitacharya seems to have recognized the effects of stratification and its concomitant ramifications. This is tackled by him by promising redemption through devotion. It appears that by that time the caste system took a very rigid turn and the women were prohibited Vedic reading. Hence the Gitacharya emphasizes the path of devotion or Bhakti. In so doing He shows the greatness of the Bhakti cult which is open to all, irrespective of sex or status, and can be utilized to one's advantage with great ease. But the author of Gita equally emphasizes the need for ethical behaviour despite promising redemption to every one. He states "He who performs acts relating to me, who regards me as the highest goal, who is my devotee, who is unattached, who has no enmity towards any being comes to me". The devotee is one who restrains his senses, who has no discriminating attitude towards anybody, who is intent on the good of all, who hates no being, who is contented, who is friendly to all, compassionate and forgiving and from whom people expect no affliction. The devotee does not experience joy or aversion, grief or hilarity. To him happiness or misery, the auspicious or the inauspicious, joy or anger, fear or agitation, are all alike. The Gita never states that a man can attain liberation without performing actions, as none can remain idle even for a single moment. Sociologically speaking this is a very important statement in that it

dispels much wrong thinking prevalent among the western social scientists about the concept of Karma.

According to the Gita every person is characterized by the presence of three-gunas Sattva, Rajas and Tamas (harmonious, aggressive and lazy). If a person is able to get rid of the latter two gunas, he will be able to become a Jnani. He should strive to be prideless or nirahankara so that he can get rid of all these three gunas in due course. Attachment or raga is the product of rajoguna while hatred and prejudice are caused by Tamoguna. Thus when he can become a sattvic or a passionless one, he is said to become daivic or divine. All this would enable him to become samadarsi, a person with equanimity and equipoise.

6.6 NORMATIVE BASIS

As sociologists we should try to understand the unity underlying the apparent diversity into Hinduism by seeking continuity of the present with the past and its projection to the future. The normative pattern of the Hindu society can be understood by going through various Samhitas. They are the social codes given to the people in different periods. It is appropriate to make one point clear at the very outset. The Hindu society was never a static society and the normative pattern went on changing from period to period. This can also be understood by the differences one finds in the samhitas authored by different sages and seers in different periods of our long history.

Hindus are divided into four varnas. The Gita mentions that the Lord has created four varnas- Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. This is explained using organic analogy and accordingly it is said that these four castes took their birth from the different parts of the creator. The Purusha sukta mentions that the Purusha, the universal man, consists of the Brahmins as his head, the Rajanya as his arms, the Vaisya as his thighs and the Sudra as his feet. The Hindu is supposed to pass through four stages during his life time- Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vana Prastha and Sanyasa. The four ideals of a Hindu are Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. In Hindu sacred books man is considered as a social being with reference to four broad factors that influence his life and its conduct. They are (a) Desa (place or region) (b) Kala (time); (c) Srama (effort); and (d) Guna (quality or natural trait). This normative pattern pervades the society. Bhisma says in Mahabharata that Dharma or the normative pattern varies from time to time, place to place, between persons belonging to different statuses and qualities. The Sutrakaras speak how dharma of a period or a place becomes adharma of another period or place and vice-versa. This indicates the nature of understanding on the part of the sages as to the importance of cultural relativism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the factors which influence the life of a Hindu.

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refers to the acquisitive instinct in man and signifies his acquisition, enjoyment of wealth that it cannotes. The Hindu sages have not overlooked the bodily impulses too. They give them due share in the scheme of ideals prescribed for a Hindu, Kama is thus given a place. Kama means desire. The desires pertaining to this world including passions, love and such things are not negated to a Hindu. In other words, kama refers to the instinctive and emotional life of man, and provides for the satisfaction of his sex drives and aesthetic urges. Artha and Kama together represent his temporal interests-the worldly pursuits.

The ultimate end of life is said to be Moksha. It is the realization of one's own atman or inner spirituality. The Hindu sages were conscious of the fact that the human nature has varied facets the instinctive and the intellectual, the economic and the spiritual, the emotional and the aesthetic. These apparently contradictory and inconsistent interests need expression for a man to be truly human. The Hindu law givers do not decry the aesthetic, economic and instinctive urges. They accept them as conducive to the proper development of personality. They appear to think that the struggle of life consisted of a harmonious blending of different facts and a melodious symphony of diverse tunes. Spiritual progress can be achieved by assigning proper values to the worldly vis-a-vis the other worldly.

Marriage among Hindus has three aims and the satisfaction of sexual impulses or rati has been considered as one of the aims. But the other two, viz., dharma or righteousness and Praja or getting progeny are given more importance compared to that of Rati. They think that proper doses of each of them would lead to a stable and harmonious life. It is also important to state that the sages did not want any repression of emotions but preferred to get them expressed.

By recognizing artha and kama as described above Hindu law givers indicate that the inner spirituality of man could unfold itself only when he is not economically starved or emotionally strained. But they do not hesitate to make it clear that these are not the ultimate ends of life. Dharma is knowing that artha and Kama are means and not ends. Dharma provides direction to the acquisitive and emotional drives in man and makes the enjoyment of life consistent with man's spiritual progress. Thus the theory of purusharthas comprehends life as a whole ultimately leading human being towards sublimation and spiritualization.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are ideals or principles which guide a Hindu through out his live?

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6.9 THE ASHRAMA SCHEME

The last but very important aspect of the normative basis for Hinduism comes out of the Ashrama scheme. There are four ashramas, namely, Brahmacharya (student stage), Grihastha (householder), Vaanaprastha (hermit) and Sanyasa (renoucer). According to Altekar the Ashrama system came into existence among Hindus around 100 B.C. It is stated by Prabhu that the four purusharthas form the psycho-normal basis for the Ashrama scheme. The word Ashrama is original derived from the Sanskrit root srama "to exert one-self". In other words it means a place where one exerts himself and stops for the purpose of acting towards further exertion. The ashramas are to be thought as resting places during a person's journey on the way to final liberation, that being the ultimate goal. According to Bhishma, these four ashramas form a ladder of four steps towards Brahman. Each of the ashramas is a stage in the individual's life for getting trained for a certain period so as to get himself qualified for the next stage. Among the four ashramas, the latter two, namely, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa, have been grouped together by some scriptures such as Chandogya Upanished. When we look at the ashrama scheme presented in Manu samhita, we can say that only three of the stages among the four ashramas could be called as ashramas proper. The Sanyasa state may to be regarded as an ashrama proper. Svetasvara upanished calls a person a sanyasi when he is above all the ashramas; he is no longer a "social personality". He is without family bonds. He is a homeless wanderer, who involves in begging and preaching. He should possess equanimity (sama) through renunciation (nyasa). A person who dies as sanyasi receives not the normal antyeshti rites but samadhi. Passing from ashrama to ashrama, and after offering the sacrifices with senses under control, one reaches the stage of a wandering medicant. Manu says that a person would thus be eligible for Moksha.

6.9.1 BRAHMACHARYA

An individual enters the first stage of life after undergoing upanayana, an initiation rite. He would thus become a dwija, a person reborn. Thus a purposeless and unregulated life is changed into a life with a purpose. In this process varna system is seen inter-connected with Ashrama scheme. Man is considered to be a Sudra when born. He becomes a dwija after upanayana. This initiation rite is fixed only to the three higher varnas and not for the sudras. The age at which one should undergo upanayana Varies among three varnas. A Brahmin should undergo upanayana at the age of eight, a Kshatriya at the age of ten, and Vaishya at the age of twelve. It is allowed to perform the rite before the age of twelve for Brahmin, fourteen for Kshatriya and sixteen for Vaishya, in case of unforeseen eventualities. Those who are not initiated are not eligible to learn and chant Gayatri. A Sudra does not need the initiation rite as he is supposed to serve the three higher varnas and is not allowed to learn and recite Vedas. Upanayana rite is not prescribed for a woman.

The initiation rite of upananayana allows a boy to start his studies. He enters the house of a teacher. But the teacher does not start teaching the Vedas immediately. He becomes an apprentice in the house of the teacher. He is asked to look after the cattle, to bring fuel, to arrange for sacrifice and to collect alms for himself and the teacher. He shall be able to please the teacher
60 with his services so as to convince him that the boy is keen to take up studies. Thus, if the teacher

is satisfied, he starts showing the light or vid in the form of Vedas (meaning of veda is that which illumines). Vedas are to be learnt by a person so as to repay the debt to the sages. Everybody who is born is stated to have three debts; one to the sages, one to the gods and the third to the ancestors. The debt to the sages is liquidated by the study of the vedas and reciting them daily. In order to inspire and direct the future generations, Vedic study seems to have been made as an obligation for the Hindus.

The student is subjected to very stringent disciplinary measures during his stay with the teacher. He is not to sit carelessly or at ease in the presence of the teacher. He should get up earlier than the teacher and go to bed after the latter sleeps. Never in his life should the student criticize his teacher. If he does so, he would be born as an ass in his next birth. He should show high respect and reverence to his teacher. The teacher is equal to God (Acharya Devobhava). There is what is called a Vidya-Vamsa, a chain of teachers and their pupils. It is interesting to know that the chain of teachers and pupils not only is thought to be connected to each other with kinship ties, but also through significant social and property rights and obligations. This can be said to be responsible for the preservation of unadulterated literary heritage for several centuries.

The Brahmacharya period lays the foundation for the development of an ideal or harmonious personality of the individual. Severe restrictions are imposed upon the movements of the student during this period. Control of senses and complete celibacy on the part of the student strengthen this norm. It is not without meaning that such restrictions are imposed on the student. It is the age when a man grows rapidly. During this stage, a person is characterized by emotional instability. Sexual organs start functioning. It is a period of storm and stress of impulsiveness of strong self expression. If social environment is not proper, there is every possibility of the boy falling a prey to evil habits and company. The Hindu sages prescribed such discipline so as to enable the student to control his emotions and impulses and for the balanced development of the boy and reach the higher goals in future life.

6.9.2 GRIHASTA ASHRAM

Thus equipped with a balanced mind and a trained body to undertake any vocation for material gains and after learning the proper normative pattern of the society, the individual is sent back to his parents by the teacher to enter the world. The initiation rite which enables a man to enter Grihastha Ashrama is marriage. It is also indicated earlier that the Hindu marriage has three aims-dharma, praja and rati. All these three aims are to be fulfilled during the Grihastha period.

According to Manusamhita, a Grihastha should perform pancha maha yajnas or five great sacrifices in every day life. These five sacrifices are aimed at satisfying Brahman, Pitras (ancestors), gods, bhutas and human beings. These are named Brahma Yajna, Pitru yajna, Daiva Yajna, Bhuta Yajna and Nriyajna. Brahman or the supreme is satisfied by reciting Vedas, Pitras or ancestors are satisfied by offering tarpana (offerings of water and food) or sharaddha. Devas are satisfied by Homa. Bhootas by Bali or sacrifices. Thus the three debts mentioned earlier are made part of the five maha yajnas. The householder should feed the Brahmacharis, Sanyasis and animals. He should give gifts to Brahmanas, fees to students and help them in getting married after studies, should give alms to ascetics, provide medicines to the sick, and give donations to 61

the poor. He should also feed the guests, the newly married girls, infants, sick persons and pregnant women. The house holder's position is considered superior to the other three orders because the latter three are dependent upon the householder for their sustenance. Hence Grihastha order is considered the most exalted order. Though the rules say that the guests are to be fed without looking to their social standing, norms are also set as to who should be fed first and so on. Here again the varna system comes into picture. The Grihastha should feed the Brahmin guest first, then Kshatriya, then Vaisya and lastly Sudra.

A Grihastha leads his life both materially and spiritually as he is supposed to earn money (Artha) and enjoy life (kama). But whatever he earns and spends should be done according to accepted ways (Dharma). Thus all the four Purusharthas are to be observed by a Grihastha. On finding his sons settled and getting children, or observing that there are wrinkles on the face or on finding a grey hair, the householder should retire to the forest, by entrusting the household to his son, to lead a hermit's life. Thus starts Vanaprastha Ashrama.

6.9.3 VANAPRASTHA ASHRMA

During Vanaprastha ashram, a person can be accompanied by his wife as he continues to perform the five mahayajnas in a modest manner. He should live in the forest by constructing a hermitage. He should honour those who visit him. Artha and kama are no more with him. Slowly and steadily, he gets equipped himself to get rid of the bonds with the world. He should encourage his wife to be with his sons. He should satisfy his hunger first by eating uncooked roots and leaves, then by water, and lastly, only by consuming air. All bodily comforts should be dispensed with. The discipline of body is though necessary to sublimate the instinctive life. He should gradually widen his sympathy from the narrow bonds of family and village to humanity at large.

6.9.4 SANYASA ASHRMA

On realizing that this world is not the real thing to hold on, the hermit enters the last stage of this life, Sanyasa. The sanyasi or a renouncer has to lead an arduous life. He should live by begging. All the Dharma Shastras profess a real sanyasi as one who attains perfection. The Gita states that Moksha can be attained by cultivating detachment to worldly things. The Sanyasi has also a social role to play. A sanyasi, according to Kapadia, is useful in guiding and inspiring society through his own example and preaching. While going from village to village (he is not supposed to spend more than a day in any village) he is supposed to solve the worldly and the spiritual problems of the people who approached him. The sanyasi while commanding enormous respect and honour can exercise lot of influence over the mind and life of the people among whom he moves.

6.10 SUMMARY

Thus the Hindu religion has both scriptural and normative basis. The scriptures guide the Hindu to attain liberation or Moksha, while the norms provide practical steps to reach the goal. Today we observe considerable change in the practice of all the above prescribed behaviour patterns. Sanyasa is rarely taken by individuals and though Dharmic behaviour is still venerated in practice

the norm is honoured more in violation than in practice. These norms got diluted because of various internal and external causes of change.

6.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS.

P.N.Prabhu	:	Hindu Social Organisation
A.S.Altekar	:	The Ashrama System (in) Ghurye felicitation Volume
K.M.Kapadia	:	Marriage and Family in India

6.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each:

1. What should be the aim of a Hindu in his life according to Scriptures and how should it be reached?
2. Is there any connection between Ashrama scheme and Purusharthas? Explain.
3. Show how the Varna system has scriptural sanction.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each:

1. What is the essence of Hindu thought?
2. Show how Bhagavadgita blends the action, devotion and knowledge.
3. Examine the nature of foundation laid during the studentship for the development of personality of an individual
4. Grihastha ashram is considered to be highly exalted order "Why".

UNIT-7: VARNA AND JATHI

CONTENTS

- 7.0 Aims and Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Concept of Varna
- 7.3 Concept of Jathi
- 7.4 Limitations of Varna Model (in understanding Indian Society)
- 7.5 Advantages of Varna Scheme (in understanding Indian Society)
- 7.6 Concept of Caste and Caste system
- 7.7 Jathis and its Characteristics
 - 7.7.1 Eudogmay
 - 7.7.2 Association with Traditional Occupations
 - 7.7.3 Commercial Relations
 - 7.7.4 Hierarchy of Jathis
 - 7.7.5 Common Culture
- 7.8 Caste System and Reform Movement
- 7.9 Casteism
- 7.10 Summary
- 7.11 Suggested Books
- 7.12 Model Examination Questions

7.0 Varna and Jathi

The main aim of this unit is to discuss about the meaning of the concept of varna and jathi and their characteristics.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the concept of varna,
- explain the concept of caste,
- explain the concept of jathi,
- explain the advantages and limitation of varna system,
- discuss the characteristics of Jathi.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about the normative and scriptural basis of Hindu religion. In this unit we will study about the concepts varna and jathi and their characteristics.

7.2 CONCEPT OF VARNA

According to Purusha Sukta, Hindu society is divided into four hierarchical orders, namely, 64 Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. These four varnas are said to have originated from

different parts of the body of the primeval man. The Brahmins came from his mouth, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Shudras from his feet. The part from which they had their birth is said to have a symbolic meaning and be connected to their occupational pursuits. The mouth represents the speech and the Brahmins became priests, scholars and teachers, the arms represent protection and the Kshatriyas became rulers and Warriors; the thighs symbolize support and the vaishyas became merchants and traders; the feet meant service and hence the Shudras became peasant, labourers and servants.

The men belonging to the first three varnas are entitled to don the sacred thread at Upanayana, to study Vedas and to the performance of Vedic rituals on certain occasions. These are called dwija or twice-born. The untouchable castes have no place in Varna scheme of Vedas. But they are often referred to as the Panchamas i.e., constituting the fifth varna.

7.3 THE CONCEPT OF JATHI

The groups within each varna and caste as mentioned above are not only endogamous groups, each of them may usually either follow a different occupation or same set of cultural practices and they are referred to as Jathis. Thus Jathi is the unit of social and ritual life. The word Jathi has its origin in Sanskrit and has equivalent term in many Indian languages. Hence the wide usage of the term in the recent literature on the caste in India. The members belonging to the same jathi eat food cooked by each other, share a common culture, worship the same deities and are usually governed by the same traditional panchayat. No village in a region has all the jathis in it. The number of jathis in a village may usually vary between one to thirty as indicated by several village studies. This has several implications for inter-jathi relations and occupational structure of the village, among other things. For Example, if a village doesn't have certain jathis providing certain services the village has to depend on other villages for the same.

Having discussed the concepts of varna, caste and Jati let us now consider the limitations and advantages of using varna model to understand the empirical situation in India.

7.4 LIMITATIONS OF VARNA MODEL

As we have noted earlier the untouchable castes which constitute about one-sixths of Hindus and provide several services in traditional rural India, have no place in the varna scheme. Besides being an important part of village socio-economic organization many of them follow Hindusim. The varna model does not take care of these castes.

Secondly, all the four varnas are not represented in all regions of the country. According to several scholars there are no genuine Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in peninsular India and certain local castes claimed Kshatriya and Vaishya status on the basis of their occupations.

Thirdly the Varna scheme gives an impression that the hierarchy of varnas is applicable to the entire country without any regional variations but in reality it is not so. It is opined by some scholars that in the past the Kshatriyas were considered as the highest varna but gradually the Brahmins replaced them at the apex of the hierarchy. Today there is a great deal of ambiguity and dispute over the relative position of the varnas in the hierarchy.

M.N. Srinivas is of the opinion that while there is no dispute over the top position of the Brahmins and the lowest position of the untouchables, the order of the position of the middle varnas and jathis is not quite clear and there are significant variations with regard to these rankings. While the Kshatriyas are superior to Vaishyas according to the varna scheme in a village in Orissa, the Vaishyas claim superior position in relation to the Kshatriyas by virtue of their economic dominance. Further, among the Shudras there are thousands of Jathis following varied occupations, from agriculture, toddy tapping, with different practices relating to food, modes of dress, marriage etc. For example, in Andhra Pradesh the Shudra varna includes many cultivator castes such as Reddi, Kamma, Telaga, Velama, etc. and several service castes like Kummari (pot-maker) Sale (Weaver) Mangali (Barber), Chakali (Washermen) etc. Among these some are economically and politically much more powerful than other jathis and varnas including the 'dwijas', though their ritual rank is lower. The Shudra also includes some Jathis which are quite weak socially and economically. In terms of cultural practices also there are sharp differences between them. The superior rank in terms of ritual ranking is not consistent with politic-economic ranks of several varnas. It is now clear that the ritual, economic and political considerations give rise to a complex picture of social stratification and against this background the varna scheme is quite misleading and oversimplifying the real social situation obtaining in India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between Varna and Jathi?

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7.5 ADVANTAGES OF VARNA SCHEME

Though varna scheme is far from reality it helped the Indian villager to place the unfamiliar men and their Jathis in the general hierarchy and to assess their position vis-a-vis to his own and to

interact accordingly. Secondly, higher varnas are considered as models for conduct and also for achieving mobility through the process of Sanskritization. i.e., imitating the life styles of the upper castes or those as given in the Sanskrit literature.

7.6 CONCEPT OF CASTE AND CASTE SYSTEM

The word 'caste' is derived from the Portuguese word 'Castas'. Caste system may be thought of as consisting of hereditary and endogamous groups following traditional occupations and having a rank of local relevance. The position of a caste in the hierarchy and relations between castes are, to a large extent, governed by the ideas of purity and pollution concerning the occupational pursuits and the food habits. Further, the castes are subdivided into several sub-castes. According to Prof. G.S. Ghurye each linguistic region in India has about 200 castes which are subdivided into about 3000 sub-castes which are actual endogamous units. For example, the Ahir caste in North India alone was found to have 1700 sub-castes. The Brahmins of Tamil Nadu are divided into Smarthas, Sri vaishnavas and others. The smarthas are divided into Vadama, Brihacharnam, Aslahasaram and Vattiman. The Vadamas are subdivided into Vadadesha and Chozhadesha, so on and so forth. In Andhra Pradesh the Brahmins are divided into Vaidikis and Niyogis, the Reddis are divided into Patna Reddis and Gampa Reddis, the Kammas into Pedda Kammas and Chinna Kammas, the Telugas into Ontaries and Kapus, and so on.

7.7 JATHI AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

The important characteristics of jathi are : endogamy, hierarchy, a traditional occupation, commensal relations, common culture, certain amount of political and juridical autonomy, spatial segregation of residence and finally functional interdependence. They are discussed in detail in the following:

7.7.1 ENDOGAMY:

The Jathi is an endogamous unit. By and large marriages take place between the members of the same jathi. The marriage between the persons of two jathis is disapproved by the members of both jathis and sanctions are applied by the elders of the traditional panchayat against those who violate the rules of endogamy. Until recently such marriages did not have legal sanction also. However, in some regions such as Bengal and Kerala hypergamous marriages between the man of a higher caste and the woman of a lower caste was permitted by custom. Hypergamous marriages are permitted usually between Brahmin or Kshatriya men and the women of the immediately next jathi in the hierarchy in many parts of North India but uncommon in South India, with the exception of Kerala. However, nowhere in India hypogamy i.e the marriage between the man of lower jathi and the woman of upper jathi is permitted by custom.

While these are the accepted rules of marriage, in recent times the intermarriages especially between structurally close jathis are on the increase due to a variety of factors such as urbanization, increase in free contacts between boys and girls in colleges, offices, and changes in the value system and weakening of the traditional social units such as caste, religion, etc.,

7.7.2 ASSOCIATION WITH TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Each jathi is associated with a separate occupation. Though agriculture is a common occupation to all jathis, each jathi practices a separate occupation. The Brahmins are priests, the Vaishyas are merchants, the Chakalis (Rajaka) are washermen, the mangalis are barbers, and so on. Some occupations such as washing clothes, leather work, swine-herding, etc., are considered defiling and polluting. The nature of occupations in terms of purity and pollution determine the gradation of occupations and the jathis which practice them. All polluting occupations are improper for upper caste men. Some occupations, such as toddy-tapping, though not strictly polluting, they are strongly associated with low castes. In the past, the occupational pursuits were regarded as their monopoly by the respective castes and taking up of the occupation other than the traditional one was interpreted as encroachment of others rights. The Jajmani Kamin relations continues on this basis. Nowadays under the impact of industrialization and modernization, the association between jathis and traditional occupations is gradually breaking down. Now, instead of jathi the bases of occupation are educational achievement and skill irrespective of caste.

7.7.3 COMMENSAL RELATIONS

Acceptance of food or otherwise from one jathi by the other jathis is another aspect of jathi hierarchy. The men of higher jathis do not accept cooked food from the lower jathis because such acceptance defiles the higher jathi men. Mutual acceptability of food denotes equal position of the jathis. The kind of food, the person cooking it and the medium of cooking (water, butter, etc.) will also determine the acceptability of food. There is a gradation of food items also. While vegetarian goods are considered non-defiling and non-polluting, eggs, mutton, pork and beef are considered defiling in that order. However it is important to note that the Brahmins of all regions in India are not vegetarians. For example the Saraswat Brahmins and the Brahmins of Kashmir and Bengal are non-vegetarians. While restrictions on certain food items to the upper castes are weakening due to westernization, the restrictions on commensal relations are breaking down since the introduction of mass transport and increase in travel.

7.7.4 HIERARCHY OF JATHIS

Every jathi has a place in the local hierarchy. Some of the important factors which are crucial for the relative position of a jathi are : ritual considerations, occupation, wealth, power, food habits and certain cultural practices. Usually the hierarchy is meaningful and enjoys certain degree of consensus only in a limited area and it could be different from the hierarchy of even the adjacent regions. Secondly while there is greater degree of consensus with regard to the higher position of the Brahmin, the Kshatriya and the Vaishyas with regard to the relative position of many Sudra Jathis especially those practicing non-polluting occupations there is ambiguity. Even so, in Karnataka the Lingayats claim equal, if not superior status to the Brahmins and do not accept food cooked by the Brahmin. Such instances are not very common. What is common is a great deal of ambiguity and claims to superior status by the jathis of middle region and regional variations with regard to jathi ranking on the basis of several factors such as wealth, power and cultural practices.

Within the Brahmin Varna there are three jathis which are ranked on the basis of their traditional calling. Those who study vedas and are teachers of sanskrit and vedic works are ranked higher to the priests and the priests are ranked higher to those who follow secular occupation. Among the Kshatriyas the rank is based upon the originator of the clan such as the sun, the Moon, the Fire and the Serpents. Such gradations also exist within the Vaishyas.

Among clean Shudra jathis the rank of a jathi depends not so much upon the ritual criteria (because they follow non-polluting occupations) but depends upon land ownership, wealth, political power and certain cultural practices such as divorce, remarriage, etc. Among the unclean lower and ex-untouchable jathis the ranking depends more on ritual criteria than anything else.

Because of the ambiguity of the relative position of several jathis among the Shudras there has always been an opportunity for mobility of the jathis in the hierarchy. Several jathis have sanskritized their life styles and culture taking the twice-born varnas as models. However, all such attempts did not meet with success as in the case of smiths (Viswa Brahmin). Often the attempts at sanskritizing their culture also resulted in clashes between lower jathis which wanted to improve their position and the upper jathis which were models for imitation.

7.7.5 COMMON CULTURE

While there are some cultural practices which are common to all jathis in a cultural region, each jathi follows some specific cultural practices such as common restrictions regarding food and drink, observe some jathi festivals and is governed by customs relating to marriage, divorce, freedom of common folk, etc.

Betteile shows that each jathi of Brahmin Varna in Tamilnadu can be distinguished from the other groups by the way they are dressed, apply namam, etc. The rules and rituals relating to marriage, divorce and widowhood, remarriage and female work participation vary from jathi to jathi or at least between groups of jathis. For example among lower and ex-untouchable jathis divorce and remarriage are permitted by the custom, and the custom of bride-price is common and the females participate in work and are earners in contrast to the clean Shudra and upper jathis. Among the latter the practice of dowry is common. The sub-culture of each jathi gives it an identity. However in recent times on account of sanskritization and modernization the lower jathi families which have experienced upward social mobility are adopting the culture of upper varnas and thereby giving up the practices of widow marriage and divorce, and women are withdrawn from work.

Apart from the above-mentioned characteristics there are a few more such as jathi councils and residential segregation of jathi groups in villages. In villages of India most of the jathis are organized into jathi panchayat, which in the past, enjoyed considerable amount of juridical authority and autonomy, which was upheld by the overlords. Even today among the lower castes jathi panchayat control the intra-and inter-jathi relations, marriage, divorce etc. In rural India residential segregation between upper, clean shudra, unclean shudra and the scheduled castes is quite marked.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the characteristics of caste system?

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7.8 CASTE SYSTEM AND REFORM MOVEMENT

It should be noted that the caste system in India has not been static and has undergone several changes notwithstanding the fact that it has been rigid. One important process of change is sanskritization which helped many lower jathis achieve positional change in relation to those which did not sanskritize their culture and rituals. Apart from such cultural movements there were protests as well as reform movements both in ancient and modern India. For example the Buddhism and Jainism both of which were offshoots of Hinduism questioned the caste system and tried to establish Kshatriya and Vyasa supremacy over the Brahmins. In recent times while the Dravida movement in Tamil Nadu organized the nonbrahmin jathis against the Brahmins, Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana movement of abavas (toddy-tappers) in Kerala elevated their status through bringing changes in their cultural practices, occupations and achieving higher degree of education. Another interesting feature of the Indian caste system is that several reform movements and religions which challenged the caste system have adapted atleast some of the principles of the same system and became castes themselves. The British rule and the granting of independence to India helped the caste system acquire political functions through the coming together of several structurally close jathis.

7.9 CASTEISM

Casteism is one of the social problems India is facing today. Casteism refers to the hatred for one caste by the other or the attempts of the members of one caste to gain advantages for them to the detriment of the interests of the fellowmen of other castes. It is basically a result of the growing clash between various castes for higher share in the socio-economic privileges and power, but the feeling of deprivation are fanned mainly by a few individuals for their own benefit in the name of the caste as a whole. Casteism interferes with sound governmental policies and real democratic way of life and is the basis for mutual and irrational group conflicts. Changes in the structure and

socio- economic and political transformation along with value changes are the effective ways of eradication of the evil of casteism.

7.10 SUMMARY

Hindu society is divided into four hierarchical orders namely Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and shudra. The position of a caste in the hierarchy and relations between castes are governed by the ideas of purity and pollution. The important characteristics of jathi are endogamy, hierarchy, a traditional occupation, commensal relations, and common culture.

7.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS

M.N.Srinivas	:	Caste in Modern India and other Essays
G.S.Ghurye	:	Class, caste and occupation
David G. Mandelbaum	:	Society in India

7.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.
1. Explain the important limitations of Vernier model to understand Hindu society.
 2. Examine the various aspects of the system of hierarchy of Jathis.
 3. Bring out the important changes which have taken place in the caste system in the contemporary India.
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.
1. Explain the relationship between jathis and occupation.
 2. How does jathi function as an endogamous unit.
 3. Discuss the nature of commensal relationships between jathis.
 4. With respect to what cultural aspects the jathis differ from each other?

UNIT-8: MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP AMONG HINDUS

CONTENTS

- 8.0 Aims and Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Importance of Marriage
- 8.3 Forms of Marriage
- 8.4 Age at Marriage
- 8.5 Reasons for Early Marriage of Girls.
- 8.6 Features of Hindu Family
- 8.7 Mitakshara and Dayabhaga Systems
- 8.8 Legislations Affecting the Hindu Marriage and Family
- 8.9 Kinship Organisation
- 8.10 Summary
- 8.11 Suggested Books
- 8.12 Model Examination Questions

8.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to discuss the importance of marriage, features of family and kinship organisation among Hindus.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the importance of Marriage,
- explain the different forms of Marriage,
- explain the age at Marriage and the reasons for early marriage of girls,
- explain the legislations affecting the Hindu Marriage and family,
- explain the kinship organisation among Hindus.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Marriage, family and kinship among the Hindus are guided by the norms which have their basis in religious scriptures. The Hindu looks at marriage as a very important formality and ritual to start the Grihasthashrama (householder's life). Any discussion about marriage is centered around three important aspects: 1. Procedure of selecting the partners, 2. Age at which marriage is to be performed, and 3. nature and conceptual understanding of marriage by the people involved in it.

8.2 IMPORTANCE OF MARRIAGE

According to Hindu scriptures, marriage is considered a sacrament. The Hindus desire marriage not so much for sex but to perform the duty of the householder to offer panchamaha yajnas daily

in the company of the wife. A man without a wife cannot undertake any sacred rites. As stated in unit 6, among the three aims of marriage, dharma occupies the first place. The aim of marriage is to permit the man to perform righteous duties. The other two aims, Praja or acquiring progeny and rati or satisfying the sexual urge, are subordinated to Dharma. The Dwijas are supposed to lead a dharmic way of life, come what may. On the other hand, marriage among the Sudras is stated to be primarily for pleasure. The Sudra is thus looked at with contempt and a man with no purpose in life except enjoyment of sexual pleasures. Because the Sudra is despised, the Brahminic legislators viewed the marriage of a Dwija with a Sudra with contempt.

The second aim of marriage, procreation is not without meaning. A male child is considered desirable. He is called Putra, one who would save the parents from falling in "put" i.e. hell. It was said that procreation was necessary in the interest of both the family and the community. It is obvious that when the Hindu thinkers regarded dharma as the first and highest aim of marriage and procreation as the second best. The third aim of marriage i.e. rati has lowest place in the order of values. As progeny is needed, it is also necessary to think of sex but, it is highly regulated. We will come back to the question of how the Hindus look at marriage and its objectives, after discussing the method of selecting a mate and the considerations involved while doing so.

Marriage among Hindus is monogamous to a very large extent. It is thought that wife and husband once married should remain so till at least one of them departs from this world. A second wife can be take by a man under certain special circumstances. They include barrenness, incurable disease, etc. A man can leave a wife who indulges in a lultery, is addicted to liquor, and who is diseased and uncompromising.

Hindu society is divided into both exogamous and endogamous divisions. Endogamous divisions are called jatis and numerous exogamous groups are made up one jati. The popular English term caste is equivalent to jati. Hence when a marriage is fixed the choice of the girls is to be limited to a man's jati group. But the girl should not belong to any exogamous group to which the man belongs. The rules with regard to kinship will be discussed a little later.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the aims of Marriage for a Hindu?

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8.3 FORMS OF MARRIAGE

Among the Hindus a bride can be selected in any of the eight forms of mate selection given in the scriptures. They are Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paisacha. According to Manu, among these eight types of marriage forms, Asura and Paisacha are undesirable forms. According to the majority of the Griyah sutras, the first four forms bring merit to the families and their ancestors while the later four bring none. Hence the first four forms namely Brahma, Daiva, Arsha and Prajapatya are cherished forms of Hindu marriage. The Brahma form consists of the gift of a daughter by the father after decking her with ornaments to a man learned in the Vedas and of good character. The bride's father himself invites this boy. The Daiva form involves the gift of the daughter, as above, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice during the course of its performance. In the Arsha form of marriage the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom after receiving a cow and a bull or two pairs of these from the bridegroom in accordance with requirements of dharma, and not with the intention of selling the girl. The groom offers the cow and the bull as a token of gratitude to the father of the girl for enabling him to become a householder. In the Prajapatya form, the father makes a gift of his daughter, by blessing the couple by saying "may both of you perform together your dharma" with due honours to the groom. It is a simple and inexpensive affair. In these four forms the father of the girl is giving his daughter as a gift to the groom.

In the other four forms viz. Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paisacha, the groom has to buy the girl by paying bride price or the acceptance of the girl's father is not obtained. In the Asura form the bridegroom has to give money to the father or kinsmen of the bride as bride price. In other words, he is buying the girl. In the Gandharva form the mutual consent of the girl and the boy is the only precondition for marriage. There is no intervention from either the parents or the kinsmen of the bride or groom in arranging the marriage. The Rakshasa and Paisacha forms are not only despised but also looked down upon by the law givers. The Rakshasa form is abduction of a maiden forcefully without the consent of the girl. During the course of abduction some of the kinsmen who come and seize the girl back, may be killed. In the Paisacha form, a man seduces a girl while she is sleeping or unconscious with intoxication.

According to the Vedas as also dharma-sutras including Vatsayana's Kamasutra, a boy should marry after completing his studies. The girl selected for marriage should be a virgin and should not have been loving some one else. A girl belonging to a family which neglects dharma, which did not study Vedas, one which has no male child, one in which members have thick hair on the body, and have physical disabilities and diseases, should not be married. Manu, Vasista and other Sutrakaras emphasize the need to look at the hereditary features of the girl, who is going to be taken as a wife.

Vatsayana, Narada and Yajnavalkya give the necessary features of a good bridegroom. According to them, a bridegroom should have a majestic figure full of vigour and virility. A Man, according to Vatsayana, when being considered as a bridegroom, should be from rank equal to that of the
74 girl's family and be capable of looking after his wife in comfort.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Arsha form of Marriage?

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Why are Brahma, Daiva, Arsha and Prajapatya forms of marriage are cherished forms of marriage.

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8.4 AGE AT MARRIAGE

At what age should a girl and a boy be married? The question is answered by Hindu Sastrakaras in various ways. According to some Grihya sutras, the girl should be married when she is nagnika (meaning she goes around without clothes) while according to some of the later day commentators, the girl should be below the age of eight. But a ceremony called Chaturthi Karma mentioned in Grihyasutras required the consummation to take place on the fourth day of marriage. It means, that the bride has to be physically mature person eligible for consummation.

Manu Samhita prescribed that a man of thirty years should marry a girl of twelve years and a man of twenty four is eligible to marry a girl of eight years. The Dharma sutras written by Vaikhanasa, describe a girl of eight to twelve years age as a Nagnika and a girl whose age is between ten and twelve, but not yet menstruating as Gauri. According to Vatsayana, the Minimum period of difference between a man and his wife should be three years. All this indicates that the age at marriage for boys was usually twenty five while for the girls there was a discrepancy from period to period. In the Vedic period the marriage was always after a girl attained puberty. The trend

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changed by the medieval period and the girl's age got lowered. Many historical and political factors may be responsible for these changes in values and norms.

8.5 REASONS FOR EARLY MARRIAGE OF GIRLS

A girl getting married at a lower age and that too before her puberty, is strengthened by the argument that females should never be kept independent. According to the Dharma sutras, a woman should be under the domination of somebody-father during her childhood, husband after marriage, till his death, and son, till her death. Parasara, a Grihyasutra writer appears to have been responsible for the widespread acceptance of child marriages. He calls a girl of eight years as Gauri, nine years Rohini, and of ten years as Kanya. He threatens that the father or the eldest brother, in his absence, would go to hell, if they do not see that a girl is married before she attains puberty. Thus Parasara's writings would have influenced the people during the medieval period to go in for child marriages. Another important cause is mentioned for making child marriages popular. The Shakatas (shakti worshippers) during the medieval period, in their tantrik worship encouraged indulgence among men and women. This threat also appears to have influenced the thinking of the people in favour of going in for child marriage.

As stated earlier, marriage among the Hindus, is considered a sacrament (a sacred undertaking), it is undertaken for a sacred purpose to perform dharma. As a part of the marriage rites, the homa fire is kindled and it is the duty of the householder to see that the fire never gets extinguished as long as he leads the life of a householder. The marriage proper, itself, is associated with several rituals. A purohit has to officiate the marriage. Apart from homa the other rites are paanigrahana or taking (accepting) the hand of the bride in the presence of the fire, the Purohit and the invitees gathered to witness the marriage and sapta pad-taking seven steps together, by the bride and the groom, around the sacred fire. All these rites are performed with appropriate vedic hymns. Thus the Hindu marriage is a sacrament.

The Hindu marriage is considered a sacrament due to two more reasons. Firstly, while a Hindu male undergoes several sacraments, marriage is the only sacrament prescribed for a female. Secondly, a Hindu marriage is irrevocable. The parties to the marriage cannot dissolve it at their will. The irrevocability is a lofty ideal because it means that the husband and wife after marriage have to adjust their taste and temper, their ideals and interest, instead of breaking off with each other or differing on this or that score. Both of them have to sacrifice some thing or the other to overcome the incompatibility of the other. Thus the Hindu marriage is not the simple satisfaction of the desires of the senses. It demands personal gratification to be subordinated for the social good and a spirit of compromise and adjustment among the life partners.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Why is Hindu Marriage considered a sacrament?

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8.6 FEATURES OF HINDU FAMILY

According to the scriptures, the Hindus are stated to have a type of family which is popularly known as joint family. Families, according to sociologists, are of two types. A nuclear family comprises of husband and wife with their children, and one or two dependent relatives; the extended family, comprises a man with his wife, children, and grand children, his brothers, their wives and their children, and grand children. It is termed as patrilocal and patrilineal extended family. In this classification, the Hindu joint family can be called as patrilineal and patri-local extended family. In the Hindu joint family, the right to own property and also the decision making power are transferred to the eldest male member of the next generation. This kind of authority is called patriarchy. Hence the Hindu joint family is called a patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal extended family.

The family, as an institution, has certain functions to perform. Most important among them are regulating and disciplining the impulses of individuals. It provides the individuals the satisfaction of what Thomas regards as the four "fundamental desires or wishes" viz. the wishes for new experience, for security, for recognition and for response. These wishes are universal, and represent the fundamental needs underlying all social relationships. The family, as a social unit acts as a medium transmitting the traditions, the sentiments and the modes of behaviour of the society, to its younger members. It provides economic and religious security.

All the members of a family among the Hindus live in one abode. The Hindu law texts prescribed that any member of a joint family who is more than three generations can claim a share in partition. All the members of a joint family share the property of the family in common. One of the Dharmasutra writers, by name Brihaspati, speaks of the Hindu family as an association, the members of which, share a common kitchen. The living members of the family are, so to speak, 77

trusees of the home which belongs to the pitrs, the ancestors, in the interests of the putras, the future members of the family. All the property, enjoyed by the members the family, belongs to the home and not to any particular member or members of the family. Thus the home which is represented by the Hindu joint family consists of a continuity of all the members of the family-past members that are no more, present members that are living, and future members that are going to come into being. The joint family consists of a common kitchen, common property, common God, common meal and common woe.

8.7 MITAKSHARA AND DAYABHAGA SYSTEMS

Colebroake has identified two schools of Hindu law namely the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga schools. The Mitakshara is a commentary on the Yajnavalkya smriti written by Vijyaneswara during eleventh century. A.D. This school is followed practically throughout the whole of India except Bengal. The Dayabhaga is a digest of all the smirits written by Jimutavahana and is considered to be a later writing than the Mitakshara. This school is taken as authoritative in Bengal. According to the Mitakshara school, the son has an ownership right in his ancestral property held by the father, due to his birth. Thus the son becomes a co-owner with the father in the ancestral property and can demand a partition of the same even during the father's life time. On the other hand according to the Dayabhaga, the son cannot demand partition when the after is alive. According to Dayabhaga school, the father is absolute owner of all ancestral and also separate properties, and the son cannot question him. According to the Mitakshara, the son has a right to stop any alienations of ancestral property by the father. Thirdly, a member of a joint family under the mitakshara law cannot alienate his interest in the family property. On the other hand, under the Dayabhaga law the sons are free to alienate their shares on the death of their father. Fourthly, under the Mitakshara law there is a right of survivorship among the members of a joint family, while in the dayabaga law, the share of deceased member would be transferred to his widow. Lastly, under the Mitakshara law, the family property is inherited by the blood relatives, and the nearness among them, is the basis to determine the performance. On the other hand, according to the Dayabhaga law, spiritual benefit is the basis for inheritance and it dictates the order of succession.

According to traditional literature, the control over property lies with the father of the family who is the eldest male member. According to some writers the father can deny property rights to his sons. But according to other writers all male members of a family have equal rights as far as property is concerned. According to Manu, the brothers can divide the property after the death of both their mother and father equally among themselves. They have, however, no right to divide the property as long as both the parents are alive. At some other point, Manu also states that the eldest member alone would inherit the father's property as he is the one who redeems the father from going to hell. According to Vedic tradition, all the sons are eligible for equal shares. The later writers like Gautama are of the view that the first son should inherit the father's property, while the other sons should be treated by him as his own sons. The sons are forbidden from

enforcing partition against the wish of the father. Any son trying to enforce partition should not be allowed to participate in the Shraddha ceremony of the father. Vasishtha and Baudhyana are of the view that the eldest son should be shown a favoured treatment. Baudhayana states that the eldest son should receive the best part of the estate, while Vasishtha feels that the eldest son should receive an extra share in addition to the shares he receives along with other sons. The eldest son being ordained to perform the family Sharaddha, received a special status leading to primogenitor. The eldest son as a patriarch is asked to be considerate to the younger members of the family. Thus the father during his life time, and the eldest son, after his death, enjoy complete control over the property of the family.

When the property was to be partitioned amongst all the sons, they were supposed to conform to the norms which the community thought desirable for an organized life and the stability of social relationships. They would forfeit their rights over the property, if they did not do so. Narda states that the family property. Thus it is evident from these writings as also from the Grihyasutras, that there were joint families alongside the individual families (where a husband and a wife with their children lived in a house) during the ancient period. The joint family seems to be, however, an accepted form of family. In present day India, one community that still has an ideal type of joint family in which the rule of primogenitor is still followed, is that of the Nambudiris of Kerala.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the differences between Dayabhaga and Mitakshara System?

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8.8 LEGISLATIONS AFFECTING THE HINDU MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Indian succession Act 1865, Indian Divorce Act 1869, special Marriage Act 1872, Indian Majority Act 1875 are some of the Acts which were introduced by the British, which affected the Hindu 79

marriage and family. After the viceregal administration started, a few more laws affecting the Hindu family and marriage were enacted. They are the Hindu disposition of property Act 1916 affecting the procedure of gifts; the Hindu Inheritance (removal of Disabilities) Act 1928 removing certain disabilities, unless they are physically disabled; the Child marriage Restraint Act 1929 prescribing 18 years as minimum age for a boy and 15 years for a girl. Several new legislations were brought by the National government which took over the reigns after independence. They affected the marriage, family and succession rules to a great extent. The Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Act of 1946 and the Hindu Marriage Validity Act of 1946 and the Hindu Marriage Validity Act of 1949, stated that the subcaste should not be a bar for any marriage between a man and a woman. Inter-caste marriage were also validated by the 1949 Act.

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, The Hindu Succession Act 1956, the Hindu Minority and Guardianhip and Maintenance Act 1956 and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956 constitute the latest codified part of Hindu law. They have repeated or replaced all the old laws affecting the Hindu social life. All these laws provide uniform rules about Hindus either regarding marriage or family or succession. Monogamy is obligatory for both man and woman. Caste would not come in any way when a boy or girl wants to marry a person of his/her choice. Restrictions for marriage based on Gotra, Pravara and Sapinda were also abolished. Likewise, the Hindu Succession Act 1956 establishes complete equality between male and female heirs. It has brought many changes in the Mitakshara System.

NAMBUDIRI FAMILY

The Nambudiri Brahmin family is termed Illom. It is governed by the Mitakshara law. It differs from the traditional Hindu joint family in the nature of its impartibility of the family property. Among them for all practical purposes, the eldest son inherits and property. Theoretically all members have equal rights over the property. Though the eldest son inherits the property he cannot alienate any portion of the property by way of selling, donation or gift. For doing so, he should take the consent of every member of the family. The members, other than the eldest, are eligible to the right of maintenance. The family property as also the unity in the family, continues, because of the custom which entails the eldest son to marry within the caste. Though there is no bar on the younger ones getting married, generally they do not marry within their caste. The younger ones are permitted to have sexual alliances with Nair girls.

The eldest member of the family is called Karnavan or manager. In an Illom, even female members, have a right over property on a permanent basis. For alienation of property on a permanent basis, they also should give their consent. A Nambudiri widow has the right to adopt a son and she becomes the legal heir of the share to which she is entitled.

The Nambudiri Illom differs from the Hindu joint family in two respects. It is patriarchal due to the principle of impartibility of the property. Secondly a female among Nambudiris possesses greater rights than a female from the Hindu joint family. It is reported that the Nambudiris could be those who migrated during a very early period of Vedic times, and who maintain the customs of that era. It is postulated that the custom of accepting alliances with Sudras could be understood

in the light of the convention of the Vedic period. Opposite to this type of patriarchal family is that of Nairs, who have a matrilineal, matrilocal and matriarchal form of extended family.

NAIR FAMILY

The Nair family is termed Tarawad. This is governed by a law analogous to the interest in Mitakshara law. It consists of a woman and her sons and daughters, the children of those daughters and so on. The offspring of a man do not reside in his house. They live with their mother in her Tarawad. Tarawad property is owned by all members of it, both males and females and is impartible. No individual member can enforce partition. The eldest male member is entrusted with the management of his Tarawad property and affairs and is termed Karnavan. On the death or incapacitation of a Karnavan the next senior male member would become the Karnavan.

Theoretically, the Tarawad property can be partitioned when each and every member gives his or her consent. But it is a far off proposition as one or the other opposes such a move. The Tarawad thus continues to be joint property. The junior members of the Tarawad are entitled to the rights of maintenance. Theoretically, a Karnavan has to manage the property and has no rights to sell or give away any portion by way of gift. But the Karnavan, in reality, commands such great authority that he may in effect be called the absolute ruler. This is because all the transactions pertaining to property are done by him and on his name.

The Nair Tarawad is referred to as Marumakkattayam Tarawad. It is because in principle the property is passed on from a female to her daughters. The line of descent is traced from the mother's side. When a Tarawad grows beyond the capacity of the traditional house it splits into smaller family units called Tavazhlis. A Tavazhli is a group of persons consisting of a female, her children and all her descendants, in the female line. This practice of tracing descent from a female is the Marumakkattayam principle. When a new Tavazhli comes into existence, a share of the property from the main Tarawad is given to it.

During the British period, there were many changes in the structure of the traditional Nair family. According to Nair customs, the male members have to visit the house of their consorts during night and there is no provision for bringing them to their own Tarawads.

This rule applied even to the Karnavan, but in due course, the Karnavans changed the custom to their advantage. In the garb of lack of time due to Tarawad duties they started keeping their wives with them in their Marumakkattayam Tarawad itself. The wife of a Karnavan came to be known as ammayi and started wielding a lot of power. Even the other female members were observed to depend upon their visiting husbands, for several of their day-to-day needs. All this had resulted in friction between the Karnavans and the other members of the family. Several cases were filed, by the other members of several Tarawads against their Karnavans, in courts, for misappropriation and misusing Tarawad property. In the early part of the 20th Century, new regulations came to govern the social and inheritance aspects of Nair society - The Travancore Nayar Regulation of 1912, the Travancore Marumakkattayam Bill 1923, the Nayar Regulations 1925, The Cochin Nayar Regulation 1920, The Madras Marumakkattayam Act. 1933, The Mapillah Marumakkattayam Act 1939, changed the structure of Tarawad. These acts were responsible for giving rights

to the younger members of Tarawad to ask for division of its property, to get married and constitute a separate household, and the decline in the authority of the Karnavan.

After independence, the Travancore Nayar Regulation was expended to the whole state of Kerala during 1958. This became possible due to the Kerala Nayar Act 1958. There appears to be atomisation or break up of Tarawads. The trend is towards nuclear families. Many of the Nairs go out of Kerala seeking jobs. They take their wives with them which is another factor in support of the breakup of Tarawads. In some Tarawads in the interior regions of Kerala where the practice of visiting husbands still continues, the husbands are reported to spend longer durations along with their consorts. They also advise and act on behalf of their wife's Tarawad, if there is no male member to look after the latter's property. While matrilineal and matrilocal nature of family still persists in rural Malabar, it is changing to a large extent in urban areas. According to M.S.A. Rao, the changes are not alike in all parts of Kerala. The pace of change is rapid in Travancore, while it is slow in the Malabar area. In the Cochin area, the changes are neither rapid nor slow but gradual.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the different legislations which effect the Indian Hindu family?

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What are the different legislations that govern social and inheritance aspects of Nair Family?

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8.9 KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

Kinship means relationship of the individual with the other members due to either a bond of marriage or through blood. If a person is related to another through marriage the pattern of kinship is called affinal kinship, if the relationship is through blood the pattern is called consanguinal kinship.

Among Hindus, kinship patterns vary from region to region and locality to locality. Striking differences appear between the North Indian kinship organization and the South Indian one. In North India, a village is an exogamous group which means that a man cannot take a girl from his own village. Gotra and Pravara are also observed very religiously by the North Indian Hindus, due to the application of what is known as the Sapinda rule. Gotra and Pravara are also exogamous groups which prohibit marrying a girl of one's own Gotra and Pravara. It is believed that all the members, belonging to either a Gotra or a Pravara, have a common ancestor and they are thus agnates, or those who have a similar blood source, should not marry within the group. Sapinda rule envisages avoiding marriage among members of two groups who have marital relations within the past seven generations. Once a man gets married to a girl from a family, no girl should be taken from that family or its descendants for the next seven generations. Thus the affinal rules in North India are severe.

Among the South Indian Hindus, the kinship organization differs mostly in affinal regulations. The South Indian Hindus accept the alliances between cross cousins. Mother's brother's daughters marriage to a man is considered, as a preferential marriage. In Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh, a man considers it his right to marry his own mother's brother's daughters. They, however, do not accept sister's daughter marriage as a preferential form of marriage. On the other hand, in coastal Andhra and down to the South, marrying one's own sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter are both considered as accepted forms of marriage. In the South, the principle of village exogamy or the Sapinda rule which are strictly adhered to in the North, are not observed.

In both North and South India, the Hindus are partilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. In Northern India the joking relationship between a woman and her husband's younger brothers is widely acknowledged. The eldest male member's authority is always recognized and his words are respected by all the members of family. The principle of deference is thus established in the kinship relationship.

Gotra is an important exogamous group both in North and South India. The members of a Gotra assume that all of them have descended from a common ancestor who was an ancient rishi or seer. They maintain that all of them are cognates. One important factor that is to be remembered is, that the same Gotra appears in different endogamous groups or jatis. For instance, Bhardwaja, was a sage who is believed to be an ancestor of some of the members of the Brahmana Varna. 83

Bhadrawaja is also stated to be the ancestor of people from Kshatriya varna. This may be a principle which acts as an underlying unifying principle is the diverse caste system in India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Who are called agnates and cognates?

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8.10 SUMMARY

Marriage is considered as a sacrament among Hindus. Among Hindus a bride can be selected in any of the eight forms of mate selection given in the scriptures - They are Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paisacha. According to the scriptures the Hindus are stated to have a type of family which is popularly known as joint family. According to traditional literature the control over property lies with the father of the family who is the eldest male member.

8.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Venkatraman	:	A Treatise on Hindu Law
P.N. Prabhu	:	Hindu Social Organisation
K.M. Kapadia	:	Marriage and Family in India.

8.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following within 30 lines.
1. Discuss the causes for calling Hindu marriage as sacrament.
 2. Explain the salient features of Hindu joint family? How does it differ from Nambudri Illom and Nair Tarawad?
 3. Explain the major differences between South India and North Indian kinship and also similarities.

4. Explain the features of Mitakshara school and compare them with Dayabhaga school.

II. Answer the following within 10 lines.

1. Explain the Dharma of Marriage according to Hindu scriptures.
2. What is the nature of duties given to a married man according to Hindu scriptures?
3. Mention different forms of marriage among Hindus.
4. Who is the authority in Hindu joint family according to Manu and other Sastrakars ? Why?
5. Compare and contrast Nambudiri family with that of Nair family.

BRAOU

UNIT-9: THE JAJMANI SYSTEM

CONTENTS

- 9.0 Aims and Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Definition and Nature of Jajmani System
- 9.3 Basic Features of Jajmani System
- 9.4 Pattern of Working Relationships
- 9.5 Changes in the System
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Suggested Books
- 9.8 Model Examination Questions

9.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the nature of the jajmani system in India's villages which regulates the economic inter-dependence of various castes.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the nature of Jajmani system,
- explain the basic features of jajmani system,
- explain the pattern of working relationship existing in the jajmani system,
- explain the changes in the system.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last units we have studied about Hindu social organisation. In this unit we will study about the nature of Jajmani system which regulates the economic inter dependence of various castes.

9.2 DEFINITION AND NATURE OF THE JAJMANI SYSTEM

India is still rightly called a country of villages since about 70 percent of her population live in them. The village has been a basic and important unit in the Indian social organization. One of the basic characteristics of a traditional socio-economic organization in a village is the "Jajmani System". In any occupationally diversified society, there must be a system where by any one occupational specialist can obtain the goods and/or services of atleast some other groups of specialists. The system most characteristically thought of in the Indian context as performing this function has been called the Jajmani system.

Wiser was the first person to delimit and label the system as Jajmani system. The Jajmani under this system is one who receives the services and Kamin is one who renders his services. The classic description is presented in his book, *The Hindu Jajmani System* (1936) based upon a study of a village in Uttar Pradesh. He states that within a village each caste has a form of service to perform for the others. The various castes of a village are thus interrelated in a service capacity. Each serves the other. Each has his own clientele which has become established through custom and which continues from generation to generation. This relationship once established cannot be broken easily and the servicing party may choose to sell his rights to another. It is heritable and sometimes transferable. The rates of payment made by a Jajman are fixed for the goods and services he receives.

Kolenda defined Jajmani system "a system of distribution in Indian villages where by high caste land-owning families called Jajmans are provided services and products by various lower castes such as carpenters, potters, blacksmiths and washermen (1963). In the Indian village, the peasant and upper castes are usually the Jajmans and the service castes are the Kamins. This system explains the occupational division of labour in an Indian agricultural village with distribution of services and products under a network of role relationships and payments. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and interdependence ensures its continuity.

According to Varma (1977) the word 'Jajman' has been derived from a Sanskrit term 'Yajaman', which means a man who performs Yajna - a sacred rite. The Vedic literature is full of the use of the term Yajaman and here and there we find references to the family priest (Purohit) praying to God for the prosperity of his Yajaman. This particular Pundit would become a permanent family priest and in course of time, his sons and grandsons would gain his Jajmani right over the family. Hence, the present Jajmani system is said to have its roots in the customary sacred performance of the attached family priest for the welfare of his Jajman. The other functional castes like barber, potter, goldsmith, carpenter and Washermen who have also helped in Yajna followed suit and adopted a similar pattern of hereditary service. The same pattern of labour supply came to be a practice even in the agrarian structure and a few more castes that were useful for the agriculturist came into being with Jajmani rights and duties. Thus, the Jajmani relationship has acquired implications concerned more with the economy than religion. However, some sociologists have emphasized the purity pollution aspects of the Jajmani relationships, and, in fact, the Jajmani system exhibits both the economic and ritual aspects of the Indian rural social organization based on caste.

The strength of the system depends not on the actual payments made, but on the concessions granted to the different occupational groups like free residence, free land, free food for animals, etc. These concessions do not apply equally to all, but vary, according to custom.

Further, the stability of caste monopolies is enforced by family inheritance. That is, the right to serve a particular family, the right of making ploughs for it, or of periodically shaving the heads of its male members or of washing its clothes - is treated as a heritable and divisible right. Thus, the partitioned brothers of a barber family divide among themselves the families which they were 87

all jointly servicing before partition. Of course, the usual way of paying for services was in the form of grain without much exchange of money. For, it is not an open-market economy and the ties between Jajmani and Kamin are not like those of an employer and an employee, in a capitalistic mode of production.

However, some writers like Beidelman (1959) viewed the Jajmani system as a feudalistic system of prescribed hereditary obligations of payments and of occupational and ceremonial duties between two or more specific families of different castes in the same locality. It reflects both the socio-economic and religious gradation, sanctions and specializations inherent in the caste hierarchy. Any failure to abide by the order of caste and family inevitably leads to conflict within the system, since there is no basis of interrelationship without these different occupational and ceremonial needs and duties. Based upon a traditional dependence of non-land holding families upon land-holding families which involves a distribution of some produce to all in the local area, the system must be considered feudalistic. The system expresses a power relationship, through the interaction of its members. In such a power relationship, political and economic factors are determinants of rank. The two bases of the system are caste duties and possession of land. The land owners require services and they need not perform services to others. They are Jajmans but not Kamins. Very few or none of the high castes perform services to other castes. The services, payments and ceremonies connected with various castes within Jajmani relationships tend to reinforce the values of inequality inherent in the caste system. Numerical strength or political superiority and land tenure are the two most important determinants of economic power of the Jajman. In comparison to the Jajmans, the strength of the Kamins is much less, as such the locus of power in this system lies with the Jajmans. Such power makes the Kamins depend upon their ability to offer a monopolized and necessary service to the Jajmans. If a kamin is replaced or if the Jajman dispenses with the Kamin's services, then the Kamin's strength is entirely lost. However, traditionally, the caste councils interfere and try to do justice to the aggrieved Kamin.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Define Jajmani system.

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9.3 BASIC FEATURES OF THE JAJMANI SYSTEM

1. Most members of the village community have an agreement with other members who perform different services or produce different goods, where by these groups are enabled to exchange the 88 products which they control. (Example: The relationship of artisan and service castes to members

of the land owing or farming castes). Further, the service castes also render ritual and occupational services to one another and here every one is a master and servant at the same time. (Example: a barber rendering his services to a washerman and the washerman in turn rendering his services to the barber).

2. Jajmani alliances are between families, not between castes, but the family alliances are heritable at the lineage level, that is, the descendants of family A which had an alliance with family B inherit their lineage's alliance with members of lineage B. Thus, the alliance operates between families, but its continuity is in the lineage.

3. Although the alliances are between families rather than castes, it is at the caste level that they are maintained and enforced. If family A wants to break its traditional relationship with family B, Other members of B's caste will support their castemen by boycotting A, so that it cannot obtain from other sources the type of services supplied by B.

4. One of the enforcing mechanisms of the system is the assumption that family A needs the services of family B, as it cannot or will not perform these functions itself. The system is based upon the assumption that certain occupations impinge upon concepts of ritual purity, and this rationalizes the ranking of caste-occupation groups. For instance, some services like religious duties can be performed only by members of high castes, while others like working in leather, should be performed only by members of low castes. Similarly washing on occasions of rituals involving pollution are performed by washermen. Hence, these service castes are called pollution absorbers. Thus, the purity-pollution aspect of caste system and the extension of this to Jajmani relations are emphasized. The system is functioning to preserve Hindu moral premises. Not only does every one have some place within the Hindu system, but it is significant that every group from the priest to the leather worker has been somehow integrated into the economic and ceremonial ground of the community and has been given some opportunity to feel indispensable as a part of the society.

5. Payment for goods and services received under the Jajmani system generally is not in cash, but in grain and other benefits. The remuneration for goods and services supplied to any given family appears to remain more or less constant from generation to generation and presumably is proportionate to the size or needs of the receiving family, i.e., the Jajman.

6. This system in a way assures a minimum amount of payment to the service castes to make a living. While the Jajmans, particularly the agriculturists are assured of the specialized services of various occupational groups, the service castes are assured of certain minimum annual payments for making a living and maintaining themselves.

9.4 PATTERN OF WORKING RELATIONSHIP

The pattern of working relationships existing in the jajmani system are described in different ways by different sociologists. For instance, a classification of Jajmani relationships setup by Dube categorizes these relationships according to the types of roles involved.

1. Services to the agriculturists having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities; as such, no immediate payment is expected for services of this kind.
2. Services rendered to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life.
3. Services rendered to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services, as such, no cash payment is either expected or made as it is in the nature of exchange of services.
4. Services rendered for cash payment.

Beidelman categorized these relations into three types, considering their dependence upon the land: (a) Direct; (b) partially indirect; and (c) indirect. The first type of relations involve those artisans and workers who serve only the land owners. For example, the carpenter makes ploughs and other wooden tools necessary for agricultural operations. The second type includes relations with potters, barbers, carpenters and washermen, etc., who provide services both to the landed as well as the landless. The third type involves relations between various local artisans which involve service exchange only.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the different types of relationships which exist in villages?

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9.5 CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

During recent times, various forces have acted on this system and brought-forth significant changes in the Jajman-Kamin relations. The reasons for change in the system may be due to rise in prices, rapid growth of large towns and spread of school education. urban contacts, education, and attraction of more lucrative jobs elsewhere have their impact on this system. The preference for cash payments is on the increase and the mutual exchange of services between occupational castes is gradually breaking down. Several village studies conducted in this area point out the break down of the local economic system, the complex series of conflicts resulting from population pressure such as disproportion of Jajmans to Kamins in some areas, under employment, scarcity of grain, introduction of cash crops, changes in caste values and occupation, changes in land tenure laws, etc. as the factors responsible for the disintegration of the system.

The outside influences of national and international markets tempt Jajmans to sell grain rather than to pay it to Kamins. Some Kamins also desire cash as payment in order to obtain imported goods and this tends to hurt the Jajmans with small holdings who cannot afford to sell the produce. The structural changes such as the abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari systems and decline in the solidarity of the caste system and the caste panchayat have also weakened the role of Jajmani system. With the change in occupation of any person of any caste who works for remuneration enters the Jajmani system. But as a new artisan, this person may not have any ritual role to play and as a result bargaining over remuneration has set in, with the impact of irrigation and money economy, remunerations now is valued in terms of market values. The importance given to ritual aspects has also changed, undermining the traditional unity of the village. Thus many changes are taking place in the Jajmani system with regard to the nature of service and the mode of payment.

9.6 SUMMARY

In any occupationally diversified society there must be a system where by any one occupational specialist can obtain the goods and/or service of atleast some other groups of specialists. The system performing this function has been called the jamani system. Rise in prices, rapid growth of large towns and spread of school education have brought significant changes in the system.

9.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Biedelman Thomas. O	:	A comparative Analysis of Jajamani system.
Dube S.C	:	Indian Village.
Kolenda P.M	:	Toward a Model of the Hindu Jajmani System.
Wiser W.H	:	The Hindu Jajmani System.
Varma, Poornima	:	A Social Organization of Amveri - A Village Study Of Chota Nagpur.

9.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.
1. Define Jajmani system and examine its functions.
 2. Discuss the relationship between caste and Jajmani system in India.
 3. The Jajmani system is fading out-Comment.
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines.
1. Examine the nature, characteristics and functions of Jajmani system.
 2. Bring out the relationship between caste system and Jajmani System in village India.

UNIT-10: THE PROBLEM OF SCHEDULE CASTE

CONTENTS

- 10.0 Aims and Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Percentage of the Scheduled Castes in India
- 10.3 Problems of Scheduled Castes
- 10.4 Abolition of Untouchability
- 10.5 Developmental Programs under the Five Year Plans.
- 10.6 Summary
- 10.7 Suggested Books
- 10.8 Model Examination Questions

10.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the various problems faced by the scheduled castes in India and the measures taken by the Government to solve them.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain who are scheduled castes,
- give the percentage of scheduled castes in India,
- explain the problems of scheduled castes,
- list out the various Acts passed in various states to eradicate the problem of untouchability,
- explain the developmental programmes undertaken under the five year plans.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In the Hindu social system a large number of castes are outside the hierarchial 'varna' division of the society. The castes which are outside the 'varna' scheme were considered to be the untouchable castes. The other castes regarded even physical contact with them as polluting. The scheduled castes themselves are divided into a number of distinct castes which form a complex hierarchy. It is ironic that those occupying a higher hierarchical position practice untouchability in relation to the other untouchable castes. They are economically the poorest section of the country's population. It should be noted that the situation of the Scheduled Castes has changed radically since the attainment of Independence. With the result they are no longer subject to political and economic discrimination although they suffer from a certain degree of social discrimination in rural areas.

10.2 PERCENTAGE OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA

In the year 1935 in the Government of India Act the term, 'scheduled castes', appeared for the first time. In April 1936 the British Government issued the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order specifying the castes to be included in the list of Scheduled Castes belonging to various provinces. Earlier, the Scheduled Castes were known as 'the Depressed Classes. The Census Commissioner of India Dr. Hutton categorized the Depressed Classes systematically. The list of Scheduled Castes issued under the Government order of 1936 was an extension of the earlier list prepared by Dr. Hutton. The list drawn up in 1950 was a revised version of the earlier list.

The population of the Scheduled Castes in the country is about 80 million (1971 Census) forming about 15 percent of the total population of the country. In Uttar Pradesh there were about 18.5 million in West Bengal 8.8 million; in Bihar 7.9 million; and in Tamil Nadu 7.3 million scheduled castes.

The percentage of the Scheduled Castes population varies from state to state. According to the 1971 census, Andhra Pradesh has 27,221 villages and 224 towns. The Scheduled Caste population of Andhra Pradesh as per the 1971 Census was 57.75 lakhs out of which 28.5 lakhs were women which worked out to 13.27 percent of the total population of Andhra Pradesh, (13.3 percent males and 13.2 percent females). According to the 1961 census, the Scheduled Caste population of Andhra Pradesh was 49.7 lakhs (13.8 percent of the total population) out of which 24.6 lakhs were females, (13.8 percent males and 13.8 females). This shows that there had been a slight decline in the growth of the Scheduled Caste population.

Percentage of Scheduled Castes Population Among the Indian States (Table-1)

States	Census 1951	Census 1961	Census 1971
Andhra Pradesh	14.13	13.82	13.27
Assam	4.69	6.17	6.13
Bihar	12.67	14.00	14.10
Gujarat	10.78	6.62	6.84
Haryana	-	-	18.88
Himachal Pradesh	-	-	22.24
Jammu & Kashmir	3.45	7.79	8.25
Kerala	-	8.48	8.30
Madhya Pradesh	15.01	13.13	13.09
Maharashtra	-	6.63	6.00
Manipur	-	-	1.53
Meghalaya	-	-	0.38
Mysore	13.31	13.21	13.14
Nagaland	-	0.03	-
Orissa	17.95	15.74	15.09

Punjab	21.64	20.38	24.17
Rajasthan	15.67	16.66	15.82
Tamilnadu	17.95	18.01	17.75
Tripura	-	-	12.39
Uttar Pradesh	20.72	20.88	20.99
West Bengal	18.03	19.72	19.89

The table shows that Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Orissa have the greatest percentage of Scheduled Castes. The least percentages are found in Assam, Jammu and Kashmir because the majority of them are non-Hindus.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is percentage of Scheduled castes India & Andhra Pradesh according to 1991 census.

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10.3 PROBLEMS OF SCHEDULED CASTES

The Scheduled Castes face many problems which are social, economic, political and educational. The stratification system of Hindu social structure is based on caste. The status of the individual in society is determined by his birth in a particular caste. Each caste has a caste occupation which the individual follows. These occupations were divided into pure and impure ones in terms of the notions of ritual purity and impurity. As the Scheduled Castes followed occupations which were considered impure they were looked down upon as one with whom even physical contact was defiling. So they lived separately outside the village and they were prohibited from entering the villages and towns in the day time.

In some of the villages the low castes were not allowed to walk on roads and move about in Upper Caste localities freely. There were also other restrictions like their not being allowed to wear sandals or shoes and to walk with umbrellas open. The untouchables were totally forbidden from entry into Caste Hindu houses. Even the shadow of an untouchable was not tolerated in the past.

94 This practice of untouchability prevailed even in public utility places like the hotels, etc.

The Upper Castes kept the untouchables away from most of the temples or places of worship. The Harijans were not allowed to join others on equal terms in communal or other celebrations and were segregated from the rest of the society.

Harijan marriage processions were not allowed to enter the streets of village. The Harijans were not only discriminated against untouchable by the so-called twice-born upper caste and agricultural castes but also by the Shudra castes. They were denied the services of wahsermen, barbers, etc. In some of the villages where medical facilities were not available the barber's wife attended to the delivery which was denied to the Harijan women. another important aspect which has to be mentioned here is that the village wells and tanks were kept out of bounds for the Scheduled Castes on the assumption that they polluted them.

The school plays an important part in the socialization of children..In the past children of untouchable castes were not allowed into the village school and in schools where they were allowed they were not permitted to sit along with other children.

The Scheduled Castes by and large are landless agricultural and casual labourers. As they are mostly engaged in menial jobs, they are poverty-stricken. Though their entire families are engaged in work they are unable to make both ends meet. The scheduled caste children are forced to undertake child labour, in order to supplement the income of parents. Their school enrollment is very low. Ignorance and illiteracy are two of the major problems faced by the scheduled castes.

The only way to get these people integrated into the society is to develop certain mechanisms calculated to elevate their social position and also some programs to solve their basic problems.

In order to solve some of their problems the Scheduled castes have to be educated. Illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and superstition come in their way of availing themselves of the facilities provided by the State for their well being. They have to be educated and also mobilized to take advantage of such facilities. Unless they are economically advanced they cannot fully take advantage of the educational facilities available to them.

Their low level of utilization of the educational facilities and slow educational progress may be attributed to their depressing home environment. So it is necessary to provide them with residential facilities which help them to concentrate on studies. Scholarships have to be provided to meet their educational needs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What types of problems did scheduled castes face in the villages.

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10.4 ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY

The eradication of untouchability as a social evil had been undertaken in several States. However, to outlaw untouchability a comprehensive legislation was taken up only in the year 1955. Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Kerala, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are some of the States which passed various acts prior to the untouchability (offences) Act 1955 for the eradication of untouchability.

The following are various Acts passed in this connection.

I. Andhra Pradesh

1. The Madras Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1938
2. The Hyderabad Harijan Temple entry Regulation, 1938
3. The Hyderabad Harijan (Removal of Social Disabilities) Regulation, 1938
4. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1948
5. The Madras State Disabilities Act, 1947
6. The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1947

II. Kerala

1. The Madras Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1938
2. The Travancore Cochin Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1925
3. The Travancore Cochin Temple Entry (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1950

III. Karnataka

1. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1943
2. The Mysore Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1948

IV. Tamil Nadu

1. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act 1948
2. The Madras State Disabilities Act, 1947
3. The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1947

V. Madhya Pradesh

1. Central Provinces and Berar Scheduled Caste (Removal of Civil Disabilities) Act, 1947
2. The Central Provinces and Berar Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1947
3. The Madhya Pradesh Harijan Ayogata Nivaran Vidhan, 1949

VI. Gujarat

1. The Bombay Harijan Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1946
2. Bombay Harijan Temple Entry Act, 1947
3. Saurashtra Harijan Removal of Social Disabilities ordinance of 1949

VII. Bihar

1. Bihar Harijan (Removal of Civil Disabilities) Act, 1946

VIII. Maharashtra

1. The Bombay Harijan (Removal of Civil Disabilities) Act, 1947
2. The Bombay Harijan Temple Entry Act, 1947

IX. Uttar Pradesh

1. The United Provinces Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1947

X. West Bengal

1. West Bengal Hindu Social Disabilities Removal Act, 1948

XI. Punjab

1. The East Punjab (Removal of Religious and social Disabilities) Act, 1948

XII. Orissa

1. Orissa Civil Disabilities Act, 1946
2. Temple Entry Act, 1948

Assam, Jammu & Kashmir, and Rajasthan were the only States where no legislative measures were under taken to eradicate untouchability. The Bombay Harijan (Removal of Social Disabilities) Act 1949 and the United Provinces Removal of Social Disabilities act, 1946, were extended to the Union Territories of Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. According to the Constitution, the Acts which were in force till the enactment of the Constitution were to remain in force even thereafter and thus these Acts continued to remain in force in their respective areas of operation. In the matter of removal of social disabilities and also in respect of the Penal Provisions these Acts differ from one another.

Under Article 17 of the Indian Constitution untouchability stands abolished and the practice of it in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of the untouchability has also been declared an offence punishable in accordance with law. The Parliament alone has the power to make laws in this respect (Article 35 (a) (ii))

The Parliament passed the Untouchability (offences) Act 1955 on 2.5.55 and it received the assent of the President of 8.5.55.

On November, 19 New untouchability Law came into force throughout the country which prescribed stringent punishment for untouchability offences. This new law prescribes higher amount of fine and long periods of imprisonment for offences relating to untouchability. In villages where untouchability is practiced fines are collected. Asking people to do certain types of jobs on the basis of untouchability and also preaching of untouchability are punishable offences according to the law. A person is disqualified from contesting elections if he is convicted for an offences under this Act. The Act provides punishment for enforcing religious and social disabilities with regard to access to any Shop, public restaurant, hotel, etc., refusal to admit a person into hospital, refusal to sell goods or render services and other offences arising out of untouchability.

The Government of India appointed a committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes (1965) to examine interalia the problem of untouchability vis-a- vis the working of untouchability (offences) Act, 1955 and to make recommendations to the Government for the amendment of the Act. In the year 1972 a bill to amend the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, namely the untouchability (Offences) Amendment and Miscellaneous provisions bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is protection of civil Rights Act?

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What are the different Acts passed in Andhra Pradesh?

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10.6 DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMS UNDER THE FIVE YEAR PLANS

In order to narrow down the disparities that existed between the Scheduled Castes and the rest of the population special efforts have been made under successive Five Year Plans. The following table shows the investment made for the special programs for scheduled castes.

TABLE 2

PLAN EXPENDITURE	(Rs. in Millions)
First Plan	70.8
Second Plan	274.8
Third Plan	377.8
1966-69	264.7
Fourth Plan	675
Fifth Plan (Provision)	1500

ECONOMIC UPLIFTMENT

Various developmental programs relating to agriculture, cooperation, irrigation, small scale industries are covered under this. In order to develop agriculture the scheduled caste farmers are encouraged to utilize the modern or improved methods of agriculture. Financial aid is given to set up their own business or improve their own trade. Several training-cum-production centers have been started and in some States the trainees are given stipends and after the completion of their training they are given interest free loans. Financial assistance for the construction of house is also provided.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Great emphasis has been laid on the provision of educational facilities. Pre-Metric scholarships and stipends, exemption from tuition and examination fees, provision of educational equipment, the setting up of residential schools, grants for construction of hostel and school buildings and provision of mid-day meals are the various educational programs undertaken for the welfare of scheduled caste children. The enrolment of the Schedule Castes in schools increased on account of the incentives provided for their welfare. Post-metric scholarships, girls hostels and coaching schemes are the schemes undertaken under the Centrally sponsored programs. Under the Post-Metric Scholarship scheme financial assistance is given to Scheduled caste students to pursue post-metric studies. In the State sector funds are provided for the construction and maintenance of hostels for both scheduled caste boys and girls. Some non-official organizations with the help of government grants are running hostels for scheduled caste students. Reservations are made in all the Central Universities, Indian Institutes of Technology and also in other institutes.

Another scheme under the Central sector is to impart pre-examination training to scheduled castes to enable them to pass in sufficient numbers the IAS and IPS examinations. So far six all India centers have been established at Delhi, Allahabad, Madras, Patiala, Jaipur and Shillong. There are 11 States Civil Services Pre-examination Training Centers in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Delhi and there are two Centers at Allahabad and Tiruchirapalli for preparing Scheduled Caste candidates for the engineering examinations. Apart from these, there are some coaching-cum-guidance Centers.

Land allotment and Financial cooperations : Agricultural land is allotted to the scheduled castes. Some states have distributed milch cattle to the scheduled castes at subsidized rates. They are loans advanced to them at concessional rates. Financial Development Corporations have been set up to provide financial assistance to the scheduled castes.

HOUSING

A special scheme for providing house sites to landless workers in small areas has been taken up during the fifth Five Year Plan. In Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu Housing Corporations have also been set up for the construction of houses.

DRINKING WATER

Priority has been given for the provision of drinking water facilities to the scheduled castes. Several wells for drinking water were dug in the various States.

TWENTY POINT PROGRAM

In order to bring about speedy and lasting economic development of the country and raise the standard of living of the weaker sections the Prime Minister announced the 20 point program in 1975 : The following are its principal features.

1. Reduction of agricultural land ceiling and speedy distribution of surplus land to the landless.
2. Provision of house sites for landless and weaker sections :
3. Abolition of the practice of bonded labour :
4. Liquidation of rural indebtedness :
5. Minimum wages for agricultural workers :
6. Provision of books and stationary for students :
7. Amendment of the Apprenticeship Act. These are some of the points which relate to the measures having a direct bearing on the welfare of the scheduled castes.

RESERVATIONS IN SERVICE

Under Article 16 and Article 338 of the Constitution certain percentages of posts are reserved in the Central Government Services for the scheduled castes. Even in respect of promotion to higher posts similar reservations are provided. In Addition, some concessions like relaxation of the age limit, fee concession etc. are provided.

The State governments have also provided reservations and concessions. The representation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Parliament and State legislatures is provided for under Article 33, 332 and 324 of the Constitution.

The Parliament and the State legislatures constitute the highest of the decision making bodies in the country. These two bodies should have adequate representation of all sections of the society in order to involve them in the formulation of decisions. But some of the Sections of the population were incapable of entering these bodies. Therefore, Article 330 of the Constitution laid down that 77 and 42 seats be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively out of total number of 525 seats in the Lok Sabha. But there is no Constitutional provision in respect of the Rajya Sabha. Under the Article 33 of the Constitution the seats are provided for the various 'State' Vidhan Sabha and Union Territories. Out of 3,800 seats in the Vidhan Sabhas 517 are reserved for scheduled Caste. All the above mentioned efforts were made by the Government to improve the living conditions of the Scheduled Castes and to help them in solving their Problems.

E.A. Blant	:	Caste System of Northern India
Romesh Thaper	:	Tribe, Caste and Religion in India.

10.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the various problems faced by Scheduled Castes
2. What are the various laws passed by different States for the abolition of untouchability?
3. What are the various developmental programmes undertaken for the welfare of Scheduled Castes?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. What is the Twenty point programme?
2. What are the steps taken for the educational development of the Scheduled Castes?

BRAOU

BLOCK - 4 MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

BRAOU

BRAOU

UNIT-11: BASIC FEATURES OF ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

CONTENTS

- 11.0 Aims and Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Basic Features of Islam
 - 11.2.1 Religion in Pre-Islamic Arabs
 - 11.2.2 Muhammad
 - 11.2.3 The Quran
 - 11.2.4 Muhammad and the Bible
 - 11.2.5 The Caliphs
 - 11.2.6 Muslim Law
 - 11.2.7 Muslim Theology
 - 11.2.8 The Five Pillars of Islam
 - 11.2.9 Muslim Saints
 - 11.2.10 Mysticism in Islam
- 11.3 Basic Features of Christianity
 - 11.3.1 Jesus The Founder of Christianity
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 - 11.3.3 Christian Theology
 - 11.3.4 Tenets of Christianity
 - 11.3.5 Christian Doctrine of Sin
 - 11.3.6 Ritual and Worship
- 11.4 Summary
- 11.5 Key Words
- 11.6 Suggested Books
- 11.7 Model Examination Questions

11.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the basic features of two religions Islam and christianity

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the Basic features of Islam,
- explain the Basic features of christianity.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Islam is the youngest and in some ways the most simple among the various religions of the world. Beginning in one of the most barren lands in the world it spread with astonishing speed and vigour. The rise and spread of Islam forms a unique chapter in the history of the world. Islam after its rise spread over three continents Asia, Africa and Europe within a hundred years. In almost all parts of the world it has adherents. Islam absorbed people of different races, regions and religions into one cultural unit. It offered religion based on monotheism, equality and brotherhood.

The role of Islam may be divided into three periods. The period from the Seventh to Twelfth centuries is the Classical period, the period from the Twelfth to Eighteenth century is regarded as the medieval period. The period from the Eighteenth century to the present day may be called modern period. In the Classical period Mohammad prophet was born and he established the Islamic religion and state. The Medieval period witnessed the rise of several great muslim Empires which challenged the European expansion. During the Modern period many muslim empires collapsed and several institutions were affected by the Western influence.

11.2 BASIC FEATURES OF ISLAM

11.2.1 RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

Animism was the religion of the early tribes of Arabia. "jinn" was the nature spirit in which they believed. Springs, rocks, trees and mountains were the manifestations of this nature spirit. They had a number of spirits among whom some were considered more important than others [polytheism]. Allah and Hobal, Isaf and Na'ilab and the goddesses Al-lat, Manat and Al-uzza were some of the gods and goddesses who were worshipped in the regions around Mecca. Spring zem Zem in Mecca is regarded as sacred. This spring provided water to pilgrims who came to worship the spirit of the Black Stone that which is believed to have fallen from the sky. An unadorned cubical stone building was erected by the arabs over the stone and this is Known as Kaaba. It is draped by a black cloth [the entire structure] which is replaced every year. Kaaba is the holiest shrine for the Muslims which convey's the indescribable nature of the infinite god.

11.2.2 MUHAMMAD

Islam was founded by Muhamamad who was born in the commercial city of Mecca about A.D.570 in the houses of Hashimid who belonged to Kuraish tribe. Muhammad's father died a few months prior to his birth and his mother died when he was only six years old. It was his uncle who took him under his charge. Muhammads childhood and youth were spent in the vicinity of Mecca. He was an intelligent, inquisitive and Imaginative Person. He was known for his honesty, integrity and truthfulness. Muhammad means "the praised one" and Muslims addressed him as prophet. He was well known as Al-amin, the trustworthy, because of his honesty.

When he was twenty five years old he married Khadija a rich widow who was forty years old. Fatima was the onlychild of that marriage who survived while others died in their infancy. 106 Muhammad lived a normal married life till the age of 40 years. It was after the attainment of 40

years of age that Muhammad used to retreat from time to time into an isolated cave where he meditated on problems of higher truth or religious questions. He had strange experiences which puzzled him. It was during one of the sojourns in the cave that he had his enlightenment when he heard the voice of the angel Djibril (Gabriel). The angel told him that he was the prophet of Allah and that he should convey the revelations from God to his people.

In the beginning he was unsuccessful as a prophet. His old friends did not believe his stories about angel Gabriel and revelations from God. For three years Khadija, his slave Zaid and his uncle's son Ali whom he adopted as his son were his only followers. They were the first converts to Islam. Though Muhammad was discouraged by the rejection of his revelations, he preached them in Mecca for ten years.

Muhammad started preaching the new faith to humanity in A.D.612, and he called it 'Islam' or the submission of "oneself to God". He preached that God is one and the creator of the universe who is to be worshipped. He preached a simple monotheistic religion, which informed upon its followers to have faith in God and to do good to their fellow men. The people disliked his preachings and became increasingly hostile to him and made his life in Mecca intolerable. In A.D. 622 he migrated to Yethrib. Soon he established himself as a leading citizen of Yathirab, he changed its name to Medina, which means the city of the prophet. In 617 Muhammad had his ascension known as Miradj when he was summoned to Heaven to see a vision of God and where the Islamic prayers to be recited five times a day were enjoined on the faithful.

In Medina the Prophet built the first mosque. Remarkable changes took place in his life. He was not only a religious leader but also a temporal ruler. He laid the foundation of stable social and economic order. In one of his messages to his followers he stated that when one is in doubt one should consult one's God, which one's conscience and intelligence. He considered gambling and drinking a curse and bloodshed a crime against God. He taught his followers to turn their face towards Mecca, their own holy city for prayers. The Arabs recognized him as the Prophet and head of their faith. In A.D. 632 at the age of sixtytwo when his mission was completed, he established a state and a social order based on justice, equity, and brotherhood.

The highest act of devotion for Muhammad was service of humanity. He preached that a man's true wealth is the good he does in the world. His teachings are well preserved in several volumes which are known as Hadith.

11.2.3 THE QURAN

The Quran is a genuine product of the mind and heart of Muhammad. He did not put it together in the form of a book. After his death Abu Bakr, his successor selected Zaidibn Thabit to collect and edit the oracles in the form of book. Zaid collected fragments from every quarter, from date leaves and tablets of white stone to put the Quran together. The messages of Muhammad were delivered orally as oracles or sermons. Some of the sayings were not written down but preserved in the memory of the faithful. The Western scholars agree that the Quran is a classic of Arabic literature. They praise its rhythmic quality.

The Chapters or "Suras" vary in length. The Quran is a collection of independent prophetic oracles or homilies having the nature of sermons. Just as the Bible is a code of law the Quran is also a law book as well as a book of theology and worship. The Quran is the law by which the entire Muslim world lives. The Quran is considered a book of divine truth. It speaks to their minds as well as to their hearts.

11.2.4 MUHAMMAD AND THE BIBLE

One of the fundamental ideas of Muhammad was that Abraham was the ancestor of both Jews and Muslims and that they descended from the sons of Abraham. Muslims descended from Abraham through his son Ishmael and Jews through Abraham's son, Isaac. Muhammad in his various prophetic oracles had shown some familiarity with a number of biblical characters beginning with Adam. Muhammad had great respect for the Bible. He expressed the view that God has given the Torah to the Jews and the Gospel to the Christians. In his discourses he had employed historical illustrations taken from the Bible. He had a feeling that Bible was a real scripture. The prophet derives Islam from Abraham and Ishmael the first son of Abraham. He is considered the father of the Ishmaelite tribe of Arabia. Muhammad argued that his faith is over and truer than Judaism and Christianity as he up holds the religion of Abraham & Ishamel. Islam emerged long before either the Torah or Gospel. The Prophet stated that Abraham and Ishmael built the holy shrine Kaaba at Mecca to which all muslims would go as pilgrims to offer prayers. (sura iii 118-124). He asked the people to go on a pilgrimage to this holy place as often as possible and to walk around safa and marwa the two scared hills at Mecca (Sura ii 143-153).

Muhammad uses the ideas of Satan, angels with real names, Heaven & Hell which show his acquaintance with the Old & New Testaments. The use of alcohol is prohibited in Islam. Muhammad urged his people to avoid it as it is the work of Satan (sura V: 93). Muhammad mentions swine as a forbidden thing (sura iii: 68) and muslims are prohibited from eating the flesh of swine. Muhammad described paradise as a place flowing with rivers of delightful wine, along with rivers of water, milk and honey (sura xvii-16-17). It may be noted that the Bible does not ban the use of wine nor put wine in Heaven.

11.2.5 THE CALIPHS

The successor of the prophet Muhammad is called Caliph. Religion, government, education, art, economics are all fused together in a Muslim state, the head of which is a religious person who exercises both religious and secular authority. Muhammad was the ruler of the nation as he was the founder of Islamic religion and government.

Muhammad had no sons and so he adopted his cousin Ali son of his uncle Abu-Talib with the intention of making him his successor. He gave his daughter in marriage to his adopted son. When Muhammad died Ali lacked the ability to become his successor. So Abu Bakr, father of Aisha (Muhammad's favourite wife) was made the first Caliph. This act created a division in Islam. Those who accepted Abu Bakr and his successors as legitimate Caliphs are called Sunnites, the traditionalists in Islam. Those who refused to accept Abu Bakr as Caliph were called Shia's in Islam. The Shiites are noted for the tenacity of their devotion to the faith. They are found in

large numbers in Iran and India, while Sunnites are concentrated in Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, Afghanistan, India, China, Africa and East Indies.

Abu Bakr had no revelations but he followed the preachings of Muhammad. When Abu Bakr died Omar was made the Caliph and he ruled from 634 to 644. He was a most successful ruler. In 637 he conquered Palestine thereby beginning the Muslim period in the history of Palestine. The Conquest was appreciated by Muslims as they traced their origin back to Abraham. For Muslims Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron are the holy sites of Islam. Abraham was buried in Hebron.

Uthman, son-in-law of Muhammad succeeded Omar and ruled from 644 to 656. He was honoured by Muslims for having stabilized the text of the Quran. He was succeeded by Ali, the adopted son of Muhammad. Medina had been the capital of Islam throughout this period (from Muhammad to Ali). After the death of Ali, Damascus became the capital of Islamic state.

In 751 with the termination of Damascus caliphate Islam was divided into two Caliphates. One party established the abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad and the other party set up Spanish Caliphate at Cordova. Later this was followed by Moorish Caliphate at Granada.

In 1517, the last important caliphate was established when the Sultan of Turkey conquered Egypt. After that date Islam had no such head.

11.2.6 MUSLIM LAW

The Quran, Sunna and Ijma constitute the Muslim Law. The Quran is the word of Allah and Sunna means custom. The revelations given to Muhammad by the angel Gabriel and delivered by the Prophet are preserved in the Quran. The Muslims believe this to be Allah's truth, the ultimate law which they must observe. Sunna means custom, the particular way of acting, in accordance with the actions and words of Muhammad. The teachings and sayings are all preserved in several volumes which are known as Hadith. Muslims believe that Muhammad lived a perfect life and that what he did was a perfect example for others to follow.

Arabs followed the traditions of their fathers before the time of Muhammad. Sometimes they modified their traditions to the one that was related to Muhammad. The various actions Muhammad had taken, and the words he had spoken, were recorded from the memories of old persons who were associated with the Prophet. It was necessary for some one to decide the relevant Statutes which were to be applied. Such a decision is the ijma, the consensus, which acts as the final verdict. According to Sunnies, the community could take the final decision while the Shiite rejected the principle of consensus. They considered Imam the divinely authorized and endowed spiritual leader of Muslims, descendent of Ali, to make the final interpretations and decisions. Shiites believe that Imam was endowed with divine attributes and that he was an incarnation of God.

In Islam there are four schools of law each of which is derived from an eminent scholar. Hanifitic school derived from Abu- Hanifah, al-Shafii derived from Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, Malik ibn-Anas school based at Median and last by the ibn- Hanbal School. Every Muslim community has a legal authority mufti, who is an expert in Muslim law and in the interpretations of these schools.

11.2.7 MUSLIM THEOLOGY

Muhammad preached monotheism and opposed polytheism and all forms of idolatory including the use of images. Muhammad asked men to practice justise. Sovereignty of the one God and submission of man's will to the will of God constitute the essence of Muhammad's theology. The favourite way of expressing his divine sovereignty is through the doctrine of eschatology. He warns people of an impending judgement which includes a resurrection of the dead, heavenly rewards for the righteous and a Hell of fire for the wicked. Humility and submission are the chief attributes of a devout man.

Prophet Muhammad was neither a theologian nor a philosopher. He never set forth his faith as a theological system. It is only from his poetic utterances that one can construct a system of Muhammad's theology. Every Sura of the Auran Proclaims that God is the sovereign of history and judge of the world, that he rules with compassion and that he provides for those who trust him. Muhammad speaks of Allah as the almighty who looks after the faithful and forgives the wrong doers. The personal theology of Allah is characterized by anthropomorphism since Allah is regarded as having qualities like those of a man.

11.2.8 THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM (OBLIGATORY DUTIES IN ISLAM)

Muslims summarize Islam as a religion under the five pillars. The first pillar is the creed which every Muslim holds and practises. Every Muslim considers that Allah is the only God and Muhammad his prophet. The second pillar is prayer at daybreak, noon, mid-afternoon, just before sunset, and about dark which are the five recognized times for prayer in Islam. Every mosque has a minaret from where the muezzin chants the call to prayer at each of these times. Just as Christians ring bells and Jews sound horn, the muslims use the human voice to call men to pray.

Every muslim must purify himself by washing his hands and feet before entering the mosque. When it is not possible to come to the mosque one may pause facing towards Mecca wherever he is when the time of prayer arrives. The morning prayer at dawn is called fadjar, the mid-day prayer is zuhar, the mid-afternoon prayer is asar, the sunset prayer is maghrib and the night fall prayer is isha. While praying the face is turned towards Mecca and opening Surah of the Quran is recited first followed by a few more verses from the holy Book. Muslims recite their prayers standing, kneeling and reclining on their rugs. Outsiders are not allowed to enter the mosque during the prayers.

Every Friday there is a service at the mosque the Muslim Sabbath. For Hanifinites the Friday service can be held with an Imam and three others but for shafites there must be atleast forty persons.

The third obligatory duty or the third pillar is fasting. Ramzan is the prescribed month of fasting. This fasting starts with the sighting of the moon at the end of the eighth month of the Muslim calendar and lasts till the sighting of the moon in the following month. Muslims during this month abstain from all foods and drink from early dawn to late dusk. When the moon is sighted a big festival known as id-ul-fitr is observed. Fasting which is compulsory for both men and women is to inculcate a sense of self control and to know what hunger is. Fasting requires strict observance of moral, social and personal conduct, strict performance of prayers, recitation of the Quran so that all thirty chapters are completed in the thirty days of the month, giving alms or Zakat, giving up vices like smoking and gambling. The fourth pillar of Islam is Zakat or alms giving of charity which is compulsory. According to Islam, man has to earn his bread through the sweat of one's brow and share part of it with the needy and the poor. 2 1/2 percent of the total wealth, that is only one unit of every forty units has been prescribed by Islam for it and it is applicable to all items of wealth, money, land, cattle, jewelry, houses and all other kinds of property. The first three pillars are intended to improve the personal character of man while the fourth is intended to improve the condition of the entire society, the poor, the needy, orphans, widows and destitutes. True piety is achieved only by sharing with and caring for others and by making prompt payment of what belongs to Allah.

The fifth pillar of Islam is Haj or a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is usually undertaken during the last month of the year which is in the memory of the supreme sacrifice of Abraham and his son who surrendered themselves to the will of God. Every Muslim once in a life time should undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca. The main idea or supreme lesson of this pillar is that nothing is greater in the eyes of the Creator than one's complete surrender to the divine will.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth of the last month of the Islamic calendar are the three stipulated days of Haj known as Zil-haj. The pilgrim must wear a special garment and must go round the Kaaba seven times kissing the black stone which is supposed to have come down from the sky. After a short prayer the pilgrims go to the hills of Safa and Marwa, the symbol of patience and perseverance. On the seventh day they listen to the sermon. On the eighth day the pilgrims visit the valley of Mina and on the ninth day they proceed to the hills of the Arafat, where Adam and Eve were reunited after their wandering. The tenth day is the Id day the day of sacrifice, Bakrid, which is connected with the story of Abraham who was prepared to sacrifice his son as he was called upon to do so by God. The sacrifice took place in the valley of Mina, and pilgrims perform a symbolic ceremony of throwing seven stones at evil there at. This ends the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage or Haj affords an opportunity to Muslims to meet at one place on terms of perfect equality and brotherhood.

11.2.9 MUSLIM SAINTS

According to the Muslim doctrine there have been a total of some 124,000 prophets, of whom only 313 were outstanding. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad were the most outstanding prophets. Muhammad was the last and the greatest of the line. Next to these great prophets there are a large number of persons intimate with God and they are called as wali's (friends). In every Muslim cemetery there will be a tomb of a wali. To these tombs people offer gifts and sacrifices.

11.2.10 MYSTICISM IN ISLAM

Mysticism is congenial to Shiite form of Islam and is known as Sufi movement. It is the purification of the heart to prevent the purification of base temptations and to gain personal experience of God. Sufism has been derived from the word 'sawf' which means coarse wool signifying hard, simple life. Spiritual perfection according to Sufism involves five stages. In the first stage a man has to completely surrender himself to the will of God. In the second stage he has to act according to the commands of God or Shariat. The third stage is called 'Tarikat' in which spiritual knowledge is attained. The Fourth Stage 'hakhikat' or reality is the stage of perfection where a man is completely absorbed in God. The stage of 'fana' or the final stage is attained by passing through a long experiences of seven different types repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust, and satisfaction. Apart from these, there are ten more states through which a mystic has to pass—meditation, love, fear, hope, longing, nearness to God, intimacy, tranquillity, contemplation and certainty.

The sufi has to undergo rigorous training under a religious teacher. Only when he passes these stations of mystical experience he reaches the spiritual goal of enlightenment.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Write few lines about the five pillars of Islam.

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Write about Muslim Law.

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3. BASIC FEATURES OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity began as movement within Judaism and grew into the largest and most universal religion of more than one billion adherents. When it was rejected by the majority of Jews it

emerged as a separate religion. Christianity is the most universal faith having more than one billion followers, the majority of whom are concentrated in Europe, America and a minority in Asia and Africa. Christianity is not based on a theoretical or abstract doctrine but on a historical event an empirical occurrence in the world. That event is the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The temple of Jerusalem represented strongest bond which held Christians and Jews together. This tie was severed when the temple was destroyed in A.D. 70 and the two faiths emerged as separate religions. Christianity even after separation from Judaism retained the essentials of Jewish theology.

The Hebrew Bible is part of Christianity's heritage. Christian theology can't be understood without the Hebrew scriptures. Christian faith is the continuation of the prophetic hopes of Judaism. Moral codes, the stories of the Old Testament the psalm and the prophets are indispensable for understanding Christian faith and theology.

11.3.1 JESUS THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIANITY

Jesus was the founder of Christianity. Jesus was born in Bethlehem. The parents of Jesus lived in Nazareth of Galilee about eighty miles north of Bethlehem. Jesus was born of virgin mother. Mathew and Mark, like the synoptic gospels, agree that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist. In the New Testament Jesus is presented as God's son. According to the Gospels, Jesus performed many wonderful things like healing the sick, walking on the sea, multiplying loaves of bread and fishes. Mathew, Luke, John, have also listed the wonders performed by Jesus.

11.3.2 CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES: BIBLE

In creating a scripture (the New Testament) the Christians followed the Jewish precedent while at the same time believing in the Hebrew Bible. Therefore they have two group of scriptures, Old Testament and the New Testament. The Old Testament includes the sacred books of the Jews. The scriptures of Christianity includes not only the twenty seven books or writings that constitute the New Testament but also the Old Testament. The testaments together make up the Christian Bible. From the Jewish point of view the law, the prophets and the writings record the covenant (testament) between God and Abraham. Christians, on the other hand believe that God made a new Covenant with man through Christ. Christians believe that covenant with Abraham is old Testament and covenant through Christ is the New Testament. The New Testament contains the Christian teachings. Mathew, Mark and Luke are the authors of the gospels which recount the life and teachings of Jesus. They are the first three books of the New Testament. The gospel according to John is the fourth book. The fifth book relates the story of the followers of Jesus after his death. The remaining books largely consist of letters written by early Christian teachers, chief among whom was Saint Paul. The Bible set forth a code of law.

11.3.3 CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Jesus professed to teach the Jewish way of life. He was born a Jew and was trained in all the institutions of Judaism, first in his family and then at the Synagogue in Nazareth. He repeatedly remarked that he had not come to destroy but to fulfill the law and the prophets.

There are two Commandments which show that the essential elements of Christian religion is love. "You shall love the lord, your God with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your mind"; "You shall love your neighbor as yourself".

According to these Commandments man must love God first and secondly his neighbor. This moral quality is at the heart of the etiology of Jesus. The principle of man's love is based on God's prior love for man. God's love is for man as an individual and as a person. The parables of Jesus present God's love for human beings. In one of the parables God is represented by a shepherd who cares for a hundred sheep. When one of the sheep is lost he leaves the ninety nine sheep and goes in search of the one that has gone astray. The point of the parable is that when a sinner repents there is joy in Heaven. In another parable it is stated that God allows man freedom and he is allowed to make his mistakes but God's love for him never dies.

God is the father of all human beings and he is the creator of the whole world. But the most important proof of God's love for man is that he sent his only begotten son Jesus to save mankind by embracing the cross.

The Christian doctrine consists of the following three parts (1) Belief in God, the creator of the universe, and in his son Jesus Christ, who is both the son of God and the Son of man and who acts as intermediary between God and man and in the Holy Ghost, (2) Stress on the necessity of faith in God and his son and on obeying the Commandments and glorifying God. These commandments prescribe both love of God and love of the neighbor. The third part of the doctrine relates to belief in Original Sin and the possibility of Salvation through faith in Christ and the grace of God.

11.3.4 TENSE OF CHRISTIANITY

Of all the major religions Christianity has the fullest and most explicit formal statements of faith. The three fold nature of God as father, Son and the Holy spirit (the trinity) is fundamental to all branches of Christianity except the protestants. Trinity means one God in three persons. God is the focus of doctrine and worship. He is the ultimate ground of all existence. Christianity defines God as the God and father of Jesus Christ. God is the ultimate reality and he is known and seen through Jesus Christ. The doctrine is the meaning that Christians find in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The story of Jesus Christ is the core of Christian doctrine. It is called the Gospel which means good news. The Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity. It denotes the invisible reality of God working in the world. It is from this spirit that the Church, the sacraments and Christian life derive their spiritual substance and power.

11.3.5 CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN

Sin means violation of the will of God. According to Christian theology, sin is of two types - original sin and actual sin. Actual sin is an act that violates a Commandment of God. Christians believe that souls of men receive appropriate rewards or punishments after death. The righteous, who

die in a state of grace, with sins forgiven enter Heaven, and others enter Hell. Christians believe in hell and heaven, which figure in several writings.

Jesus represents heaven as a place where his followers will receive ample compensation for all their present suffering. They will enjoy the company of the great and good of the former ages. On the Day of Judgement the men shall give an account of everything and the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his father with his angels and he shall reward every man according to his works. The principle of reward and punishment permeates all the moral teachings, of Jesus.

11.3.6 RITUAL AND WORSHIP

Christianity calls for the response of the Christian community to God in worship. Worship is important in Christianity, because throughout it the spiritual life is nourished and only with God's help can the Christian life be lived. Public communal worship is essential Christianity.

The sacraments are distinctive ritual observances of Christianity more or less separated from the regular service as a whole. Baptism and Communion are the two important sacraments.

The first religious rite which is given prominence is Baptism. It is the rite of admission into the Church. Eucharist, the Lord's supper, the Holy communion or the mass is another prominent rite. It is also known as the breaking of bread. In the beginning Christians like the Jews kept the Sabbath but soon it was replaced by Sunday.

The Kingdom of God, history as a continuing struggle between God and his angels on the one hand and Satan and his demons on the other, the final triumph of God and the angels over Satan and the demons, are basic ideas of Christian eschatology. The second coming of the Jesus, the resurrection of the dead, the Final Judgement, Heaven and Hell, eternal rewards and punishment are involved in the triumphs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the basic features of christianity.

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11. 4. SUMMARY

Islam and Charistianity are the two religions which have some similarities-belief in one God, belief in the holy book, prayer and alms giving.

11.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Westermarck	:	Christianity and Morals
B.Sheik Ali	:	Islam - A Cultural Orientation.
Mussin Tayyibji	:	Tayabjis Muslim Law
Coulson	:	Succession in the Muslim family Religions of the World
Ahmed	:	Marriage, family and kinship
Mazhar UL Hq Khan	:	Purdah and Polygamies
M.Subbamma	:	Christianity and Women
M.Subbamma	:	Islam and Women.

11.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS.

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each
1. Explain the basic features of Islam.
 2. Explain the basic features of Christianity.
 3. Explain some similarities between Islam and Christianity.
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.
1. How was religion in pre-Islamic Arabia.
 2. Write a brief note on the life of the Prophet Muhammad.
 3. Write a brief note on the teachings of Jesus.

UNIT-12: MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP AMONG MUSLIMS

CONTENTS

- 12.0 Aims and Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Institution of Marriage
 - 12.2.1. The Rules of Marriage
 - 12.2.2 Types of Marriage
 - 12.2.3 Age at Marriage
 - 12.2.4 Arrangement of Marriage
 - 12.2.5 Mehr
 - 12.2.6 Ceremonies Preceding Marriage
 - 12.2.7 Nikah Ceremony
- 12.3 Family among Muslims
- 12.4 Kinship Organisations
- 12.5. Summary
- 12.6 Suggested Books
- 12.7 Model Examination Questions.

12.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVE

The main aim of the unit is to discuss about the social institutions Marriage, family and kinship among Muslims.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the rules of Marriage among muslims,
- explain the Types of Marriages among Muslims,
- explain the basic social unit family among Muslims,
- explain the kinship organisation among Muslims.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Marriage, family and kinship are three important institutions which are found in all types of societies. These three institutions are inter related. Marriage is defined as a more or less durable connection between male and female continuing beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring. Marriage is universal but the way in which it is performed varies from one society to another. The marriage ceremony is essential for the establishment of family. The Union of man and woman who live together without getting married to each other is generally condemned. Marriage is a socially sanctioned union performed to of man and woman for procreation 117

and for the satisfaction of sexual desire. There is no society where marriage is unregulated. It is present in some form or other and involves either a legal contract or social and religious ceremony or both.

12.2 INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

In some religious groups marriage is considered a sacrament. Among Hindus marriage is a sacrament which is irrevocable. It is only in the company of the wife that a man can perform 'Panchamaha Yajnas'. Secondly marriage is necessary for procreation. Among Christians also marriage is a sacrament but among Muslims marriage is a contract. It is a Sunnah and an obligation to be fulfilled. It is a purely secular ceremony and there is nothing sacrosanct about. According to Prophet Muhammad marriage is a means of producing progeny and assuming the responsibility for the continuance of the human life and also to enjoy women's love. The main objective of marriage among Muslims which is known as 'Nikah' is procreation and legalisation of children.

Marriage implies a ceremony, a union sanctioned by society, a recognition of obligations to the community assumed by those entering it. Marriage, in general performs certain important functions.

1. It is the basis for the formation of family.
2. The sexual desire of individuals is regulated through marriage.
3. It fixes the responsibility of bringing up children upon the parents and assigns the child a definite place in society.

12.2.1 THE RULES OF MARRIAGE

In so far as sexual relationships are concerned marriage maintains some kind of order. In order to prevent sexual relations with one's near kin certain restrictions are imposed on the choice of marriage partners. Endogamy and exogamy are two aspects of marriage.

Endogamy is the practice of marrying within a socially deprived group while exogamy is the practice of marrying outside a socially deprived group. Incest taboos exist in all societies and they forbid marriage and sexual relations between members of the nuclear family. Exogamy is compatible with incest taboos. Endogamy is preferred in order to maintain the purity of the group, its homogeneity, its numerical strength, its unity and also to keep its property intact.

Among Muslims there is a preferential code enjoining marriage to a particular relative as being desirable or obligatory. Likewise there are certain restrictions prohibiting marriage to certain relatives or between groups as they are considered incestuous or undesirable.

Muslims are divided into two major groups on the basis of their sectarian affiliations. The Shias and Sunnis are again divided into a number of subgroups each bearing a distinct identity and name. The Muslims place great emphasis on purity of blood and even those who came to India tried to maintain it by not mixing with the local population. The division was on the basis of Kufw, similarity of status, culture, vocation and way of life. Among Shias there are four castes-Syeds, 118 Sheiks, Moghuls and Pathans. The Syeds for instance, for purposes of marriage sought alliances

with other Syeds only. Generally each member likes to marry within his or her own group. Muslims in Northern India practice village exogamy. A boy and a girl from the same village are not permitted to marry because the villagers consider themselves to be belonging to one large family having a common ancestry. They consider marriage within the village incestuous.

The rules of exogamy and endogamy may be preferential or prescriptive which lead to four types of marriages (i) Cross Cousin Marriage (ii) Parallel Cousin Marriage, (iii) Levirate and (iv) Sororate.

When a man marries his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter it is called cross cousin marriage, and when a man marries his mother's sister's daughter or his father's brother's daughter it is called parallel cousin marriage. Both these types of marriages are prevalent among Muslims. Among Muslims marriage to father's brother's daughter is more or less obligatory. The father's brother's daughter is called bintaam. It is considered an insult and an offence to refuse to accept one's father's brother's daughter in marriage. This type of marriage is preferred because of their being proud of their lineage and their notion of purity of blood. This contributed to family solidarity. The second reason why they prefer this type of marriage is to save the family property from being dissipated. Among Muslims daughters have a specific share in the property and also has mehr as her property. On her marriage to one outside the family property will pass to another family but if she is married within the family it will continue to remain within the family.

Levirate is the practice of marrying the deceased husband's brother and sororate is the practice of marrying the deceased wife's sister. Among Muslims there is the practice of widow's marrying the deceased husband's brother (levirate) and also deceased wife's sister (sororate) Levirate type of marriage is preferred in order to preserve the family name, property and also to provide security to the wife and the children. Sororate is practiced to protect the children and also to avoid payment of bride price or Meher.

The Mohamedan Law provides certain restrictions and prohibitions in so far as marriage is concerned. The Koran prohibits a man from marrying his mother, daughter, sister's daughter and son's wife and wife's daughter. It is also stated that a man may not marry two sisters at the same time. He should not marry a foster mother who has suckled him. It is prescribed that a Muslim woman cannot marry a woman or non muslim while a man can marry a kithabia (kithabia is woman or man who believes in religion revealed through a book other than the Koran), and she cannot have more than one husband at a time.

12.2.2 TYPES OF MARRIAGE

Depending upon the number of partners marriage may be classified as monogamy and polygamy. When one man marries one woman it is monogamy. This type of marriage is accepted universally. Many societies prefer this type of marriage in order to preserve the family harmony, to avoid the distribution of property and lastly to provide emotional security for the children.

Koran strongly recommend monogamy. Polygamy or plurality of wives has been a common practice among Muslims. Among the Indian Muslims it became popular during the period of 119

Muslim rule when the royal families used to have harems consisting of number of wives drawn from both Muslim and Hindu communities. The Koran has sanctioned polygamy but it restricted the number of wives to four, It has also laid down certain conditions regarding the treatment of wives.

Polygamy is practiced for two reasons.

1. When the number of females is more than the males.
2. When the first wife has no hope of begetting an issue. Propagation of one's species is the most important function of marriage and if all the hope of having an issue through the first wife are at an end, the man then can divorce the wife or marry for a second time. Islam does not permit plurality of wives in the case of everyone. It placed the institution under restrictions which gradually proved to be a most efficacious check on polygamy. The largest portion of the Muslim world observes monogamy.

The early Arab marriages were characterised by three features.

1. **Beena Marriage:** Here a woman was free to choose her husband. She received him in her own tent and dismissed him at her pleasure. The children born belonged to the woman's kin and grew up under their protection.
2. **Baal Marriage:** In this the women came to live with her husband and the children belonged to the husband's clan. The women lost her original freedom to dismiss her husband at her pleasure.
3. **Muta Marriage:** It was union brought about by the mutual consent of the parties without the intervention of the women's kin. The contract was stipulated for a specific period and during that period the woman could not divorce her husband. The woman was not deprived of her original freedom though it came to be limited and her kin continued to own her children. The Shiites who are strict followers of the Quranic precepts and who differ from the Sunnites through their emphasis on the validity of the Koran alone, practiced this form of marriage in Persia and other Shiite countries. Such a wife is known as Singha. Unlike the ordinary wife the Singha has no legal claim to maintenance and does not inherit from her husband. But the children are perfectly legitimate and inherit their father's property.

Muta marriage was unpopular because of the following: (i) the woman did not leave her home, (ii) her people gave up no right which they had over her and (iii) the children of the marriage did not belong to the husband. It conceded a greater amount of freedom to woman and did not recognise the affiliation of the child born to the husbands clan. It was thus opposed to the Islamic conception of marriage.

12.2.3. AGE AT MARRIAGE

In Islam no age limit is fixed for marriage. It was often seen that quite young girls may be legally married but a girl is handed over to the husband only after attaining puberty. In Muslim law a marriage can be lawfully performed when both parties attain puberty.

12.2.4. ARRANGEMENT OF MARRIAGE.

In the Muslim community the arrangement of marriage has always remained the responsibility of the parents alone, especially the father. The bride and bridegroom have no voice selecting their

partner. This privilege of the Wali is exercised in two ways. (1) It is the chief duty of the Wali, to see that the principle of equality of the parties is maintained and that the woman over whom he has charge does not make an unsuitable or undesirable match which may bring dishonor on the family. Certain relatives are hence qualified to object to a marriage contracted by a female who has reached majority on the ground that the man is not her equal in lineage, character, property, profession, status or education.

(2) The Wali may give in marriage girl who is virgin and also a minor, after informing her that a suitor has presented himself. Her silence gives consent, but even if she says that she does not consent the marriage is lawful.

Under Shafii law, the marriage of a virgin, even if she has attained majority is impossible without the consent of the Wali. The role of Wali in marriage is that while the contracting party on the male side is the bridegroom himself, it is the Wali who officiates on the woman's side of the wife. Marriage is settled by the guardians for two reasons:

- (1) to achieve the end proposed in marriage, i.e., procreation;
- (2) marriage to be contracted only with a woman who equals the man in birth, profession and faith.

At the marriage, the presence of proxy and two male witnesses is considered essential. In case two male witnesses are not available one male witness and two female witnesses are required. No marriage is solemnized without the presence of the witnesses. The marriage of the minors takes place with guardians acting as proxies on either side or some others appointed by them to represent their respective parties. Any marriage without such proxies is considered invalid. The minor boy or girl on attaining his or her age is however free either to accept or dissolve the marriage. But the parties are only allowed to use this privilege when the lawful guardians are other than their fathers or grand fathers, but if the father or grand father has given away his children in marriage on attaining the age of marriage they are not free to dissolve the marriage. This distinction is based upon the natural affection and love of the father and grandfather whose wisdom, experience and concern for the good of their children to get suitably married is bound to be beneficial beyond doubt.

12.2.5 MEHR

To make the man value his wife it is made obligatory for him to pay her a certain amount of money. This is the dower, mehr, a sort of bride price, but a price to be paid to her parents or kinsfolk. According to the prophet such payment is a token of the man's respect for his wife and means the realization that she is not someone who has come to him for nothing. It is meant to give her status and to raise her in the esteem of her husband and the world. The mehr, has become an integral part of the Muslim marriage and is even mentioned in the Nikahnama, the certificate which the couple receive at the time of marriage. It is of two kinds Mu'ajjal (immediate) and Mu'wajjal (deferred). The institution of mehr is fully recognised in India as a part of the Muslim law of 121

marriage and divorce. In India mehr has been inextricably mixed up with family prestige, the desire of the girl's parents to assert their right and to extract the maximum benefit out of the boy's family. In some families the amount of dowry is fixed by custom and so when alliances among close relatives take place it is named or accepted without questioning. Most often the sum is settled during the marriage negotiations and rarely at the time of the Nikah. If the man becomes richer after marriage and if the wife desires an increase in her dowry to which the husband agrees the amount of dowry may be increased. If the amount of Mahari Mu'ajjal and Mahari Mu'wajjal has not been clearly set forth, the same shall be understood according to the practice in vogue in the society of the place. If any part is paid off immediately after the marriage it shall be considered part of the mahri muajjal.

Generally there are in all Muslim states 'Qazi's who preside at marriages and an entry as to the amount of dowry is made in their registers which are regarded as authentic. The significance of Mahr is

1. Security for the wife
2. Hukme - Shariat (Religious order)
3. Price of Wife's Nafs (self)

12.2.6 CEREMONIES PRECEDING MARRIAGE

Of the several ceremonies which precede the actual marriage the main are Istikhara, Iman Zaumin (Maupni), Marjha and Sanchaq.

Ceremonies during the performance of Marriage

The main one's are the Nikah ceremony, Arisi-Mushaf, Salami, Rukhsati, Kheer Chatai, and Runumai.

Ceremonies after marriage.

They include Walima feast, Chauthi and Chalas.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Mehr?

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What is the importance of Mehr?

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12.2.7 NIKAH CEREMONY

Before the nikah ceremony, dried dates, sugar and naqul are placed before the bridegroom. There are generally two Mujtahids and some witnesses. One of the Mujtahids represents the bridegroom while the other represents the bride's side. If the settlement of the Mahr has not taken place before, it is done on this occasion. The bride's Mujtahids go to the bride in the women's apartment and ask her three times whether she accepts the person concerned as her husband with the amount of Mehr as settled; and generally she answers in the affirmative. Then the Mujtahids from the bride's side come and take his seat in the assembly. Then the mujtahids of the bridegroom's side ask the bridegroom three times whether he accepts the woman concerned as his wife with the amount of Mehr as settled and he answers in the affirmative. Then both the mujtahids pronounce Nikah and some responsible persons from amongst the audience sign on the Nikahnama (marriage deed) as witnesses. Among Muslims the symbol of marriage is the nath, nose ring which many women wear for years after their wedding. It has become so much a part of the ritual that it is claimed with quite a degree of seriousness that nikah could be valid without the nath being worn.

After the nikah, the bridegroom sees his bride for the first time not directly but in a mirror. He is seated facing her on a carpet. A veil is thrown over both and after reciting a short verse from the Koran, the bridegroom is asked to look at the bride's face in the mirror placed between them. When the Nikah ceremony is completed the bridegroom returns home carrying his bride in a palki.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the reasons why polygamy is practised

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12.3 FAMILY AMONG MUSLIMS

Family is a basic social unit of social organization which is found in almost all societies in some form or another. Family is the most universal of all social institutions and it is the most important primary group. The family is the hearth, the home, the place where members of different 123

generations are brought continuously together. Family performs certain important social functions.

1. Replacement of members;
2. Economic functions;
3. Socialization of the new members;
4. Satisfaction of human desire for love, affection, security;
5. Linking of the individual to the larger social structure.

The family may be classified on a number of basis.

1. On the basis of authority;
2. On the basis of marriage relationship;
3. On the basis of descent;
4. On the basis of blood relationship; and
5. On the basis of organization.
6. On the basis of Residence.

In terms of marriage family may be monogamous or polygamous. Among Muslims monogamous families are prevalent. Though Koran permits a man to have four wives at a time yet few Mohammedans can avail themselves of it. Based on authority, the family is either patriarchal or matriarcal. Among Muslims the dominating figure in the family is the eldest male member. All the authority is exercised by him. This shows that Muslim families are patriarchal. Among the Kerala Muslims the family is matriarcal. The authority lies with the eldest female member. Patrilineal families and matrilineal families are based on descent. As stated earlier, among Muslims, descent is traced through the father and it is known as patrilineal descent but among the Kerala Muslims it is matrilineal. Based on residence the family may be patrilocal or matrilocal. Among Muslims patrilocal residence is preferred for all newly married couples. Based on the composition of members, families may be nuclear, extended or joint families. The nuclear family is a small group composed of husband, wife and children and the extended family consists of two or more nuclear families (the nuclear family of the married adult is joined to that of his parents). Joint family includes families of several brothers and the families of their children characterised by common residence, common property, etc. The muslim family in India corresponds to that of Hindus.

The norms favouring joint family living, a feature so characteristic of the Hindu on account of the support provided for it in the Hindu scriptural literature are equally widely held among Muslims. The basic unit among the Muslims is referred to as ghar. It consists of relatives who live in one house cook on a common choolah and own joint property. Joint extended family is considered desirable and prestigious for man to have his sons and their families living in his household. Among

Muslims joint families are lineal in structure and sometimes collateral (several brothers and their families live together)

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the functions of Muslim family?

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12.4 KINSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

Murdock defines kinship system as a structured system of relationship in which individuals are bound to one another by complex interlocking and ramifying ties. Blood relationship binds people more than any other kind of relationship it is called consanguineous kinship and the other type which binds people is one through marriage and it is called affinal kinship. Marriage unites two families and a chain of relationships are created. Every individual is bound to the different members of his family through a series of kinship ties. Some are closely related and some distantly related. Every individual in his life time belongs to the family of orientation (family into which he is born) and family of procreation (which is set up after his marriage). Members of these two families are the primary relatives of the individual and they are closely related to him. The primary relatives of each of these primary relatives are his secondary relatives (father's father, mother's brother, father's sister, wife's father or son's wife) The primary relatives of any individual's secondary relatives are the tertiary relatives (grand father's brother, etc.) The kinship ties result in a set of culturally patterned relationships between kinsmen and use of particular kin terms to address particular relatives.

There are more than sixty terms of reference in the kinship system of Muslims each of which refers to one or more types of relative. Sex, generation, age difference, consanguinity and affinity, lineality, and laterality are used to distinguish between relatives from one another. Kinship terms are differentiated into denotative and classificatory types. Father, mother, husband, wife are denotative and classificatory terms. Grand father, cousin, uncle and aunt are classificatory terms. If the descendants are of a common male ancestor they are termed agnates, while the descendants of female ancestor are called the uterine kin. Kinship usages are the patterns of behavior among the kin groups. Difference, avoidance and joking relations are the kinship usages. Deference is the show of respect towards a particular group of relatives (standing up when elders come in, etc). Interaction between certain relatives like mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, etc., is one of avoidance. Joking relations indicate familiarity resulting from the feeling of equality and mutual reciprocity. The following table shows the kin terms of the Muslims.

KINSHIP TERMS

(Terms for relatives in ego's generation)

SI.No	Terms of reference	Geneological relationship
Terms for relatives in ego's generation		
1.	Bhai	Brother
2.	Bhabi	Brother's wife
3.	Bahu	Son's wife
4.	Bahin	Siter
5.	Behnoi (jijia)	Sister's husband, Cousin's husband,
6.	Samdhi	Son's wife's father, Daughter's Husband's father
7.	Samdhan	Son's wife's mother, Daughter's Husbands's Mother
8.	Saala	Wife's brother
9.	Saali	Wife's younger sister
10.	Shouhar	Husband
11.	Devar	Husband's younger brother
12.	Devrani	Husband's younger brother's wife
13.	Jeth	Husband's elder brother
14.	Jethani	Husband's elder brother's wife
15.	Nanand	Husband's sister
16.	Nanaden	Husband's sister's husband
Terms for ego's parents generation		
17.	Bap	Father
18.	Maa	Mother
19.	Tau	Father's elder brother
20.	Tai	Father's elder brother's wife
21.	Chacha	Father's younger brother
22.	Chachi	Father's younger brother's wife
23.	Phuphi	Father's sister
24.	Phupha	Father's sister's husband
25.	Mamu	Mother's brother
26.	Mami	Mother's brother's wife
27.	Khala	Mother's sister
28.	Khalu	Mother's sister's husband
29.	Sasura	Wife's father, Husband's father
30.	Sas	Wife's mother, Husband's mother
Terms for relatives in the second and third ascending generations		
31.	Dada	Father's father
32.	Dadi	Father's mother
33.	Nana	Mother's father
34.	Nani	Mother's mother
35.	Pardada	Father's father's father
36.	Pardadi	Father's father's mother

12.5 SUMMARY

Among Muslims marriage is a contract. Cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages are accepted by Muslims. Kinship plays a very important role among Muslims. They provide security and economic and emotional support. Thus marriage, family and kinship are the three important institutions which are closely interlinked with one another.

12.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Westermarck	:	Christianity and Morals
B.Sheik Ali	:	Islam a Cultural Orientation
Mussin Tayyibji	:	Tayibiji's Muslim Law
Coulson	:	Succesion in the Muslim Family
Ahmed	:	Marriage, family and kinship
Mazhar UI Hq Kha'.	:	Purdah and Polygamy.
M.Subbamma	:	Christianity and Women.
M.Subbamma	:	Islam and women

12.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer th following in about 30 lines each
1. Explain the importance of marriage among muslims
 3. What are the rules of marriage among Muslims?
- II Answer th following in about 20 lines each
1. Explain the Kinship organisation among muslims .
 2. Explain different types of Mehr
 3. What are the different types of ceremonies of marriage?

UNIT-13: PROPERTY, INHERITANCE AND PURDAH SYSTEM

CONTENTS

- 13.0 Aims and Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Property
 - 13.2.1 Characteristics of Property
 - 13.2.2 Types of Property
- 13.3. Inheritance
 - 13.3.1 Family Ties as Grounds of Inheritance
 - 13.3.2 Blood Relationship
 - 13.3.3 Priorities in Inheritance
 - 13.3.4 Classification of Heirs
 - 13.3.5 Principles of Inheritance
- 13.4 Purdah system
 - 13.4.1 Scientific Theory of Purdah
 - 13.4.2 Principles of Purdah
- 13.5 Summary
- 13.6 Suggested Books
- 13.7 Model Examination Questions

13.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the three aspects of Indian Muslim society - property, Inheritance and Purdah system.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain property, its characteristics and its types.
- explain inheritance among Muslims
- explain scientific theory of purdah system.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last two units we have studied about the Basic features of Islam and Christianity and Marriage, family and kinship among Muslims. In this unit we will study about property, Inheritance and Purdah among Muslims.

13.2 PROPERTY

Property does not refer to things owned but to the rights which constitute the ownership. It is a social custom and is protected by law. Several writers have attempted to point out the important stages in the development of property. Hobhouse distinguished three principal phases in the evolution of property. According to him, in the first stage there is little differentiation or

inequality and the means of production are owned in common. They are controlled by the community. In the second stage wealth increases and the society is classified into rich and poor and individual ownership in the means of production becomes predominant. In the final stage there is a combination of high industrial organization and equality, freedom and community control.

Karx Marx also distinguished three principal phases in the evolution of property. In the beginning there was the classless society where everything was commonly held or shared by all. Then it passed into various forms of class differentiation and individual private ownership of the means of production. As the society developed still further, a classless society developed at a higher level.

Individual or collective ownership of production came into existence as agriculture, manufacture and commerce developed. Some societies still have the system of common ownership under which community exercises control over cultivation and certain rights in the settlement of disputes.

It is the capitalist system which has given rise to property for power and individual acquisition of wealth. In India we find both individual and public ownership of the economic resources of society. Different societies have different systems of ownership of property.

13.2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF PROPERTY

Three property rights have certain characteristics

- 1 Property rights are transferable;
- 2 Property rights involve an important distinction between ownership and possession of a thing;
- 3 Property gives power.

Property rights are normative definitions sustained by collective agreement with society and backed by legitimate forms of power and authority. This property rights are socially defined and enforced. The owners of property have to pay taxes failing which the property rights may be forfeited.

13.2.2. TYPES OF PROPERTY

Private property is one form of property rights and communal form of property is the second. In the traditional societies communal form of property has existed. When the property rights are placed in the name of a political collectivity it is public ownership. Ethnically the function of property is to provide the material conditions for a free, secure and purposeful life. Inheritance is the transmission of property from one generation to another.

13.3 INHERITANCE

The main purpose of the Islamic system is material provision for surviving dependents and relatives, for the family group bound to the deceased by the mutual ties and responsibilities which stem from blood relationship. The manner in which this provision is to be made is prescribed by

the law. Relatives are categorised into different categories in order of priorities and the amount or quantum of their entitlement is clearly defined. In the Islamic context 'Legal Heir' is the term applied to those relatives upon whom property devolves after the death of the owner. In Islamic legal philosophy the rules of inheritance propound the ideal way for the deceased to fulfill his duty to this surviving family.

Moveables and unmoveables make up the single entity of the estate in which each entitled heir is given a quantitative or fractional share. The right of a legal heir is the defined quota share in each and every item of property that comprises the estate.

From the sociological standpoint, the laws of inheritance reflect the structure of family ties, the accepted social values and responsibilities within the Islamic community.

The scheme of priorities and the fixed fractional shares of the estate to which various relatives are entitled were laid down in the Quran itself. Fara'id is the Arabic term which is used to denote the shares of inheritance allotted to various relatives by the Quran. *Ilm al Fara'id* is commonly used to describe the system of inheritance. The law of inheritance appears as a vital aspect of the individual's supreme duty to the religion of Islam in providing for the continuity of the family group as one cell of the universal Islamic community.

13.3.1 FAMILY TIES AS GROUNDS OF INHERITANCE

Marriage and blood relationship with the *prae positus* are the two principal grounds upon which the rights of inheritance rest. In both the cases the tie with the *prae positus* must be a legal tie. In the eyes of law the marriage must be one which is valid and the blood relationship should be legitimate.

13.3.2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIP (Nasab)

Rights of inheritance arise only from blood relationship and not from affinal or fosterage relationship. According to the traditional Sunni law the family group knitted together by the web of social rights and obligations was the extended agnatic family of males linked through males to a common ancestor. Though maternal relatives have rights of inheritance the main emphasis lies on the paternal relatives.

The legal postulate for admission into the family group is legitimacy by birth. Legal paternity does not exist between father and his illegitimate child. An illegitimate child is the product of Zina, i.e. the criminal offence of extramarital sex relations. There is no process by which such a child can be legitimized.

13.3.3 PRIORITIES IN INHERITANCE

In the tribal society of pre-Islamic Arabia the system of inheritance was designed to keep property within the individual tribe and maintain its strength as a fighting force. The tribe was patriarchal and patrilineal, and women in this society had a subordinate position. After marriage a woman stayed with her husband and the maternal or uterine relationship lay outside the structure of tribal ties and responsibilities. The females and non-agnate relatives were excluded from inheritance

and the enjoyment of a monopoly of rights of succession was confined to the male agnate relatives of the deceased ('asaba').

Socially, Islam emphasized the more immediate family tie existing between a husband, his wife and their children and aimed at elevating the status of the female within this group. The Quran establishes the rights of inheritance between husband and wife and in favour of certain close female blood relatives-the mother, the daughter and the sister-by prescribing fixed fractional parts of the deceased's estate as their entitlement. The Islamic law of inheritance rests basically upon the recognition of two distinct categories of legal heirs-the male agnates or 'asaba' the heirs of the customary law and the new Quranic heirs who are called ahl al-faraid. (those entitled to prescribed portions).

13.3.4. GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF LEGAL HEIRS

Broadly all relatives on the ground of precedence in succession may be divided into two groups -inner family and outer family. The inner family is made up of all male agnates, whatever their degree of removal from the praepositus along with those particular relatives nominated by the Quran. All other relatives constitute the outer family, which is only called to succession when there is no surviving blood relative of the inner family.

The Quranic heirs first take their allowed portions and the male agnate relatives then succeed to the residue of the estate. Of the surviving male agnates or asaba the nearest relative or relatives alone succeed. Priority is determined by three criteria which are collectively known as Al-Jabari's rule. They are the rule of class, the rule of degree and the rule of strength of blood tie.

THE RULE OF CLASS

The male agnates are divided into five classes in order of priority.

1. The son and his descendants (the son of a son)
2. The father and his ascendants (the father's father)
3. The descendants of the father (the brothers of the deceased and their issues, nephews of the deceased)
4. The descendants of the paternal grandfather (the deceased's uncles and cousins and their issue)
5. The line of descendants of the great paternal grandfather and the higher grandfathers in ascending order (the deceased's great uncles and their issue)

THE RULE OF DEGREE

Among relatives of the same class the nearer in degree to the praepositus excludes the relatives who are remote. For example, in class III a nephew of the deceased will be excluded by the deceased's brother, whether the latter be his own father or his uncle.

For collateral relatives who fall within classes III, IV and V of the asaba - the descendants of the father or grandfather this final determinant of priority applies to the relationship between the praepositus himself and his brother, or that between father of the praepositus and his brother, or that between the grandfather of the praepositus and his brother who may be one of the full or the

half blood. Brothers having the same mother and the same father have full blood and are known as germane relatives; and brothers having the same father but different mothers have half blood and are known as consanguine relatives. This half blood relationships are common in Islamic society and, therefore, they are of considerable significance to the laws of succession. The other type of half blood relationship is the uterine relationship of brothers who have the same mother but different fathers. Due to the institution of polygamy there is a high incidence of the consanguine relationship, and the uterine relationship is due to the frequency of divorce and the remarriage of divorcees.

Among the agnate relatives of the same class and the same degree the Germanes have priority over the consanguins. In the same way the issues of germanes have priority over the issue of consanguins. For example, the germane brother of the deceased totally excludes from succession the consanguine brother and a cousin who is the son of a germane paternal uncle and also excludes a cousin who is the son of a consanguine paternal uncle.

THE QURANIC HEIRS

According to Sunni Law, the Quranic heirs are twelve in number. They are the husband, wife, daughter, agnatic grand daughter (the daughter of a son), father, agnatic grand father (fathers father), mother, grandmother (maternal and paternal) germane sister, consanguine sister, uterine brother and uterine sister. The Quran had not specifically designated the three relatives, the grand daughter, grand father and grand mother as legal heirs but the sunni jurisprudence added them.

For the purposes of priority in succession members of the inner family may be classified into three groups - primary heirs, substitute heirs and secondary heirs.

PRIMARY HEIRS

Husband, wife, son, daughter, father and mother are the six primary heirs who are never excluded from succession by any other relative of the praepositus. There is no priority by virtue of age or any other factor among the children of the praepositus. All sons and daughters stand on an equal footing.

SUBSTITUTE HEIRS

There are four substitute heirs for the four blood relatives who are primary heirs. In the latter's absence they generally take the place of the respective primary heir. The agnatic grandson is a substitute for the son, the agnatic grand daughter for the daughter, the agnatic grand father for the father, the grand mother for the mother (maternal or paternal).

SECONDARY HEIRS

All other male agnate relatives and brothers and sisters of the praepositus are included in this category. As a general rule a substitute heir is excluded from succession by the respective primary heir on the ground that the one nearer in degree excludes the more remote but is not excluded by any other relative. As a whole group the secondary heirs are totally excluded from succession

by any male blood relative who is a primary or a substitute heir, i.e., by a male agnatic descendant or ascendant, but not by any female.

13.3.5 PRINCIPLES OF INHERITANCE

CHILDREN

As per Quranic provisions the male shall have a share equivalent to that of two females. If the children are females numbering two or more, their portion is two thirds of the inheritance. If there is a single female child her portion is one-half. (Sura 4, Verse 11).

SPOUSES

According to the Quranic provisions, in the presence of a descendant the husband is entitled to one fourth of the estate and in the absence of descendants one-half. In the presence of a descendant the wife is entitled one eighth of the estate and in the absence of a descendant one quarter. If there are more than two wives their $1/8$ or $1/4$ of the portion is equally shared.

PARENTS

"To each of the parents goes $1/6$ th of the inheritance if the deceased has left a child. If there is no surviving child and if the parents are the legal heirs, the mother takes one third, except where the deceased has left brothers in which case the mother takes one sixth. (Sura 4, Verse 11).

DAUGHTERS

In the absence of sons the daughters share as Quranic heirs. The portion of one daughter is one-half, two or more daughters share equally in a portion of two thirds. The principles of inheritance listed in the Quran may be categorised as follows:

- (1) The sons inherit twice the share of the daughter. If there are no sons the daughter inherits half the total property. If there are more than two daughters $2/3$ of the property will be divided equally between them.
- (2) If only parents survive the father will inherit $2/3$ of the property and mother $1/3$ of the property. If there are surviving children the parents will inherit $1/6$ of the property, while the remaining portion goes to the children.
- (3) If there are no surviving children but only brothers, sisters and parents then the mother receives $1/6$ instead of $1/3$.
- (4) The wife gets $1/8$ of her husband's property if there are children and $1/4$ if there are none.

SUBSTITUTE HEIRS

Grand children and grand parents may be called substitute heirs. In the absence of a son the grand son becomes the residuary heir with the highest priority.

In the absence of the father of the *praepositus* agnatic grand fathers are admitted to succession. Like the father, the grand father inherits as a residuary heir with the highest priority.

In the absence of the father of the praepositus agnatic grand fathers are admitted to succession. Like the father, the grand father inherits as a residuary heir in the absence of any lineal descendants of the inner family. As a Quranic heir he is entitled to a portion of $\frac{1}{6}$ in the presence of a son or grand son. Grand daughters (daughter of the praepositus son) get a collective portion of two thirds of the estate. The grand mother being a substitute heir for the mother inherits in the latter's absence. As a Quranic heir she is entitled to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the estate.

SECONDARY HEIRS

Secondary heirs include all male agnates however remote other than lineal descendants or ascendants. The brothers and sisters of the praepositus are given the first priority. According to Quranic laws the inheritance brothers and sisters inherit as here under:

a) "If the heirs of a deceased man or woman are collateral relatives and if a brother or sister survives, then he or she takes one-sixth. But if there is more than one brother or sister, they share one third". (Sura 4, Verse 12).

b) According to Quranic provisions, if a man dying without a child and leaves a sister, she takes half of the inheritance; and he will be her heir if she dies without a child. If there are two sisters, they take two thirds of the inheritance. If the collaterals include both males and females, then the male takes a share equivalent to that of two females (Sura 4, Verse 176).

The property of a person without heirs goes to the public treasury-the bait-ulmal. Islam was the first religion which gave a definite right of inheritance to woman.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

Define Property.

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Who are called legal heirs?

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13.4 PURDAH SYSTEM

Purdah has been a muslim institution for about a thousand years. It started during the first three centuries of early Islam and got fully established during the tenth and eleventh centuries. From that time onwards it has become an integral part of muslim society and culture.

Women in Purdah are excluded from outdoor social activities. They are secluded behind the four walls of the female apartments of the house from all men except the closest male relatives. Women are denied the freedom to participate in social life. Purdah system divides the whole social life into two strictly separate and exclusive spheres. (1) the outdoor life of the men and the other indoor secluded life of the women in the female quarters of the house called the zenana. The various customs, mores, superstitions, beliefs, prejudices and taboos all support up this system of male and female segregation so that women are confined to the house to look after the domestic duties. They have to put on a "Burqa" if they move out of the house in order to veil themselves from the men outside, so as to prevent contact with men.

13.4.1 SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF PURDAH

Maulana Maudadi an Indian Muslim theologian is concerned with the laws of nature and the social system of Islam which prescribes the social separation of men and women. The most important problem of social life is how to regulate the sexual urge into a system and prevent it from running wild. The human sexual urge is uncontrollable and it is not intended for the procreation of the species or for pleasure but for the creation of bonds of affection which provide a suitable atmosphere for the rearing of children. According to Quran every Muslim should marry in order to give an outlet to their sexual desires. It is only then that an ordered social system can be maintained.

Several of the preventive measures relate to dress. There are certain parts of the body ('Star') which are to be covered. For men the area is between the pit of the stomach and the knee and for women the whole body is to be covered except the face and hands. Men should not enter the peoples homes without permission. There are two reasons for the prevalence of Purdah system.

(1) In order to keep the society organised and to keep men and women apart to control human sexuality in dangerous. It is only through the Purdah system that we can control sexual anarchy.

(2) The secondary reason is the differences in physical structures and capacities. The female physical system is evolved in order to bear and bringup children. Menstruation, pregnancy, pasturition and child suckling and rearing make her physiologically unfit for work. Man on the other hand does not have such disabilities and burdens. The differences in physical abilities and sex make man an active partner and woman a passive receptive partner. Maulana Maudadi felt that the human society should be organized on the basis of the natural principle of functional dichotomy of the two sexes and their respective roles. In order to organise human social life,

36 activities and functions the purdah system is necessary.

13.4.2 FOUR PRINCIPLES OF PURDAH SOCIETY

Maulana Maudai laid down four principles on which family and society under the purdah system should be organised. They are:

1. The duty or role of man is to earn livelihood for the family.
2. Bearing children, nourishing them, house keeping and making domestic life a paradise of peace and joy are the responsibilities of women.
3. An individual is endowed within legal bounds, with powers to command and make decisions in order to preserve the family organization lest it should sink into anarchy and confusion. Such an individual is man alone.
4. In the organisation of society and civilization, necessary guarantees and safeguards should be provided in order to maintain and preserve this bifurcation into two spheres of sex functions and activities, so that no irrational persons may disrupt and disorganise such a good system of civilization and society by mixing together the male and female spheres of action.

Female inferiority and male superiority, the dominance of man in the family as well as in the society, exclusion of women from all social activities because of their physical disabilities, division of the social life into two separate spheres are the basic tenets of the ideology of Purdah. Though this purdah system has certain advantages it also has certain disadvantages. Women and children are cut off from the general social life. It hinders the growth and development of the character, mind and personality of both men and women of the new generation in such a manner that they remain inferior in achievement and capabilities to those of the preceding generation. But because of social change this purdah system is losing its ground.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the Principles of Pudah Society

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13.5 SUMMARY

Property refers to one's right to material objects, land, etc. It is the control of man over things which is recognised by the society. It is free from interference of others. Inheritance is the transmission of property from one generation to another. Islam has prescribed how much share each relative is entitled to. Islam elevated the status of women by providing them with a share in the property. Purdah is an integral part of Muslim society and culture. Purdah was introduced in order to keep the society organized and to control sexual anarchy.

13.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Wester mark	:	Christianity and Morals
B.Sheikh Ali	:	Islam a Cultural Orientation
Mussin Tayyibji	:	Tayibji's Muslim Law
Coulson	:	Succession in the Muslim Family
Ahmed	:	Marriage, family, kinship
Mazhar U Hqkhan	:	Purdah and Polygamy
M.subbamma	:	Christianity and Women
M.Subbamma	:	Islam and Women

13.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. What is meant by 'Property' and what are the characteristics of property.
2. What is inheritance? Explain the general classification of legal heirs.
3. Explain the principles of inheritance.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Explain the four principles of Purdah society.
2. Explain the scientific theory of Purdah.
3. Marriage and blood relationship are the two principal grounds upon which the rights of inheritance rest. Explain.

UNIT-14: MARRIAGE, FAMILY AMONG CHRISTIANS

CONTENTS

- 14.0 Aims and Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Marriage Defined
 - 14.2.1 Rules of Marriage
 - 14.2.2 Types of Marriage
 - 14.2.3 Divorce
- 14.3 Family among Christians
 - 14.3.1 Dimensions of Family Structure
- 14.4. Summary
- 14.5 Suggested Books
- 14.6 Model Examination Questions.

14.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is discuss about the institutions of Marriage and family among christians.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the institution of Marriage among christians,
- explain the institution of family among christians.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Christianity is the religion originally preached by Jesus Christ who was a Jew both by birth and by faith. He professed to teach the Jewish way of life and repeatedly remarked that he had come not to destroy but to fulfill the law. The scriptures of Christianity, include not only the twenty seven books that constitute the New Testament, but also the sacred books of the Jews known as the Old Testament. These Testaments together constitute the Christian Bible.

14.2 MARRIAGE DEFINED

Westermarck defined marriage as a more or less durable union between male and female lasting till after the birth of offspring. This union is permanent in nature unless dissolved by death or divorce of either of the partners. As stated in earlier chapters marriage has certain important functions.

- (1) Marriage forges a new social link.
- (2) It is universal and basic for the formation of the family.
- (3) The sexual desire of individuals is regulated through marriage.

- (4) It fixes the responsibility of bringing up children on the parents.
- (5) It assigns to the child a definite place in society.

Christian marriages also fulfill these five important functions. Among Christians marriage is considered to be a socially sanctioned union of male and female, a licence for parenthood. It is only through the institution of marriage that a family is set up. Marriage from the societal point of view is given the hallmark of social approval and made a legal contract which defines the relationship between husband and wife and between parents and children. It has to be performed in public and get the blessings of religion.

It is primarily a means of regularising sex relations. Hindus consider Marriage a sacrament. Even Christians also consider marriage as a sacrament. Jesus Christ, the founder of Christianity did not prescribe any particular ceremony in connection with marriage. From the beginning the marriage celebration among the Christians is accompanied by suitable acts of religious worship. Marriages that were contracted without formal benediction are discountenanced by the Church. It was in the 12th century that marriage was recognised as a sacrament. Until the year 1563 marriage without benediction was regarded as valid in the Church but thereafter that it was decided that no marriage should be celebrated without the presence of two or three witnesses. Marriage was instituted by God for the propagation of the human race and it was raised to the position of a sacrament by Jesus Christ. In view of the extraordinary reverence in which virginity was held marriage was made a sacrament. "By declaring marriage a sacrament the church got control over the copula carnalis, which even in marriage was not supposed to differ materially from fornication and brought that union of the sexes under ecclesiastical jurisdiction." (Western Mark Page 325) Marriage is purified by the priests sacramental blessing.

14.2.1 RULES OF MARRIAGE

Every society has norms regarding the question of who may marry whom. Endogamy involves mate selection norms encouraging individuals to marry within their own group. Among Christians an endogamous norm requires that marriage partners be of the same race. Another endogamous-norm concerns religion. People raised in the Jewish faith are under pressure to marry only those ones from the same religious background. Exogamy refers to mate selection norms requiring individuals to marry some one outside of their group. Exogamous norms are usually referred to as incest taboos. Incest is almost universally prohibited. In fact, exogamous mate selection norms have been strongly enforced that incest has seldom existed as an established pattern of mate selection.

Among Christians marriage is prohibited within the seventh degree which is to count from one of the parties upto a common ancestor and then down to the other party. First cousins were related in the fourth degree and uncle and niece in the third degree. Later, the forbidden degrees were increased to seven. Seven degrees are equivalent to seven generations. Brother and sister are related in the first degree, first cousin in the second degree, second cousin in the first degree, and so on, In order to forbid or avoid marriage between kinsfolk the seventh degree was chosen.

The common law of the English Church forbids marriage with a deceased wife's sister and also marriage with a deceased brother's widow. The Christians Church passed laws forbidding a man

to marry a woman for whom he had stood God father in baptism. Marriage between the minister of the sacrament, and the person baptised, between a god father and sister of the god child are prohibited. Difference of religion is also a bar to marriage.

A Christian marriage which is consummated is a sacrament and as such valid forever. It represents the union between Christ and church and as such this union is dissoluble. According to the law of nature it is permanent and because of this permanency it can fulfill its objective. At the beginning of the race it was made by god that a man shall leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife and they shall be one flesh. It is only by consummation that christian marriage becomes a sacrament and a symbol of the union between Christ and the Church.

14.2.2 TYPE OF MARRIAGE

When marriage ceremonies are mentioned we commonly think of a church, a bride in a long white gown and the husband waiting for her at the front of the church with the minister or pastor, Then they repeat the ancient Vow, 'to love and to honour, from this day forward, in sickness and in health, for richer, for poorer, till death do us part' an exchange of rings, etc. Whatever form it takes the marriage ceremony is an important ritual. The main purpose of it is to announce to the world that a man and a woman have become husband and wife, that a new family is set up and that the children born to the couple can legitimately inherit the family name and property.

Monogamy or the marriage of one man to only woman at a time is the only form of marriage that is legal among Christians.

A Christian marriage takes place with the consensus of the partners. A father cannot force his son or daughter into marriage but he has the right of voice in his children's marriages. Irrespective of age the consent of the head of family is essential for the marriage of any one under his power to be considered valid. Without the consent of the persons who marry no marriage can be concluded. Marriage contracted without the consent of parents is disapproved by the church. According to the Christian religion, no girl should be compelled to marry a person whom she dislikes.

Jesus condemned polygamy. It is the practice of marriage between a members of one sex and two or more members of the opposite sex. Any person who marries for the second time (in the presence of the first wife) is said to commit adultery.

In India when marriage is settled the parents must inform the priest who in turn informs to the Bishop's Council. When it is approved by the Bishops Council the marriage date is fixed. On three consecutive Sundays before the marriage date it is announced in the Church. If anyone has any objection he/she can pay the fee and give the reasons for his/her objection. If the reasons given are genuine then the marriage is stopped. On the other hand if the reasons are false then the marriage takes place on the day fixed by the Bishop's Council. According to 1862 Marriage Act marriage should be performed at 7'O'clock either in the morning or evening and should be performed in the Church only.

14.3 FAMILY AMONG CHRISTIANS

Family is a group of people related by blood, merit or adoption. Family in some form or other is found in all societies and it the basic unit of social organization. The marital bond between two or more members of the opposite sexes is the basis for the formation of the family. It is the smallest and most intimate group of society. MacIver defined family as a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children. Burgess and Locke defined family as a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption, constituting a single household, interacting or inter-communicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister and creating a common culture.

The family of orientation (into which you are born) provides you with a name, an identity, a heritage, security, stability and continuity. The family of procreation is that which is established when two individuals marry. The Marriage ceremony signifies that it is legal for a couple to have children and to give them a family name.

Christian family performs some important functions. (1) It provides the initial learning experiences; (2) It is the legitimate source of new members for a society there are rules for marrying and mating. The function of sexual regulations is usually assigned to the family.

14.4.1 DIMENSIONS OF FAMILY STRUCTURE.

Different family structures exist for determining descent and inheritance. If the structure is patrilineal, descent and inheritance pass from father to his male descendants. On the other hand, if it is transmitted from the mother to her descendants it is a matrilineal family. In general, Christian families are patrilineal. Only Kerala Christian's have families which are matrilineal. Based on authority we have patriarchal family and matriarchal family. In the patriarchal family the dominating figure on whom authority rests is the eldest male member. In the matriarchal family authority is exercised by the female but it is the eldest brother of the female who looks after her children's needs. Christian families in general are patriarchal where the dominating figure who controls the family is the father.

Based on residence family is patrilocal or matrilocal. (When after marriage the bride goes to live with the husband's family or the husband comes to stay with her family members). Christian families in general are patrilocal. The bride after marriage comes to stay with the husband's family. Among Kerala Christians the bridegroom comes to stay with the bride's family (matrilocal). Because of urbanization and industrialization christians who have gone out of their native places are setting up neolocal families.

On the basis of the composition of members, the family may be divided into nuclear, extended and joint types. The nuclear family is small group composed of husband, wife and children. Christian families are in general extended of unclear families.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the functions of christian family

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14.4 SUMMARY

Marriage and family are two important institutions among Christians. Among Christians marriage is a sacrament. In general the family is patriarchal and patrilineal. Extended and nuclear types of families are prevalent among Christians.

14.5 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Vernon	:	Religions of the World.
Subbamma	:	Christianity and Women

14.6 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.
1. Explain what are the important functions of Christian marriage.
 2. Explain the different types of christian families.
 3. Christian marriage is sacrament. Explain.
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.
1. What are the important functions of christian family.
 2. Explain the importance of marriage.
 3. On what grounds divorce is accepted by christians.

BLOCK - 5 TRIBAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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UNIT-15: TRIBAL RELIGION

CONTENTS

- 15.0 Aims and Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction.
- 15.2 Meaning of Religion
- 15.3 Magic and Religion
- 15.4 Forms of Religion
 - 15.4.1 Animism
 - 15.4.2 Animatism or Manism or Bongaism
 - 15.4.3 Naturism
 - 15.4.4 Totemism
- 15.5 Organization of Religion
 - 15.5.1 Shamanism
- 15.6 Forms of Magic
- 15.7 Taboos
- 15.8 Functions of Religion
- 15.9 Changing Religious Scene
- 15.1 Summary
- 15.11 Suggested Books
- 15.12 Model Examination Questions

15.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the meaning of religion, forms of religion, organisation of religion, functions of religion, magic and its forms.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of religion and its forms,
- Discuss the organisation and functions of religion,
- Discuss the differences between magic and religion.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unite we have studied about the three basic institutions Marriage, family and Kinship. In This unit we will study about the Religious institution among the tribals.

15.2 MEANING OF RELIGION

According to Oxford Dictionary, religion means particular system of faith and worship of supernatural. It is the human response to the apprehension of some thing or power, which is¹⁴⁷

supernatural and supra sensory. The term religion is derived from the latin word religion which means belief in the signs of Divine Communication or the bond that is established between the man with the supernatural.

According to Durkheim religion is belief in supernatural and the rituals associated with those beliefs. All religions, primitive and modern consist of beliefs and rituals. Ritual consists of actions in prescribed manner. The aim of those actions is to establish liason between the performing individual and the supernatural. Beliefs are a charter for the rituals, as also a rationalization of the same. But the beliefs about the supernatural as also the type of practices differ from society to society. The tribal societies are stated to distinguish between two component elements in the supernatural field - sacred part and profane part, Durkheim calls the pure supernatural beliefs and practices as sacred part, and the magical beliefs or acts as profane part. Malinowski differs from Durkheim when the former includes both religion and magic in sacred and science in profane part.

15.3 MAGIC AND RELIGION

Religion and magic are both related to supernatural. Both are based on belief and ritual. Both are aimed at getting out of some critical situation in man's life. But in religion man tries to appease god through prayers and offering worship. On the other hand in magic man tries to coerce the supernatural into his service. In tribal society the difference between religion and magic is very marginal. They resort to magic when they try to force the supernatural power or powers to come to their aid and in case they fail to get the desired result, would offer prayers. We will try to understand different forms of magic after examining various forms of religion.

15.4 FORMS OF RELIGION

Different societies among tribes have tried to explain beliefs in supernatural in different ways. Some tribes believe in God as form of benefactor who protects his descendants. Some believe that God is the embodiment in this human form who originally is a formless soul. Different tribes believe in different number of souls. Let us briefly know each of these forms.

15.4.1 ANIMISM

According to Tylor the tribals believe in the presence of soul or anima. Tylor tries to explain animism by saying that the belief in supernatural occurred to a pre-literate man due to certain experiences he had in his day-to-day life. While looking for explanations for different experiences, the tribal could come to the conclusion that there is something which is formless which directs the action of all those which have forms. But this formless could be one or more. For instance among Kota and Toda of Nilgiri hills and Ho of Bihar they believe in the existence of two souls. This belief is manifested in their observation of two types of funerals for the dead. They perform one ritual as soon as a person dies. That funeral is termed as Pasadan or Green Funeral among the Kota. Other tribes have different terms of their tribal dialect. The second funeral is called by 148 Kota as Varldan or Dry Funeral. They believe that by performing dry funeral, the dead would be

able to enter the next world. The Ho call the dry funeral as jangtopa. The dry funeral is held with much fanfare like beating drums and they believe, that by performing it, the spirit of the deceased would merge with the impersonal force termed as Bonga. Thus one can say that the preliterate man is aware of a soul which is formless and eternal.

15.4.2 ANIMATISM OR MANAISM OR BONGAISM

According to anthropologists like Marett and Majumdar the entire religious life of the tribals has sprung up due to their belief in certain understandable, impersonal, non-material, incomprehensible and unindividualized supernatural power which is inherently present in all objects of the world, both animate and inanimate. This force can be experienced and the intensity of that force varies from object to object and person to person. This force is termed by Polynesian tribes as Mana. Marett terms this belief in the presence of Mana as manaism or animatism. Majumdar found the same type of belief among Hos of Bihar being called as Bonga. The force varies from person to person. A king or a chief has higher mana or bonga compared to an ordinary man. Mana makes persons more powerful.

According to Santals there is one high God who is termed as Thakur or sing-bonga who manifests himself among hills, forest, rivers, ponds and other places. For instance Manjhibonga is believed to reside in Manjhithan or village central place. There is a paragana - bonga who oversees the actions of all the bongas living in a paragana (region). The ancestral spirits are also bongas. All these bongas are respected and worshipped at appropriate times for the well-being of the tribe.

Todas believe in two gods. Taikirzi is considered as supreme God. The other, thought to be younger brother of the first, is referred to as On. The former rules over all the living beings on the earth while the later controls all the dead. Apart from these two important gods, they believe in the presence of different spirits or super natural forces being present in rivers, hills and animals. Thus the philosophy of Advaita which is preached by the Great Hindu seers like Sankara is found to exist among the tribals.

15.4.3 NATURISM

Thinkers like Max Mullar believe that the earliest form of religion could have been the nature worship. According to Max Mullar, the error of mind born out of linguistic mistakes evolved into the beliefs and consequent practices. For instance sun is believed to rise and set, thunder sends rain and trees bear flowers and fruit. This kind of belief gives rise to faith in the power inherent in sun, thunder and trees. The tribal has taken to worship that power in order to appease it. Sun is thought to be the source of sustenance and life. Rain being the important source of water is to be secured by worshipping thunder. so is the case with the other natural objects.

Among Khasis of Meghalaya there is nature worship. Sacred groves, mountains and rivers are worshipped. Trees are also worshipped by them. Kadar of Cochin believe in several invisible nature spirits. They worship sun and trees. Gonds worship trees and believe in Tiger god. They build a hut to propitiate Tiger god so that he would not harm them. The Bhils have a number of gods who are supposed to govern water, forest, hill, etc. nagas worship nature and spirits of sun and moon.

15.4.4 TOTEMISM

Totemism is socio-religious organization in which certain exogamous groups termed clans are based on supernaturalism. The people belonging to an exogamous unit believe that they are descendants of a fictitious or real ancestor. In several cases they trace their descent from a plant or animal and that plant or animal is called the totem of the clans. The killing and eating of the totemic species is prohibited. The death of a totemic animal is mourned and ceremonies are performed to pray for the increase of the totemic species. Totemic emblems are tattooed on the body or worn as charms. Totemism is thus a socio-religious organization. According to Risley in India the religious aspect of totemism is not important compared to its social aspect. But still based on the belief of the people belonging to a clan that they descended from a common ancestor in the form of a tree or animal, we still should consider it having religious basis. Another feature of totemism is that it is a form of ancestor worship.

Among Dheki Kharia there are eight totemic exogamous clans. The local solidarity of each clan is strengthened by the possession of a common totem. One clan people believe that they are descendants of tortoise, while another clan members believe that they are descendants of a deer. Some other totems of the Kharia are a fruit and a bird. Kamar, a central Indian tribe also believes in totemism. The members of different clan believe that they are descendants of tortoise, crocodile, a jungle creeper, tiger, snake, etc. Oraons, Hos, Santals, Nagas and several central Indian tribes have totemism to a lesser or higher degree. According to several anthropologists totemic groups grew due to three factors viz. fusion, fission and generalization. Fusion means integration of several families taking one common thing whether animate or inanimate as ancestor. By fission a clan which starts growing enormously gets split into several smaller groups. A person from such a group could have developed a special attitude of friendly gratitude or awe and reverence towards a tree or an animal which in due course would be accepted as a totem of that group. This process is termed as generalization. S.C.Roy has explained these three factors by relating the mythological stories about the origin of developments of clans among the Ho tribe.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between naturism and Animatism?

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What are factors due to which totemic groups grew?

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Who is a shaman?

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15.6 FORMS OF MAGIC

As stated earlier according to Durkheim magic forms the profane aspect of supernatural. Malinowski considers magic as primitive science. Frazer has done a very significant work on this subject. According to him magical formula are based on two principles (i) like produces like and (ii) Once in contact always in contact. The magic based on the principle like produces like is called as homeopathic or mimetic magic as it is based on similarity. the second is based on contact or contagion and the magic based on that principle is called as contagious magic.

Tribal groups in Chota Nagapur practice homeopathic magic. They believe that thunder is the direct cause of rain. As thunder produces rumbling noise, whenever there are no rains they go to a hill top, sacrifice a hen or a pig and make boulders and big rocks roll to produce the rumbling noise. The Ho tribals light fires with a view that the smoke going up into the sky would form into a cloud and result in rain. Khonds(Samantas) used to practice human sacrifice with a view to get rain. They thought that as tears fell out of eyes of the seafarer, the rain would gush out of sky. In the black magic practiced by many people the imitative nature is indicated when a figure of human being is made by using mud or cotton like an effigy and it is subjected to torture. It is believed that the person whose effigy it was, would also get tortured.

Contagious magic is based on the law of contract. The preliterate people do not use the garments or ornaments of others. The reason is not hygienic consideration. It is because of the fear that it may cause some untoward things to the person and may bring bad things of the former user. This association is extended to nail and hair trimmings, excreta, utensils, personal effects, etc. There is a case where the septic lavatories constructed in a tribal area remaining spotlessly clean even after a period of one year from the date of construction. On investigation, it was found that they were never used due to the fear that the night soil of the users could be used by the others for black magic. Black magic is also termed as sorcery. Todas are feared by the other tribals of Nilgiri hills because the former are believed to practise sorcery. Among the Santals, both homeopathic and contagious magic are reported to have been existing. A specialist termed "Ojhr" is stated to be present in every village. Women among Santals are feared as they are thought to possess the knowledge of witchcraft or black magic. The women who possess the knowledge of witchcraft

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the importance of taboo's in tribal society.

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15.8 FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

Religion is explained to have an integrating function. People who possess similar type of beliefs inspite of interpersonal rivalries do come together in order to worship the same deity on ceremonial occasions. The festivals which are celebrated to commemorate different events in the religious sphere are aimed at integrating people. Anthropologists and sociologists who have tried to look at social events from functional view point, however, tried to explain the functions of religion in different ways.

According to Durkheim religion makes man to recognise that group is superior to individual morally and physically. Based on the study of the Arunta, an Australian tribe, he tries to explain how totem symbolizes the sacred, since it evokes awe, reverence, and, thus obedience to moral codes. He goes further to declare that God is but a symbol of society.

Malinowski, based on his study in the island islands, opines that there is an intricate relationship between religion of a society and the emotional states caused by the strain of tension of the members of that society. Those who go on fishing expeditions on sea for example, are affected by the state of fear which a possible disaster on the seas may arise. Religion helps the man to overcome that strain. In otherwards religion brings about a readjustment between man and the supernatural in upset states of existence and gives him mental psychical stability.

According to Radcliff-Brown, the function of religion is to create a sense of dependence on supernatural. From societal view point, the survival of groups is primary. The supernatural control and punishment and the anticipation of support due to behaviour according to social norms allows man to have confidence in himself and society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the functions of Religion in the tribal Society.

N.K.Bose	:	Indian Tribes
Durkheim	:	The Elementary Forms of the Religion Life.
Romesh Thapar	:	Tribe, Caste and Religion in India

15.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the meaning of religion? How is it different from magic?
2. Discuss the significance of religious organisation in solving the problems of people.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Explain the role of Totemism in Tribal society.
2. What is taboo? Mention different types of taboos.
3. What is Bongism? Who practice it?
4. Who is a Shaman? What are his functions?
5. What is cantageos magic? give examples.

BRAOU

UNIT-16: MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP AMONG TRIBES

CONTENTS

- 16.0 Aims and Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
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- 16.5 Summary
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16.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the basic institutions marriage, family and kinship among Tribes.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- discuss the nature of marriage, family and kin groups as they exist among Indian tribes,
- discuss about the different forms of marriage, family and their importance among Indian tribes,
- explain the kinship terminology, usages and kin groups among Indian tribes.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Marriage, family and kinship are three important institutions found among all societies. Different tribes have different ways of acquiring mates. Families are of different types. Kinship is a vital institution among tribal societies. Terminology has a very important function in cementing the bonds of relationship. Kinship usages have a significant role in maintaining relationships among individuals. All these are explained in this unit.

The tribal society is governed mostly by informal rules and regulations, and therefore kinship plays a very important role in their day-to-day transactions. Family is the basic social unit. It is not only an institution where individuals share their interests, but also a place where the young ones get trained for their future roles. In the light of these basic aspects it is important to know

about these three institutions of the tribal societies. In this unit we shall discuss the nature of marriage, its forms, and the types of family, and kinship patterns among the Indian tribes.

16.2 MARRIAGE

Marriage is basically a bond involving social and/or religious sanctions and authorising two persons of opposite sexes to engage in sexual and consequent and correlated socio-economic relations with each another. Thus marriage provides biological and psychological satisfaction to people. It also indicates the division of labour and co-operation for stable functioning of a group at the lowest level of the social scale.

16.2.1 Forms of Marriage or Acquiring Mates

(1) MARRIAGE BY NEGOTIATION

Different tribes have different acceptable forms of marriage. Among all the tribes one common acceptable form of marriage, however, is marriage by negotiation. Among the Ho, this form of marriage is called as Andi. The Kharia call it asli or real marriage. The Santals call this type of marriage Kiran bahu bapla. The Gaddi name it Shadi. Among the Kinnauras this form of marriage is termed zane kang. In this form of marriage the parents of a girl or a boy search for a partner for their daughter or the son. A messenger or a middleman is engaged to search for a partner for the child. This middleman is known by different terms in different tribes. For instance among the Ho, he is called sultan, while he is termed raabaric among the Santal. In this form of marriage bride price is present among almost all the tribes.

(2) MARRIAGE BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT

When a girl and a boy accept each other and marry despite opposition from their parents, a form of love marriage is the result. This is also reported to be prevailing among several tribes. Among Santals this form of marriage is termed as Kharaji, while it is termed Raji Khusi by the people of Ho.

(3) MARRIAGE BY ELOPEMENT

Elopement is a form of marriage when a girl and a boy run away from their parents and marry on their own. It gains acceptance in due course. It is also prevalent among several tribes in India.

(4) MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE

Opporitipi is the term given to this form of marriage by the Ho, while Itut bapla is the term used by the Santal. When a boy likes a girl, he waits with his friends for an appropriate occasion when he could forcibly abduct the girl. This form of marriage is prevalent among the Khonds of Orissa. It is observed that when a boy falls in love with a girl and is not in a position to afford the bride price, he waits for an opportunity to capture the girl. Khonds have an annual fair in different places during the months of February and March. When the girls go to attend the fairs, the boys also reach these fairs. At the suggestion of the boy, the girl is abducted and lifted away by his friends. Her friends and elders may try to beat the boy and his friends bring the girl back. The abducted girl is lodged in a hut in a secret place and is made to accept the proposal. The practice is to apply vermilion on the forehead of the captured girl. This marks the marriage. There may

158 conciliation among them and they become friendly once again.

(5) MARRIAGE BY EXCHANGE

This form of marriage is termed Golanti bapla by the Santals. The Bhils also practice this form of marriage. Two families exchange brides in this form of marriage and avoid payment of bride-price.

(6) MARRIAGE BY INTRUSION

The Santal term this form of marriage the Vir Balak Bapla. The Ho term this form of marriage Anader. In this form of marriage, young woman's wish to marry a boy of her choice is important. When she fails to get the attention of her chosen boy, she goes and makes an intrusion into his family. She may carry a few gifts to his parents and declare her intention to live as his wife. They may abuse, beat or even refuse food and shelter. She remains unaffected and adamant till she is accepted as the daughter-in-law of the house. No ceremony is generally held to solemnize this form of marriage among the Ho, but among the Santals a formal marriage is performed.

(7.) MARRIAGE BY SERVICE

This form of marriage is termed by the Santal the Ghardi Jawae Bapla. This form of marriage is also prevalent among the Bhils, the Gond and the Oraons. The boy who wants to get married but is not in a position to acquire money to pay bride price, would go to his prospective father-in-law and start living there. This happens mostly with the families where there are no male off springs, but has only one daughter. Till the marriage is performed, the boy serves in the house of his prospective wife.

Among the Santals there is another form of marriage termed Kirin Jawae Bapla. In this form of marriage when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man who is prohibited to marry her, he has to bear all the expenditure required for getting that girl married to some other man. The boy is, however, fixed by the parents of the girl.

Among most of the tribes marriage involves bride-price and elaborate expenditure on food and liquor if it is marriage by negotiation. The bride price is called by the Gonong Ho. The expenditure involved in the marriage made many tribal families bankrupt. In order to avoid the payment bride price several persons take recourse to other forms of selecting the mates.

PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES

Among several tribes, there are certain types of preferential marriages. Among Gonds marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter (MBD) is preferred. In some tribes marrying one's father's sister's daughter (FSD) is also accepted. While the former is asymmetrical, the latter is symmetrical cross cousin marriage. The Kadar tribe adopts symmetrical cross cousin marriage. Among the Khasis a man can marry his father's sister's daughter only when his own father is not alive.

Levirate and sororate are other forms of marriage which are considered preferential ones. Levirate is a common marriage among tribes like the Andmanese, the Bhil, the Chench, the Gond, the Kadar and Oraon. Among the Andamanese, the Bhil, the Gond, the Oraon and the Saora Levirate or marrying one's elder brother's widow is a convention.

Another marriage pattern which is commonly found among several tribes is Sororate. According to Sororate, a man can marry his wife's sister. The Custom is to marry the younger sister. It is found very prominently among the Khasis, the Toda, the Gond, the Bhil and the Andamanese. Among tribes like the Chenchu, the Santal and the Ho, the sororate form is an acceptable form of marriage but is not very prominent.

16.2.2 TYPES OF MARRIAGES

Among some tribes there is no prohibition on having more than one wife while among some other tribes there is no bar on having more than one husband. When a man can have only one wife, the type of marriage is termed the monogamy. Monogamy is a rule among the tribes like the Andamanese, the Bhil, the Chenchu, and the Gond. The practice of marrying more than one woman is termed as polygamy while the system that allows a woman to have more than one husband is termed the polyandry. Polygyny is reported from the tribes like the Baiga, some of the Naga tribes and the Lushei. Polyandry is practiced by the tribes like the Tiyan, the Toda and the Khasa. It is explained that polyandry is favoured for the sake of property considerations. Among the Toda, there is the practice of a woman getting married to brothers in a family. This is termed as Fraternal polyandry. In the same manner in some tribes there is the practice of all sisters getting married to one man. This practice is termed sororal polygamy.

16.2.3 DIVORCE

Divorce is an accepted practice among most of the tribes in India. Divorce may be sought when a woman is found to be barren as is the practice among the Kharia. Marital infidelity is a valid reason for seeking divorce. This practice is in vogue among the Khasi and the Gond. Laziness or allegation of witchcraft being practiced also may be a cause for divorce. Divorced women are free to marry again. So also are the widows. As already said Levirate is common among most of the tribes.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the different forms of marriages among tribes?

What are different types of marriages among tribes?

16.3 FAMILY

The primary aim of marriage is to set up a family in order to produce children and to share various responsibilities. Man has a highly developed brain which allows him to lead an organized group life. Family results out of the institution of marriage. It also has another principle as its basis and that is descent. Descent means tracing the line of ancestry. When members of a family trace their descent through a female, it is termed the matrilineal family. On the other hand, when the line of descent is traced from of male the family is termed the patrilineal family. Among the Santal, the Chenchu, the Gond, the Oraon, the Ho, the Saora and several other tribes the families are patrilineal. The Khasi is one the few tribes among whom the matrilineal family is the norm.

Families are also categorized on the basis of where one takes up residence soon after marriage. If the couple live with the father's family of the boy, the family is termed the patrilocal or virilocal family. If the couple lives with the mother's family of the female spouse, the family is termed as the matrilocal or uxrilocal family. If the couple set up a new residence the family is termed the neolocal family. The Oraon, the Ho and the Kharia are reported to be patrilocal, while the Khasis are matrilocal. The Saora, the Jatapu and the Chenchu are neolocal.

Families are of two important types in general. A nuclear family consists of a man and his wife with their children and one or two relatives who live along with them. The Birhor, the Juang, the Chenchu, the Gond, the Savara and many tribes live in nuclear families. The other type is extended family. The extended family is again classified into vertically extended family and horizontally extended family. The vertically extended family consists of a man or woman, his or her descendants in the form of children, grand children, great grand children. The Khasis belong to the vertically extended family. The Todas are an example of the horizontally extended family. In this type a man and his brothers and their wives live as one unit.

16.3.1 IMPORTANT FEATURES OF FAMILY

Family starts with some form of institutionalized mating. There is some way of reckoning descent. It is an economic unit where some form of division of labour exists. A family can be called both as an institution and an association. It is an institution because of the norms governing the behaviour of the people who play different roles and hold various statuses. It is an association because of the element of membership. Old members die, new members enter and some members leave the family for setting up another family, and so on. It is a deliberately formed group. Among all the tribes, the family exists as an important functional unit. It is based on emotional ties. Early education to the young ones is given by the family. It is a vehicle through which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. Most of the lessons in socialization are learnt by an individual in the family.

Among some of the tribes there is an institution called youth dormitory. Among Maria Gonds it is termed the Ghotul, where in the function of socialization is transferred from the family to the dormitory where all adolescents, under the care of an old man or woman, join and spend their leisure time.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are the different types of families present among tribes.

2. What is Ghotul?

3. What is opportipi

16.4 KINSHIP

Kinship is the relationship which binds the people of a society either through blood or marriage. The bonds between the spouses are known as affinal kinship. It is the result of marriage between a man and woman and brings together two different families and also groups and cement them. There is another kind of bond which brings together people of blood relationship like the relationship between parents and their children and amongst the siblings or children of the same parents. The bond which connects this type of relatives is known as consanguinal kinship. It is important to take note of one point while discussing the consanguinal kin. Not only biological fact but also social recognition is important to determine who is the consanguinally related kin. Among the Toda of Nilgiris, the sociological father is decided by ceremony called bow and arrow ceremony. It is a polyandrous tribe and to determine the father of the prospective child, one of the husbands has to present a bow and an arrow to his pregnant wife to get himself recognised as the father of the would-be child during ceremony. Until another brother makes the ceremonial presentation, all children born to the common wife are recognised as his children.

There are three degrees of kinship. If a person is related to the ego directly, then he is ego's primary kin; one's father or mother is primary kin to an individual (the term ego refers to the individual who is the point of reference). All the relatives of a person through one's own primary kin are known as secondary kin. One's father's brother or sister's husband is a secondary kin.

Kinship groups are also categorised as broad range and narrow range groups. When a kinship system includes relatives from a large number of generations on the one hand and several relatives of the same generation on the other, such group is termed as broad range kin group. Many of the tribes trace their kinship from a fictitious ancestor thus including descendants of such an ancestor and have broad range kinship groups. All those descendants are termed as cognates. If the descendants are of a common male ancestor they are termed the agnates while those of female ancestor are called the uterine kin.

16.4.1 KINSHIP USAGES

Kinship usages are verbal and non-verbal behaviour patterns observed during the social interactions among the members of a society. Avoidance, Tyknonymy, deference, couvade, Avunculate, and joking relationship are some of the kinship usages observed among the Indian tribes.

AVOIDENCE

Among many tribal societies a daughter-in-law avoids moving in front of her parents-in-law. A son-in-law also has cramped relations with his mother-in-law. Radcliffe Brown points out that this is an attempt to reduce hostility between two groups of people by restricting the intimacy. Whatever the cause may be for this kinship usage, it exists among several tribes in India. For instance, among the Bhil, a man avoids interaction with his younger brother's wife and son's wives. Among the Gonds, a woman avoids any interaction with her husband's elder brother, husband's father and daughter's husband. The avoidance of certain female relatives by a man is reported among Oraons. In some tribes mentioning certain relatives names is avoided. Among the Santal, a man should avoid, mentioning the name of the younger brother's wife or his own wife.

JOKING RELATIONSHIP

While avoidance restricts familiarity, joking relationship prompts an extreme degree of familiarity between certain relatives. Apart from verbal interaction in the form of cutting jokes on one another, this relationship may even go to the extent of exchanging abuses, obscene and vulgar references to sex, and damage of each other's property. It is thought that such types of relationships are indicative of equality, reciprocity and even potential sexual relationship. Among the Santal a joking relationship exists between a woman and her husband's younger brothers and husbands of her elder sisters. Similar relationships exist among the Gond, the Andamanese and other Indian tribes.

TYKNONYMY

Among the Khasi a person is referred to as the father or the mother of so and so (their children's names are mentioned). For example a man is referred to and addressed as Bela's (sons name) pappa.

COUVADE

A husband acts as if he is invalid during the period of pregnancy of his wife. This practice termed as couvade is prevalent among the tribes like the Khasi, the Toda and the Gond. Among the Gond for instance, the husband is prohibited from digging the ground, going to agricultural lands, entering the threshing ground, touching the roof of the house and visiting the village goddess

during wife's pregnancy. The Khasi husband does not cross a stream or would not wash clothes during the pregnancy of his wife until the spirits connected with child birth are propitiated.

DEFERENCE

Showing respect to elders by using some respectful terminology is termed as deference. This is indicated by the terms used by the junior members while addressing the senior members. Among the Santal, the husband is highly respected by the wife. The father and mother are also highly respected. The deference shown by a santal man towards his father is exhibited by the way in which he offers worship to his ancestor.

AVUNCULATE AND AMITATE

These two kinship usages are found among very few tribes. Among the Khasi the maternal uncle has an important place in the life of a person. He has several special obligations towards his nephews and nieces. This type of usage is known as Avunculate. Similar type of obligations held by a father's sister towards her nephews and nieces is known as Amitate. Amitate is reported to be in vogue among the Trobriand Islanders of polynesia.

16.4.2 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

A very important aspect of kinship is the terminology. Every relative connected to a person is addressed or referred to by a particular kinship term in the language of the society. For instance in English, father is the term of reference while "pappa" is the term of address. Sometimes the term of reference and the term of address are the same. In Telugu mother is referred to as "amma" and also addressed as "amma". Another aspect of kinship terminology is the type of terms used. There are two types on this count. The first type is the classificatory kinship terminology and the second is the descriptive kinship terminology. In the classificatory system several relatives both affinal and consanguinus, and within consanguinus relatives, both lineal and collateral relatives, are referred to by the same terms. For example the Chenchus use the term "mama" to designate mother's brother, father's sister's husband and wife's father. It is reported that all their kinship terms could be divided into two classes - all class members and members of related class (these are referred to as agnates) form one class, all the others from whom one can take mates constitute another class of relatives.

In the descriptive system, particular kinship term refers to an exact relative of a person who is in question. For instance among the Gonds specific terms are used to refer to particular relatives, though they also have some classificatory terms. The term daji for instance is used to indicate elderly males and nona to younger males. In general, several tribes have the classificatory system rather than the descriptive system. The Ho, the Naga, the Bhil, the Santal, the Saora and the Toda have a full-fledged classificatory system of kinship terminology.

LINEAGE, CLAN AND DUAL ORGANIZATIONS

As stated earlier, the family is the basic social unit in any society. Over and above the family there are other kin groups which find a person in various ways. In a person's life one identifies different groups playing different roles. Their family in which a person is born is known as the family of orientation and the family which one sets up after marriage is called as the family of procreation. The family of orientation is a part of broader kin group. In tribal societies, the role of consanguinal kin groups is reported to be vital. They are like the corporate groups found in an urban society.

An individual's relationship extends on the one hand on father's side through the family of
164 orientation and towards the mother's side through her. The extension of kinship relations on the

fathers side extends vertically to a known ancestor. This kind of unilateral grouping is termed as the lineage. A lineage consists of relatives who are related through blood and trace their descent exclusively from a known ancestor. Radcliffe-Brown emphasizes the need to identify lineage, with a group of people who are alive at a particular time.

Clan is an exogamous unilineal descent group, consisting of relatives through blood, tracing their descent from an unknown ancestor. Such an ancestor may not necessarily be a human being. Rivers defines a clan as an exogamous division of a tribe, the members of which are tied together by a belief in common descent, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory. Some anthropologists use the term sib to refer to a clan while some writers use the term sept to denote similar groups. Clans are reported to be existing among all the Indian tribes. It appears that there is no clan organization among the kadar of cochin and in the Andamanese the clan organization seems to be absent. A person is recognised as a member of a father's local group (based on territory), mostly the village, to which the latter belongs. The Andamanese distinguish persons only by generational affiliation. Among the rest of the Indian tribes, the clan organization is based on the principle of exogamy. Each clan is named after an ancestor human or animal or plant or even inanimate object, believed to be the ancestor. Among the Nagas, the clan is a territorial group. In such a case the clan is named after one or more villages. Among the Bhils also, some of a clans are territorial groups. When a clan is named after an animal or a plant, the totemistic association exists. The nature of totems and totemism is discussed in unit 15. The clan members show respect towards their totem animal or plant (being believed to be their ancestor) and observe certain taboos. They always try to save its existence. Such types of clan exist among the Santal, the Gond and some of the East Indian tribes.

Among some of the tribes like the Chenchu and the Gond, a group of clans get merged and a combination of a number of clans known as phratry comes into existence. Among the Gonds there are more than two phratries. In some tribes like the Toda, the Gond, the Bhil and the Bondo there are only two groups. A system in which the entire tribe is divided into two groups is known as Moiety or dual organization. The moiety may be an exogamous group or an endogamous group. Among the Bhils, the moiety is an exogamous group. Among the Toda it is an endogamous group. Some of the anthropologists opine that the endogamous group should be know an phratry. Each moiety includes brothers, cousins, clansmen and a large number of relatives through either the father or the mother depending on the rule of descent. The dual organization existing among the Toda is typical system. The entire Toda tribes is divided into two moieties named as Tarthar and Teivali. The Todas of Tarthar division are believed to be the owners of the sacred buffaloes and consider themselves as superior to the other division Teivelior. It is also believed that the Teivelior section were the first to arrive on the Nilgiri hills. But they are considered inferior because of their close connections with the local people and also for adopting their ways of life. The Tarthar division which came later is believed to have taken the services of the earlier settlers as priests. The deceased among the Tartharol are cremated while the practice among the Teivelior is to bury the dead.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the three degrees of kinship.

What is tyknonymy?

What is a dual organization?

16.5 SUMMARY

Thus kinship plays a very important role among the Tribal groups. Kin groups provide security, both emotional and economic to the individuals of kin groups. They are territorial, unilineal, exogamous descent groups which also own property. The bond which binds them is the belief in common ancestry. Thus kin groups play a vital in the life of a tribal.

16.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

N.K. Bose	:	Indian Tribes.
K.L.Bhowmik & others	:	Tribal India
D.N.Majumdar	:	Races & Cultures in India
Harskovits	:	Economic Anthropology
Madan & Majumdar	:	Social Anthropology

16.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines

1. Explain the nature of marriage in tribal society? How is a mate selected?
2. Discuss the basic features of a family. Bring out different types of families among the Indian tribes?
3. What is dual organization ? Give an example from one of the Indian Tribes?
4. Bring out the types of families based on types of marriages with examples.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines

1. What is polygyny? How does it differ from polyandry? Give examples for both.
2. What is a kinship usage? Point out the kinship usages you come across among Indian Tribes.
3. What is extended family? Explain the pattern of extended family found among the Khasi.
4. Point out different the differences between Levirate and sororate with examples.
5. What is the relationship between clan and Totemism? Explain with example.
6. State the meaning of phratry. How is it different from Moiety? Give examples.
7. Define marriage. State three functions of marriage.
8. Point out types of families based on marriages with examples.
9. What is family of orientation? How is it different from family of procreation?
10. What is kinship terminology? State type of kinship terminologies with examples.
11. Define clan in your own words. Why clan is called as a corporate group.
12. What is descent? Point out various types of descent groups.

BRAOU

UNIT -17: PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE AMONG INDIAN TRIBES

CONTENTS

- 17.0 Aims and Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Nature of Primitive Economies
- 17.3 Division of Labour
- 17.4 Property
- 17.5 Inheritance
- 17.6 Summary
- 17.7 Suggested Books
- 17.8 Model Examination Questions

17.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the property aspect and inheritance among Indian tribes

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- discuss the nature of Primitive economies,
- discuss about the different types of economies
- show how property is an important institution,
- discuss the rules of inheritance existing among different Indian tribes.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Economic organisation among tribes is very simple. The division of labour is minimal and the needs as well as means are but few. It varies from food-gathering-hunting to agriculture and does not go beyond. Consequently the property, is restricted to the rights of ownership of land, and to the implements used for food gathering, hunting or at the most agriculture. In this unit different types of economies of selected Indian tribes at various levels of development and associated property rights are discussed.

Inheritance rules are simple in general among many of the tribes. The property is either transferred from mother to daughter or father to son. It may be to the eldest or the youngest. The pattern varies from tribe to tribe. In this unit the inheritance rules of selected tribes are studied.

17.1 NATURE OF PRIMITIVE ECONOMIES

A notion exists among people that the economic systems of the tribals are primitive, their ways of living are of savage or barbarian types. But the studies conducted by anthropologists on tribal societies have shown that this notion is wrong and that the tribals have different means of

livelihood. The economic systems found among tribes are classified in a more or less evolutionary order. A simple classification of tribal economies is as follows:

1. Hunting, fishing and food gathering economies
 - (a) Simple food-gathering economies: lack of any surplus.
 - (b) Advanced food-gathering economies; small exchangeable surplus.
2. Economies based on primitive agriculture or on pastoralism or on both agriculture and pastoralism.
 - (a) Simple agricultural economy: without pastoralism and small agricultural surpluses or dairy products without any agricultural surpluses.
 - (b) Advanced agricultural or agricultural pastoral economies: with or without pastoralism, producing large surpluses of agricultural produce.

Among the above four broad categories, the first category, that is, simple food gathering economy is reported from the Andamanese among the Indian tribes. The Andamanese depend upon the forest and the sea for their subsistence.

Till a dog was introduced in 1858, by the foreigners, the knowledge of domestication of animals never existed among them. They occasionally tamed pigs for killing them for flesh. They hunt wild animals with bow and arrow and in recent years with spears. They fish in the sea and creeks with the help of nets, short spears, harpoons and bows and arrows. They also use the method of poisoning to catch fish in small pools. They gather forest produce such as roots, tubers, fruits and honey. They use a simple digging stick to dig out roots and tubers and a hooked pole to gather fruits. A lye is used to cut honey combs and collect the molluscus. They are thus in the most under-developed state of economy termed as food gathering subsistence economy.

The Chenchu of Andhra Pradesh have crossed the first stage of food gathering. They can be considered to be in the second category termed as advanced food gathering economy. They depend entirely on the forest and collect fruits, honey, plants, roots and tubers. They hunt various wild animals such as deers, bears, and panthers by using muzzle loaders. They use bamboo spike to remove honey from the honey combs. They are also reported to have learnt the cultivation of maize and millet in small patches of land.

The third category is that of agricultural or pastoral economies. the Toda of Nilgiri hills has a pastoral economy. They depend on the income they get out of selling dairy products to the civilized people living on the Nilgiri hills. They however do not come directly in contact with them. They send out their products through the Badaga - an agricultural community settled on the hills which arrived from the plains in Mysore state. The Badaga pay an annual tribute in the form of grain recognising the Toda's ownership of the lands on the Nilgiri hills. Thus the Toda economy is in a slightly advanced stage, though it is purely a pastoral one.

Tribes like the Saora, the Jatapu and the Juangs depend upon shifting cultivation, which is called Jhum cultivation in Assam, Dahi (firing) Kamana (shaving) or taila in the hills inhabited by the Juangs. Podu is the term used by the Jatapus and the Savaras of Srikakulam District A.P. Trees on the hill slopes are cut down and the dried ones are burnt and the ground is grubbed up by the women with a kind of hoe. As the ground is full of stumps of the felled trees, the plough cannot be used. A variety of millet seeds are sown which give them staple food for over eight months in a year.

possessions except a few minor implements such as digging stick, hoe, fishing hook, bow and arrow or a harpoon. Among those nomadic tribes, there is no possibility of possessing a house or land or any other permanent asset.

Most of the tribes which are in the food gathering-hunting stage are not stationary. For instance, the Andamanese move from one area to another in bands. Hence they do not have any immovable property either in the form of houses or lands. The Andamanese, the Hos, the Birhors are of this type. The Andamanese have a sort of primitive communism, though the concept of private property exists in a rudimentary form. Individuals own one or two trees but they have to share them with those who have none.

The Yanadis of Nellore District are also nomadic. they have conical form of huts which could be shifted easily. The Chenchus are also semi-nomadic in the sense that they have permanent settlements in a particular place during the rainy season. They build temporary leaf-made huts in the forest during fair weather. Apart from these huts there are hardly any possessions which are worth mentioning in terms of property.

Tribes like the Saora, the Jatapu, the gond, the santal, the bhil and those have shifting or regular cultivation as major occupation and have a settled life. They have permanent settlements and proper housing. Development of the concept of property is quite visible among these tribes.

Among the Chenchus of Andhra, the property is owned both individually and collectively by the community. The hunting and food collecting land is owned collectively. the movable assets such as clothes, household goods and implements like axe and knife are owned individually.

Among the Gonds, the land used for shifting cultivation is held communally. A group of closely related families occupies and uses a common area of land. Within the forest each family clears some portion and holds it as family property. But the family holds only usufructuary rights over that piece of land. Earthenware, grainbin earnings by individuals, dresses, ornaments, etc. are held as private property.

Among the Santals, who also could be termed as agriculturists, labour is the chief determinant of the property. The forests are cleared by groups of people generally living in a village. All the cleared land is communally owned by the entire village. As in the case of Gonds, the individuals cultivating land have usufructuary rights on it. Individuals own houses, domestic utensils, ornaments, tools and weapons as also cattle.

Among the Todas, the sacred buffaloes and the herds of other buffaloes and the land are the property of the clans. Houses and adjoining lands are held by the families, while dresses, ornaments, household utensils and one or two buffaloes are held as private property by the individuals.

Among the matrilineal tribe of Khasi, all property is owned by the females. Houses and the utensils and the other movable property is held by the housewife. A man may be an executive head of his wife's property when he marries. All the property earned by man before his marriage would be annexed to the common property of his maternal side, on his marriage. The individual property earned by him after the marriage, partly goes to his mother's clan and partly to his wife and children.

like cultivatable land goes to all the sons. The land is cultivated in common by them and the produce is shared equally. The widow of the deceased can stay with the son of her choice along with the younger and no married female children. Extra share of produce is to be given to that son so as to enable him to maintain the mother and the younger siblings. The property of son-less man may be inherited by his sons-in-law and the brother's sons of the deceased. When all the children of the deceased are young, the widow acts as a care-taker till the children grow up to be able to look after themselves. An issueless widow can hold the property till she gets remarried and later it is transferred to the relatives of the deceased on his father's side.

Among the Bhils, the principle of primogeniture or the practice of the eldest inheriting the property is fading out. The property of a Bhil man is divided among his sons with higher shares going to the elder sons. Due to this, the eldest son gets the largest share, while the youngest son secures the smallest share. The other sons get almost equal shares. The father's debts are also inherited based on the same principle. Women cannot inherit any property. A widow when remarried, she remarries the younger brother of the deceased man, she and her children by the second husband are not entitled to any portion of the first husband's property unless he died issueless.

Among the Santal, the eldest son gets a bigger share of property while all the others get equal shares. All the property, both movable and immovable, is divided among the sons on the death of their father. If a man dies issueless, the property goes to his brothers. If he does not have any brothers, the property is taken over by the male members on his father's side. In the case of a man who remains with male issueless father-in-law after marriage (**Ghardi Jawaee** form of marriage) would be eligible to inherit the property of wife's father. In such cases, the property is transmitted to the daughter, though the son-in-law officates on her behalf. A widow with younger children, on the death of her husband, is entitled to keep the property and maintain it till the sons grow old enough to get married and establish themselves. The youngest son remains with the mother and inherits the house after her death.

Among the matrilineal, matriarchal and matrilineal Khasi tribe of north-eastern India, the principle of ultimogeniture is a characteristic feature. All the property of a family among the Khasis, as already stated, is owned by the females. On the death of a housewife all movable property and the house of the deceased is inherited by the youngest daughter. With regard to the landed property there are two types of inheritance. In some cases the deceased may, at her will transfer all the property to the youngest daughter. The youngest daughter in turn may give small shares to her elder sisters at her will. In some cases, the housewife may divide all the landed property into equal shares and may give them to her daughters at the time of their marriage. In this case also an extra portion of property is given to the youngest daughter. The youngest daughter, however, is only a custodian of the ancestral property. By virtue of inheriting the right to own the largest share of property from her mother, she does not possess the right to dispose off the property. On the other hand, the other sisters could dispose off their share or do what ever they want. A male can inherit the ancestral property only when there is no female offspring to a woman. Before his death, the male who inherits the property should, however, pass it on to a female. Thus the supremacy of matriliney is maintained.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

What is meant by primogeniture and ultimogeniture?

17.6 SUMMARY

Tribal economies are classified into Hunting, fishing and food gathering economies, economies based on primitive agriculture or on pastoralism or on both. Inheritance rules are simple in general among many tribes.

17.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Madan and Majumdar	:	An Introduction to Social Anthropology.
Romesh Thapar	:	Tribe, Caste, Religion in India.
N.K.Bose	:	Indian tribes
K.Ranga Rao	:	Samantas.
Durkheim	:	The Elementary form of the Religious life.
K.L.Bhowmik & Others	:	Tribal India.

17.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines

1. Write an essay on the concept of property among Indian Tribes.
2. Discuss the rules of inheritance among the Indian Tribes.
3. Explain the economic pursuits and relate it to the property among the Indian Tribes.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines

1. Describe the different types of economies found among the Indian Tribes.
2. What types of division of labour is found among the Indian Tribes?
3. Point out the differences between patrilineal inheritance and matrilineal inheritance.
4. Compare and contrast the concept of property among Todas and Bhils.
5. Mention types of cultivations found among Indian Tribes.
6. Mention three differences between primogeniture and ultimogeniture.
7. What is the pattern of inheritance among the Bhils?
8. Mention the differences between the Chenchus and the Gonds in the matters of property.
9. Compare Toda pattern of inheritance with that of the Khasis.

BLOCK - 6 ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

BRAOUI

BRAOU

UNIT-18: AGRARIAN STRUCTURE

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- 18.0 Aims and Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Meaning and Definition of Agrarian Structure
- 18.3 The Patterns of Land Ownership during the British Rule
- 18.4 Agrarian Structure in Contemporary India
- 18.5 Agrarian Regions in India
- 18.6 The Concept of Agrarian Classes
- 18.7 The Principal Agrarian Classes in Contemporary India
- 18.8 Summary
- 18.9 Suggested Books
- 19.10 Model Examination Questions

18.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with one of the aspects of economic organisation, the agrarian structure.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- define agrarian structure and explain the patterns of land ownership during the British Rule,
- list out the agrarian regions in India.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

The Indian society is stratified not only in terms of Varna and Jati as we noted in the earlier units, but also in terms of land ownership and production relations of the land. In a society where around 75 per cent of the population lives in village communities and 80 percent of the working population is engaged in agriculture and related occupations for their livelihood, the knowledge about agrarian relations is essential in order to understand the nature and functioning of society.

18.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF AGRARIAN STRUCTURE

Most of the Indian villages are stratified in terms of the ownership, control and use of land which produced non-cultivating land owners, owner-cultivators, small farmers, share croppers and landless labourers. Apart from ownership and control of land, the ecological conditions and the consequent cropping patterns of agriculture as also the relations at work and division of work determine the agrarian structure. Agrarian structure may be defined as the network of relations among the various groups of persons who draw their livelihood from the soil (land or agriculture) and the consequence of their pattern of relationships for the society as a whole. In other words, 177

it is the sum total of the ways in which each group operates in relation to the other groups. Some of these relations are defined and enforced by law and others by custom. We shall discuss these aspects with reference to the country while taking note of the regional variations.

18.3 The Patterns of land ownership during the British Rule

Daniel Thorner, a noted economic historian once remarked that the Indian agrarian structure is unique with respect to the ownership and use of land. Indian agrarian structure is a blending of some features of the pre-British economic order with the claim of the state to a share of the produce of the land, and modern Western concept of private property. As a result the rights in land have several layers with the state as super lord or ultimate owner at the top of hierarchy and below it are land lords, sub-landlords and tenants. As a result of such an elaborate hierarchical structure of interests in the land quite a substantial proportion of agricultural produce went to those who never worked on the land and what was left to the actual cultivator of the land was very meager.

During the British rule two main types of land systems, namely, the Zamindari and the Raiyatwari were introduced. Under the Zamindari system the government appointed Zamindars and the land was under their control. The Zamindars neither cultivated the lands nor supervised the cultivation. They collected rents from the tenants of the land and intern paid taxes to the state. The Zamindars, thus, acted as intermediaries and lived on the rents collected from the tenants and never took interest in agricultural productivity. The cultivator was left with only marginal produce. Hence neither the cultivator nor agricultural labourer had any stakes in higher productivity. Consequently the Indian agriculture stagnated for a very long time during the British rule and a few years after independence. Under the Raiyatwari system the tillers of the land had control over their lands, enjoyed the heritable and transferable right of property in their lands and paid taxes to the state directly without any intermediaries between them and the state. With regard to the rights to alienate the land there are however, regional variations. In South India the Raiyats had the right to alienate their lands, whereas the Raiyats in the north India had rarely such a right. This resulted in pauperization of small farmers more in South India than in other parts of the country. However the proprietary rights of the Zamindars as well as the Raiyats were not absolute in the sense that the British government had the rights to fix the amount of revenue assessment on land and to auction the lands of those who failed to pay the taxes. Because the land taxes were always high and incomes were less there were large scale transfers of land in Zamindari and the Raiyatwari areas from the traditional nobility and small farmers to the merchants and money lenders.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What type of land whereship existed during the british rule?

18.4 AGRARIAN STRUCTURE IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Making generalizations about the agrarian structure of Indian society is a difficult task because there are considerable variations among the various regions with respect to rainfall, climate, soil fertility, irrigation, cropping patterns, and the resultant differences in social organization of work in agriculture. There are areas with heavy rainfall and areas with little or no rainfall, areas irrigated by canals, and areas irrigated by wells, borewells, and tanks and areas which are unirrigated. Similarly there are several other differences between various regions. If we take the State of Andhra Pradesh and the circar districts in particular as an example, we find considerable differences between the north coastal districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam and the districts of East and West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts with respect to the land ownership patterns and size of land holdings, cropping patterns, proportion of agricultural labourers, population density, availability of employment, levels of income; degree of inequality, etc. There are considerable differences between wheat growing states in North India and paddy growing states in South India. Owner cultivation is more, female work participation is less in the case of the former when compared to the later. Thus there are considerable differences between and within the regions depending upon physical, geographic and ecological conditions.

18.5 AGRARIAN REGIONS IN INDIA

In this context it is necessary to make note of various agrarian regions in the country. Daniel Thorner suggested that classification of agrarian regions in the country should be made on the basis of seven criteria which are as follows:

1. Socio-economic systems (eg. tribal ways of life, settled but subsistence agriculture as in Rayalaseema, cash-crop farming);
2. Types of land holding and concentration of control;
3. Labour supply: family labour unfree labour, free labour;
4. Control of credit, marketing, processing, shop keeping;
5. Geographic factors: soil, topography climate, water supply and drainage;
6. Crop patterns and cultivation units;
7. Overall degree of modernization: industrialisation, urbanization and population growth.

According to him the following regions could be distinguished in each state or groups of states:

S.No.	State	Region
1.	Andhra Pradesh	a) Coastal Andhra b) Inland Andhra (Telangana and Rayalaseema)
2.	Assam	a) Assam Hills b) Assam Valley
3.	Bihar	a) North Bihar

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| | | | b) South Bihar, Chota Nagpur |
| 4. | Gujarat and Maharashtra | : | a) Gujarat-Saurashtra
b) Berar-Deccan
c) Bombay - Deccan
d) Konkan
e) Greater Bombay |
| 5. | Jammu & Kashmir | | ----- |
| 6. | Kerala | | ----- |
| 7. | Madhya Pradesh | : | a) Malva Bundelkhand
b) Gwalior - Bundelkhand
c) Narmada
d) Chattisgarh-Bundhelkhand |
| 8. | Tamil Nadu | : | a) Coromandel Coast
b) Inland Madras
c) Madras city |
| 9. | Karnataka | : | a) North Karnataka
b) Mysore
c) Kamara-Coorg |
| 10. | Orissa | : | a) Coastal Orissa
b) Inland Orissa |
| 11. | Punjab | : | a) Punjab Hills - Himachal
b) Punjab - Plains
c) Delhi State |
| 12. | Rajasthan | | a) Jodhpur - Bikaner
b) Jaipur - Ajmer
c) Mewar - Kotah |
| 13. | Western Uttar Pradesh | : | a) Kumaon - Garhwal
b) Meerut - Agra - Rohilkhand |
| 14. | Central and Eastern Uttar Pradesh | : | a) Oudh - Jhansi
b) Banaras - Gorakhpur |
| 15. | West Bengal | : | a) Darjeeling - Duars
b) Lower Bengal
c) Calcutta |

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the criterion by which agrarian regions are classified.

18.6 THE CONCEPT OF AGRARIAN CLASSES

We have noted earlier that the agrarian structure consists of several groups of persons who derive their livelihood from the land and thus have interest in the land. These groups vary from one other in terms of ownership of and control over land, and also in terms of the kind of work they perform. These two criteria determine the relationships of the groups under discussion. Now, the question is what are the basic differences of interests in agrarian communities. Usually three groups, namely, land-lords, tenants and labourers are identified and recognized. But these are not mutually exclusive categories. For example there may be a person who owns one acre of land in his own village which he cultivates and owns an acre in another village which he leases out. He may lease another acre of land adjacent to his own. It is also possible that sometimes, when wages are high, he may work as a labourer on the other farms. Thus, at the same time he is a landlord, cultivating owner, tenant and a labourer. However, more often than not we find persons belonging to two categories simultaneously. This makes identification or grouping of agrarian classes a difficult task.

Further, within each group there are several categories. The land-lords include absentee landlords, cultivating landlords. The second category include those who only supervise cultivation and those who perform manual operations. This variation to a large extent depends upon the size of the land holding and other economic interests of the landlord. Similarly, there are several layers of tenants and subtenants as is found in Bengal. Among labourers there are debt slaves (hails) or bonded labourers, attached servants (siris) contract and wage labourers.

Similarly, some tenants and land owners employ only family labour while others may also employ hired labour. In West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala even small proprietors owning less than 5 acres have it cultivated by others in contrast to states like Punjab owners of 15 acrs of land also cultivate lands on their own.

Who does what kind of work in agriculture is related to several factors such as crops, caste, sex of the persons, etc. For example, wet paddy cultivation involves more of manual labour and is carried out in harsher physical conditions and is more labour intensive compared to wheat cultivation. Hence the owner cultivators in paddy grown regions employ more hired labour than in wheat grown areas. Andre Beteille observes that while Brahmins and other higher castes do not perform any manual labour; manual operations, are usually performed by the scheduled castes. This explains why the scheduled castes are in the large numbers in wet paddy regions according to some writers. Apart from caste, sex is another basis for the division of labour, especially in paddy zones. Certain agricultural operations such as transplanting, weeding etc., are exclusively performed by women. As a result, women participation in agriculture in southern states and West Bengal (paddy grown areas) is much higher compared to other states.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the different categories which make up the agrarian structure.

18.7 THE PRINCIPAL AGRARIAN CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Despite several variations among rural people, already taken note of, a common pattern of the positions could be identified in contemporary India. Daniel Thorner identified three principal groups namely proprietors (malik), working peasant (kisan) and labourers (mazdur). Mal families are those whose agricultural income is derived primarily from property rights in the soil as a share in the agricultural produce in the form of rent either in cash or crop or both. A proprietor may hire labourers to cultivate his lands and hire someone to supervise and manage the men and agricultural operations. It is possible to divide the maliks into two groups: (1) The large absentee landlords who generally own lands in more than one village; and (2) The smaller proprietors who live in the village in which they own land, and manage and control the cultivation. However, their economic interests are common in keeping up the level of rent payable to them by tenants and keeping down the wages of the labourers. It is they who receive rural rent and are major employers of rural labour. In terms of caste composition the maliks by and large belong to upper castes and intermediate castes.

The members of the second class i.e., working peasants or kisans also have property interest in the land. They are either the small owners or tenants with different degrees of security. Their land holding is usually sufficient to support a single family and they cannot afford to hire labour for most part of the year except in seasons and usually employ the family labour only. Working peasants are those who live essentially by their own toil on their own lands.

The third class consists of labourers or mazdur who derive livelihood mainly from working on land belonging to others. Some of them may have small plots of land or may be tenants. But most of their income is earned through working as wage labourers. They may receive the wages either in cash or in kind.

Several important changes occurred in the agrarian scene in post-independent India especially after the introduction of planned development process. In order to achieve economic and social development, heavy investments were made in irrigation projects and electrical power generation, agricultural research, production of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and mechanized tools of agricultural production. The land owners in many parts of the country began to invest in agriculture on a large scale to raise both food-grains and commercial crops, such as cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, etc., and carry out agriculture by employing large numbers of hired labour on either daily and monthly wages or on contract basis. Thus the production relations in agriculture in many parts of the country are changing from semi-feudal or feudal to capitalist with greater freedom for the labourers who were in bonded relations or under jajmani system earlier.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Who are maliks and mazdur.

18.8 SUMMARY

Agrarian structure may be defined as the network of relations among the various groups of persons who draw their livelihood from the soil and the consequences of this pattern of relationships for the society as a whole. Daniel Thorner identified three principal groups namely proprietors, working peasant and labourers.

18.9 Suggested Books

Andre Beteille	:	Agrarian Social Structure
Desai A R	:	Rural Sociology in India
Daniel Thorner	:	Agrarian Prospect in India
C B Mamboria	:	Agricultural Problems in India
P C Joshi	:	Land Reforms in India: Trends and Prospects.

18.11 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the main patterns of land ownership during the British rule in India.
2. List out the agrarian regions in India.
3. Discuss the characteristic of the principal agrarian classes in India.

II Answer the following in about 10 lines

1. Define and discuss the meaning of the concept of agrarian structure.
 2. On the basis of what criteria the agrarian zones should be distinguished according to Daniel Thorner.
 3. What changes have occurred in Indian agriculture because of planned development.
1. What is the importance of the study of agrarian structure.
 2. How does cropping pattern influence agrarian structure?
 3. State the major differences between absentee land-lords and cultivating land-lords. 183

UNIT-19: LAND REFORMS AND THEIR IMPACT

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- 19.8 Summary
- 19.9 Suggested Books
- 19.10 Model Examination Questions

19.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to discuss the need for land reforms, the problems in implementation, causes for lack of desirable extent of progress and the consequences of land reforms implemented in the country.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the need for land reforms,
- explain the objectives of land reforms,
- explain the programs undertaken under land reforms in India,
- explain the consequences of land reforms

19.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about the main patterns of land ownership during the British rule in India, agrarian regions in India and about agrarian classes. In this unit we will study about land reforms and their impact in India.

19.2 THE NEED FOR LAND REFORMS IN INDIA

As has been pointed out in the previous lesson Indian society is basically agrarian in character in that 75 per cent of its population is living in villages and that three-fourths of its rural households are either engaged in or dependent on agricultural pursuits for their livelihood. During 1970s there were 45 millions households of small owner and tenant cultivators (with operational holdings of less than 5 acres or 2 hectares of land) and 24 millions of the landless out of the total 78 millions of rural households. This means that nearly 90 per cent of the rural households can be categorized as small farmers or the landless. If we take ownership holdings into consideration, more than 75 per cent of the ownership holdings are below 500 acres covering only 24.43 per cent of the total area under ownership holdings of an average size of only 1.35 acres. The remaining 25 per cent of the ownership holdings covered a little over 75 per cent of the total area under ownership holdings. These figures show the disparities of land ownership patterns in India.

Those who lived below poverty line in 1977 constituted 48 per cent of the rural population. Most of them did not possess any skills apart from agricultural. Hence the non-agricultural sector cannot be expected to tackle the problems of rural unemployment and rural poverty. In these circumstances radical reforms are the only surest way of eliminating hunger and destitution and creating a just society. What was the agrarian situation in India when it attained Independence? The Planning Commission noted that the following were the major defects of India's agrarian structure: (1) there are a large number of intermediaries between the State and the cultivator; (2) A large proportion of the agricultural land is under various kinds of tenancy; (3) there is insecurity of tenure among small farmers due to indebtedness, absence of ownership rights, etc., which prevent the cultivator from making efforts to improve the land; (4) the rates of rents are high with little incentives to the cultivator to produce more; (5) the land holdings of many people being very small they do not allow the use of modern agricultural technology and which results in low yields.

According to a report by the U.N.O. the present agrarian system in India adversely affects the economic development of the nation. Because of lack of incentives the tenant doesn't try to improve productivity. Even if he wants to improve it being left with little margin, he cannot make considerable investment in the land or in purchasing better equipment or better seeds.

The Committee on the Size of Holdings of the Land Reforms Panel of the Planning Commission observed; "Among all resources, the supply of land is the most limited and the claimants for its possession are extremely numerous. It is, therefore, obviously unjust to allow exploitation of any large surface of land by a single individual unless other overwhelming reasons make this highly desirable. Further, in the light of available supplies of land, and labour it would be undesirable to encourage capital intensive method of production". Thus the Indian agrarian structure needs radical changes.

19.3 THE MEANING OF THE TERM LAND REFORMS

In a narrow sense land reform means the redistribution of the surplus land, accrued as a result of the implementation of ceilings on agricultural holdings, for the benefit of small farmers and landless labourers. But a broad definition of land reform would mean not only distribution of surplus land but also improvement in institutions of land tenure or agricultural organization such as the improvement of the conditions of tenancy, agricultural credit, cooperative organization, 185

agricultural education, marketing and advisory services. Gunnar Myrdal, in his book *Asian Drama* observes, "...land reform is a planned and institutional reorganisation of the relation between man and land and no type of reorganisation of ownership and tenancy of land can be maximally benefited except when it is combined with certain policy efforts." Land reform, in the larger context would mean mechanism for bringing about social and economic change. Its ultimate objective is to democratize the rural social order through a rational distribution of agricultural income and growth of agricultural productivity.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What do you understand by the term land reform?

19.4 OBJECTIVES OF LAND REFORMS

The objectives of land reforms in India include the following accord to C.B. Mamoria:

1. to change those aspects of the antiquated and ownership systems that clearly stood in the way of stepping up farm-production;
2. to do away with exploitation and injustice and provide for the tiller of the soil some security and equality of status and opportunity;
3. to eliminate the defects in the constitutional framework and evolve a system which would promote rapid growth of agricultural economy;

Thus the land reform seeks to eliminate intermediaries and bring the actual cultivator into direct contact with the State in order that the cultivator may feel sure of reaping the fruits of his labour.

19.5 IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND REFORMS

Land reform is essentially a State subject and the implementation of land reforms is the responsibility of the states. As a result, the legal enactments with regard to land reforms vary from state to state depending upon the local conditions and requirements. However, the Government of India formulates the national policy on land reforms and periodically reviews the progress made in the State and suggests whatever action is deemed to be necessary.

186 The following are the programs which have so far been taken up under land reforms in India.

19.5 .1.ABOLITION OF INTERMEDIARY TENURES

Abolition of intermediary systems including Zamindari, jagirdari, inamdari, etc., between the State and the cultivator was the first major land reform. At the time of independence, 40 per cent of the land in the country was under different intermediary systems. All these were abolished after independence making 200 lakhs of tenants owners of land which they had been cultivating. Over 58 lakh hectares of cultivable waste lands and private forests were distributed among landless farmers.

19.5.2 TENANCY REFORMS

In a number of states tenancy is still recognized but legal enactments are made to provide security of tenure to the tenants, add to regulate the rents payable by them to the land owners. In some states there is provision for conferment of ownership rights on cultivating tenants even though exception is made in the case of land owning minors, widows, disabled persons and members of the defence forces. The maximum rates of rents payable by the tenants have been fixed at levels not exceeding one-fourth to one-fifth of the gross produce in most of the States except in Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab. According to the law in force in Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh the rent should not exceed 30% of the gross produce for irrigated lands and 25% of produce for dry lands. In Telangana region the corresponding limits are 25 per cent and 20 per cent. But in practice particularly coastal areas the tenant pays half of the total produce of the first crop and retains the second crop fully. In some cases the landowner may demand payment of a certain amount of cash instead of share in the crop. Thus the legal provisions may be at variance with the actual practice.

19.5.3 LAND CEILING MEASURES

In all the states except in a few areas where the land is collectively held by a community, laws on ceiling of agricultural land holdings were enacted and are being implemented. The laws were enacted in 1950's and 1960's and were substantially modified in 1972 in the light of guidelines issued by the Government of India. By December 1980, 15.12 lakh hectares were declared surplus. While 7.6 lakh hectares were declared surplus and distributed among landless under the pre-revised ceiling laws, after 1972 nearly one million hectares of land were distributed.

The ceiling norms vary from State to State and even within the same state also depending upon the nature of the soil, cropping patterns, availability of irrigation supplies, etc. Let us examine the case of Andhra Pradesh. As per the Act of 1973 a family of 5 persons or less cannot own more than 10 to 18 acres of wet land with two crops, or 15 to 27 acres of wet land with a single crop or dry land of 35 to 54 acres depending upon the region in which it is located. According to the State Government there was a surplus of 20 lakh acres in 1973 to be distributed to the poor. But 37 percent of this land was under litigation. Secondly only 20 percent of the total land declared surplus was taken possession of by the Government of which 15 percent was not suitable for cultivation.

15.5.4 UPDATING AND PREPARATION OF LAND RECORDS

The Updating of land records is essential not only for implementing land reforms but also for making the cultivators eligible for agricultural credit, etc. Except in the eastern region in other parts of the country the land records are fairly up-to-date. However, a lot of work remains to be done with regard to systematic compilation and correction of land records. Many of the disputes

ticularly lukewarm, if not, indifferent. Secondly when the administrators themselves are land owners their commitment to the programs is much less.

19.6.4 LEGAL HURDLES

They also come in the way of implementation of land reforms. In a society where the legal system throws its weight behind the existing social order based on inviolability of private property, a few acts aiming at radically altering property relations in rural areas will meet with little success. Even these few Acts have many legal loopholes. The landowners could afford to and resort to protracted litigation. For example, many cases filed by the land-owners challenging the acquisition of land by the government following enforcement of ceilings on land ceilings have been awaiting clearance from the Land Ceiling Tribunals for over a decade.

19.6.5 ABSENCE OF CORRECT LAND RECORDS

The absence of correct and up-to-date land records create hurdles in granting the right of ownership to tenants or even to protect their rights of tenancy. Many areas in the country have not been properly surveyed.

19.6.6 LACK OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

No funds were allocated in the plan for financing reforms. Let alone allocation for payment of compensation to the landowners, the states have not agreed even to allocate funds for the preparation of land records.

Apart from the factors identified by the Task force of the Planning Commission there are other problems such as benami transactions. The land owner resorts to benami transactions, i.e., transfers his land to his relatives who are not covered by the land ceiling laws and to landless attached labourers without their knowledge, to hoodwink the laws and continue to own the lands.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the factors for the poor performance of land reforms.

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19.7 INTENDED AND UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF LAND REFORM

The implementation of land reforms led not only to some intended consequences but also to certain unintended consequences. Reduction of economic disparities in respect of land owner- 189

19.9 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Desai A R	:	Rural Sociology in India
P C Joshi	:	Land Reforms in India; Trends and Prospects.
Thorner Daniel	:	Agrarian Problems in India.

19.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Why are land reforms necessary in India?
2. State the objectives of land reforms in India.
3. Discuss the causes of slow progress in implementing land reforms.
4. Examine the intended and unintended consequences of land reforms.

II Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Discuss the broad definition of land reforms.
2. What is meant by the abolition of intermediary tenures.
3. Explain the meaning and impact of tenancy reforms.
4. What are the objectives and achievements of land ceiling measures.
5. What is the role of Central Government with regard to land ceiling measures.
6. Why are up-to-date land records important?
7. Discuss the meaning of operational holding.
8. What is meant by ownership holding?

UNIT-20: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

CONTENTS

- 20.0 Aims and Objectives
- 20.1 Introduction
- 20.2 Meaning of the Terms Economic Development and Social Change
- 20.3 Components of Economic Development and their Impact on Social Structure
 - 20.3.1 Agricultural Growth and Social Change
 - 20.3.2 Industrial Growth and Social Change
- 20.4 Summary
- 20.5 Suggested Books
- 20.6 Model Examination Questions

20.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the concept of economic development, and discuss the relationship between economic development and social change.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of the concepts,
- economic development and social change,
- explain the components of economic development.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

Development means the progressive transformation of society. Since the end of the Second World War development has become a major objective for most of the countries all over the world, especially those which having been under colonial rule for a long time remained under-developed. The concept of development emphasises on conscious deliberate action to bring about large-scale changes in a desired direction, making use of the available resources in a centralized or at least a coordinated way. In other words, development is sought to be achieved through planning with specific goals and targets. With the result policy for making development is a major preoccupation of the governments of poor countries.

The efforts to achieve development led to several changes in the society, some intended and some unintended. In one of the earlier units on Land Reforms and their impact it is shown how implementation of land reforms has resulted in certain intended as well as unintended consequences. We shall define the terms 'economic development' and 'social change' and discuss how the former has led to the latter.

20.2 'MEANING OF THE TERMS 'ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE'

While 'development is a broader concept implying progressive transformation of society in a desirable direction with social justice, economic development is a somewhat narrower concept

emphasizing only the improvements in production of agricultural and non-agricultural commodities and services, better standards of living including nutrition for the people. For the purposes of statistical measurement and comparative analysis the degree of economic development of countries is measured by the improvements in Gross National Product (GNP) and per capita income over a period of time. The countries which achieved substantial degree of economic development, such as the U.S.A., Canada, those in Western Europe, Australia and Japan and some oil-rich countries of the middle-east are referred to as the developed world. Most of the South American, Asian and African nations whose GNP and per capita income are lower, are referred to as underdeveloped countries. Most of these countries were under colonial rule for a long time which, to a large extent, was responsible for their under development. The development under-developed countries differ from each other with respect to not only their historical past but also in terms of social structure. Many underdeveloped countries are traditional societies with agrarian and rural economies.

In an earlier unit, social change has been defined as change in the social structure, i.e., changes in the social structural elements and the functioning of the social system. For the purpose of discussing the relationship between economic development and social change we may accept this definition.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Social Change?

20.3 COMPONENTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In order to achieve economic growth and development it is necessary to improve agricultural and industrial productivity. Hence agricultural growth and industrial growth are considered as the two important components of economic development. We shall discuss these two components and their impact on the social structure.

20.3.1 AGRICULTURAL GROWTH

India is referred to as a land of villages and its economy as essentially agricultural in character. We have discussed this point in detail in earlier units. At the time of independence Indian agriculture was almost stagnant without any tangible growth in agricultural productivity. Thanks to the investments made in irrigation and power projects, fertilizer and pesticide industries, etc., and the availability of institutional credit to the farmers through successive Five Years Plans the country has become self-sufficient atleast with regard to food-grains and a few other agricultural commodities. The productivity of certain cash crops such as tobacco has increased considerably, which has had considerable influence on the social structure of the villages. The 'Green Revolution' of the post-independent India led to considerable changes in production relations of villages from semi-feudal or feudal to predominantly capitalist in character, making agriculture 193

a business with heavy investment, the labourers free from bonded and jajmani relations, and the farmer-worker relations more contractual rather than semi- personal. The onset of 'Green Revolution' and the large scale cultivation of commercial crops created an acute demand for labourers during peak seasons in agriculture, which apart from increasing the wages of labourers, has led to flow of migration of labourers from one region to another. With some people migration became a way of life. Migration of labourers from U.P. and Bihar to Punjab, from Andhra Pradesh to Karnataka may be cited as examples. The villagers, who have benefited from the high profits of agriculture tended to migrate to the towns and cities to invest their earning in trade, business and industry and sent their children to schools and colleges in towns and cities. Consequently, the influx of the rural people into the urban areas has increased.

Considerable improvements with regard to dairying, poultry and animal husbandry have also been achieved which has resulted in increasing the incomes of and occupational mobility of the rural people apart from bringing them into the market economy and market relations. As Robert Redfield has shown in his well known study of Mexican Communities, entry into market relations with other communities has brought in changes in the attitudes and the way of life of the people. Social interaction became more impersonal, social relationships more contractual and attitudes more secular. Some studies show that the increase in income has led to greater exposure to the mass media resulting in changes in consumption patterns, habits and attitudes. Other consequences include higher awareness of health, decrease in infant mortality, withdrawal of women from work, etc.

20.3.2 INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Industry is characteristic feature of modern advanced societies. With the hope of achieving economic, political and social change newly independent nations of different political complexions have adopted industrialization as a major political goal. Though industrialization of our country dates back to the last quarter of the 19th century the pace of industrialization has increased only during the post-independent period. In order to achieve self-reliance in the field of industrial products considerable investments were made in Heavy Industry by the Government during Five Year Plans while private industrialists started Medium and Small Scale Industries. With the result, the industries contribute today to a little more than 50 per cent of the gross national income, while the share of agricultural income contributes 47 per cent. Apart from growth of industries, there has been considerable improvement in different services such as health, education, transport and communications as compared to their condition in the pre-independent period.

Before we discuss the impact of industrial growth on social structure we should note the essential components of industrialism. They are:

1. The Machine technology;
2. The marketing of men's labour;
3. The concentration of workers in single enterprises;
4. The existence of a specific social type, i.e., the entrepreneur; and
5. The special condition of rapidly expanding markets.

Now, we shall consider how each of these components of industrialism or the essential conditions of industrialization to changes in social structural elements. In an earlier unit on technological factors of social change (i.e., unit No.5, block 2) we have considered how machine technology leads to social change. Now let us examine how the second component (i.e., the marketing of

men's labour) affects social change. In the pre-industrial India, which was by and large rural in character, the economic relations between persons were known as *jajmani* relations. They were traditional, hereditary and semi-personal, if not personal. But industrialization freed persons from such bonds and they could sell their labour to whomsoever they liked. The economic relations are market-relations which are non-durable, and more impersonal. Industrialization has created thousands of categories of jobs, which required modern skills. Recruitment has come to be based on universalistic criteria and hence has stepped up the occupational and geographic mobility among people which in turn has led to the weakening of relationships with natal places, kin-group and other primordial groups and changes in life-styles, world-views, etc. The force in the industrial areas and cities are stratified on the basis of job-ranking such as managerial, white-collar, blue-collar workers rather than on the basis of ascriptive criteria such as religion, caste and kinship. Since recruitment by organizations is based on skills, industrialization has tended to produce an open society. It has also brought about an enormous increase in the number of schools, colleges, technical institutes to provide the requisite skills to the people.

The third component of industrialism (i.e., the concentration of workers in single enterprises) has created a situation in which single employers have to come employ large numbers of workers similar under more or less working conditions unlike in the traditional and agrarian India. This kind of concentration has promoted a feeling of fellowship and solidarity among industrial workers giving rise to some degree of class, if not, trade consciousness and formation of the trade unions. Trade unionism has conferred on workers a new identity which cut across religion, caste, etc. In India there are millions of industrial workers and a large proportion of them are trade union members. Thanks to the spread of trade unionism, industrial workers are much more organized and more politically conscious than the agricultural workers.

The fourth component (i.e., the existence of a specific social type, the entrepreneur) of industrialism has created a class of entrepreneurs, whose interests are diametrically opposed to those interests of the working class. Though industrialization in India has not resulted in any serious 'class struggle' in the Marxian sense of the term, at least it has undoubtedly-created the classes such as those of the entrepreneurs, the managers and the workers with different interests, political preference, philosophies and life styles.

Finally, the fifth component of industrialism (i.e., the special condition of rapidly expanding markets) has increased the linkages between village and towns, between the different regions within the country and between our country and other countries. For example, the areas which provide raw materials to the industries have come into increasing contacts with the industrial towns. The villages have come to depend upon several industrial products. This kind of mutual dependence resulted in greater interaction between villages and towns with more exposure of the villages to the urban areas and urban ways of life than before. Considerable changes are also noticeable in the consumption patterns of the villagers, which is partly due to the increase in the incomes of the people in villages brought about by the industrial development. For example, the impact of the agro-based industries such as tobacco, sugar, cotton and jute on rural incomes, employment patterns and social interaction is considerable. Industrialization in India has led to a considerable growth of the existing towns and cities and creation of new manufacturing and trading centers which, in turn, have led to rural-urban migration, and heterogeneity of urban centers.

Apart from the changes, mentioned above there have been some significant changes in roles, values, etc. For example, division of labour and specialization affected the roles of the industrial worker making them monotonous, mechanical and depriving them of the sense of the workmanship and pride in their work. The values of the people of the economically developed agrarian regions as well as those of the industrial-urban centers appear to be guided by material gains and success. The attitudes and norms have become secular at least in the public domain of social

inter- action and the traditional social institutions such as caste and kinship have become weak in the organizational and modern commercial contexts.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the essential components of industrialism?

20.4 SUMMARY

The concept of development emphasis on conscious deliberate action to bring about large-scale changes in a desired direction, making use of the available resources in a centralized or at least coordinated way. Agricultural growth and industrial growth are the two important components of economic development.

20.5 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Desai A R	:	Rural Sociology in India
Ramaswamy E A & Uma	:	
Ramaswamy	:	Industry and Labour
Tom Burns	:	Industrial Man
Gisbert, Pascal	:	Industrial Sociology

20.6 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. How did agricultural growth lead to social change in India?
2. Explain how industrial recruitment has led to changes in occupations, social stratification and mobility.
3. Examine the impact of machine technology on social structure.

II Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Explain the concept of economic development.
2. What do you mean by a Green Revolution?
3. What are the effect of concentration of workers in single enterprises?
4. What are the important classes of industrial society and how to they differ from one another.

BLOCK - 7 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

BRAO

BRAOU

UNIT-21 TRADITIONAL VILLAGE: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

CONTENTS

- 21.0 Aims and Objectives
- 21.1 Introduction
- 21.2 Ancient Indian Village Administration
- 21.3 The Arthashastra and the Village Administration
- 21.4 The Pre and Post British Period
- 21.5 Summary
- 21.6 Suggested Books
- 21.7 Model Examination Questions

21.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to discuss about the traditional political and administrative organization of the Indian village and the importance of village panchayats.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- describe the Ancient Indian village administration,
- describe the village administration as given in Arthashastra.

21.1 INTRODUCTION

Village communities with communal functions and ownership were the most common forms of early human society at the time when mankind emerged from barbarism to civilization, which could be traced in the early history of every country. They were the earliest forms of human social organization which attempted to promote good will and mutual co-operation. The historical-economic developments brought about some changes in the village set-up too. The institution of local self-government and village community was also prevalent in different countries of Europe and Asia. For instance, the Greek City States in Europe enjoyed autonomy. For the Greeks, the city was a "life in common". The City State "was at once a parliament and a government, an executive, legislature and judiciary in one". China and Japan have also been some of the oldest homes of such decentralized administrative institutions.

Another very important and ancient system of village community existed in Russia in the last century and such communities were known as Russian 'Mirs'. Mirs came into existence when the early agricultural communities settled in villages had of necessity to combine against the onslaughts of other people and tribes who were yet in the nomadic stage. The Russian village were not fortuitous assemblages of men, nor were they unions founded on contract; they were naturally organized communities like those of India. That is why Nehru remarked that the Old Russian Mir might be comparable in some way to the Indian village community.

It is to China that the world owes the famous dictum, "That government governs best which governs least." This is not surprising, since the Chinese people throughout their long history have 199

lived in self-governing village communities. In the old imperial days, the Central authority had very little to do with village governance. The actual government of China may be described as that of 'village socialism.' The village government had as its chief organs a Council of Elders or managers and a Headman. This council consisted of the leaders of the more important families of the village and of experienced people and scholars in the village who were held in high public esteem. No formal elections were held and the membership of the governing Council seemed to have conferred on individuals through tacit public recognition. The elders so selected had to be confirmed by the magistrate. Some of the important functions of the Council of Elders were the provision of lighting for the streets, supervision of markets, road and tank repairs, approval of land transfers, collection of taxes and adjudication of disputes between fellow villagers or with other villages.

Thus the village communities with communal functions and ownership existed all over the world in the earliest times. But subsequently they developed differently in different parts of the world. In India the institution of village panchayats was the earliest to be developed and the oldest among those found in the countries of the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out some of the functions of the Council of Elders.

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21.2 ANCIENT INDIAN VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

Valmiki's *Ramayana* mentions two types of villages - the 'Ghosh' and the 'gram', the former being smaller than the latter. Its officials were called 'Ghosh-Mahattar' and 'Gram-Mahattar.' The *Ramayana* also mentions **Gramani** as another village official. The *Mahabharata* also makes a mention of 'Ghosh' and 'Gram.' Manu called the village official 'Gramik' - one who was responsible for the village administration and collection of king's dues from the villagers. The remuneration of these village officials was fixed, not in the form of monthly salaries, but in that of delegation of authority to enjoy produce from the land allotted to them. That Gramani had a very high status during Vedic times is revealed by the fact that, the King's encourage consisted of a 'Senani', a 'Gramani', 'Suta' (charioteer) and a 'Bhagdugha' (Collector of taxes).

The appointment of Gramani by the King should not, however, be taken to mean that he was thrust on the village from above and that he could do as he liked in the village. On the contrary, he had to work strictly according to the advice of the village elders, the 'Gram Vridhas', who were chosen by the village assembly. The election or selection of the 'Gram Vridhas', who were actually members of what might today be called the village panchayats executive was referred to in ancient

books and **Jatakas**. It is indisputable that the sabhas and Samitis at the village level had great power and influence and that Gramani was a king-maker. Even though kingship became hereditary, each time the people's consent had to be obtained for one to become king. It is noteworthy that the Vedic polity was limited in every respect by the will of the people. The basis of law was democratic. Indeed, without the cooperation of the village and without fulfilling his obligations to the people the king could not exercise his authority. Thus in ancient India there developed a unique relationship between the State and the village community and between the government and the panchayats. As pointed out by Altekar, "from ancient-most times, villages in India have been the axle of administration". Villages in ancient India could attain such authoritative voice in the administrative machinery mainly because of their being closely knit together through the Panchayat system, the people's awareness of their rights and duties, and the high level of justice, fair play and efficiency that marked the functioning of the Panchayats as also the confidence they commanded and the respect they inspired in the village populace. This, intern, was possible because the State allowed the village community unrestricted authority over all the affairs relating to the village, insisting only on regular payment of taxes.

The relationship which developed between the state and the people found an exact expression in the 'Gramani'. Though responsible to the state he was essentially a man of the people and used to be ever ready to protect their interests. As a functionary he was as necessary for the state as for the people. The first duty of the Gramani was to look after village defense by heading the crops of volunteers and guardsmen organized for the purpose. Secondly, he was to realize the state dues and keep records of the realizations. Thirdly, the administration of Justice was primarily the task of the 'Ganas', 'Kulas', etc., - the bodies at the village level.

India witnessed a remarkable development of Republics, the Maha- janapadas during the post-Epic period, though kings continued to rule over large areas. In essence, these republics were modeled, more or less, upon the principles on which the self-governing village communities functioned and in them the village bodies played an important role. During the period when Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing and popular in India, the village remained the unchanging base of Indian life. It is the one foundation of which every empire in India was reared. Indeed, references to the self-governing village communities are found scattered through all Jain and Buddhist texts dating from 5th century B.C. The village communities were supreme in the village exercising the fullest rights over land, the only limiting factors being the payment of demands of the state. The villagers used to work on their own accord to build rest houses, reservoirs, roads and other works of public utility. Equality of all is the basic principle of the Panchayats in the Jain period. The democratic content in the teachings of Mahavir is clearly borne out by his various discourses. The **Jatakas** refer to 'Gopalaka' (Protector of the flocks) and a village official to look after the day-to-day affairs of the village.

21.3 THE ARTHASASTRA AND THE VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

Kautilya's Arthasastra also speaks the importance of the village as a unit in the administrative structure, based on democratic principles. The village administrative staff comprised (1) the 'Adhyakasha', the Headman, (2) the 'Samkhayaka', the accountant, (3) the 'Sthanikas', village officials of different grades, (4) 'Anikastha', Veterinary doctor, and (5) 'Janghakarika', village couriers. The elaborate agricultural, village and revenue systems were essentially based upon the 201

self-governing village communities. Every village was absolutely free to act in all matters to itself and it was self-governed. Every village had its own 'Sabha' (Assembly) which debated all matters relating to the village, and rules helpful to the entire community were framed and the offenders were punished through regular trails and judgments. The Sabha was the center of the multifarious activities of the village. It discussed social, political and religious matters pertaining to the village at its meetings held in the shade of a tree. Representatives of the village families, the elders and other experts and experienced folk gathered there. Whoever might be the ruler of the country, it mattered very little to these village folk. They were ruled by their own Sabha - their own village body. The Indian people lived in these self-governing villages.

The *Arthashastra* provides an insight into the organization and functioning of these village communities. The key figure in this structure was the 'Gramik', the village headman. He was a state employee, but his appointment was dependent on the choice of the village. He had the authority to enforce accepted practices upon the village, but, by and large, he had to work in co-operation with the village community. The very fact that he and the village itself could be punished underlined the overriding authority of the village body and at the same time the existence of higher authorities which supervised its functions and which could at times effectively intervene in its affairs. The village body had also judicial functions. The rules framed by any village body were respectfully viewed at higher local courts.

Besides the Gramik, 'Gopa' was another officer of great importance to the village system of the times. He was expected to supervise the administration of 5 to 10 villages and one of his chief assignments was to ensure regular collection of state revenues. The other tasks assigned to him by Kautilya were (1) to settle boundary disputes between the villages; (2) to keep a record of land utilization in the villages; (3) to keep a record of land sale and transfers; (4) to maintain population census records, occupation-wise of each village and those of cattle census of each village, etc. Significantly, in the discussions on the revival of the Panchayat system in Post-Independent India, the creation of such intermediate units (like the Gopa) between the village body and the district head-quarters received considerable attention.

The attention that was given to village sanitation during that period is, indeed, 'amazing'. Further, there was in vogue a system of stipulated contributions in the form of labour and bullocks towards any co-operative undertaking (compulsory 'Shrama-Dan') decided upon by the village. Apparently, the state also contributed its share to all such co-operative efforts. Such efforts succeeded because they stemmed from the economic, civic and cultural life promoted by the village community.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are duties of 'Gopa'?

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21.4 THE PRE AND POST-BRITISH PERIOD

The village Panchayat organization during the ancient period can be said to be a continuation of the system coming from Vedic times, though every successive century did witness adjustments and modifications almost always for the better till about 1800 A.D., when the British put an end to it. It is, however, to be noted that the Muslim rule in India affected no basic change in India's political and administrative system of the village. It is undeniable that this village system was convincingly demonstrated, how powers of government can be distributed over hierarchical spheres of activity, each of which with its quantum of allotted power can be made to function autonomously.

But, unlike in the Pre-British period, the modern state plays a decisive role in shaping the life of the rural society. During the Pre-British phase, the village, as has been pointed out, was an autonomous unit. During the British period it underwent a basic transformation. Its self-contained subsistence economy based on self-sufficient agriculture and artisan industry was undermined. Further, the British Government established a centralized state with an administrative machinery which penetrated the hitherto autonomous village. This led to a basic change in the political physiognomy of the village. Indeed, it became a unit of the countrywide political and administrative system.

In the Pre-British period the State did not interfere in the life of the village beyond claiming a portion of the village produce as land revenue, and the village administration was carried on by the village panchayat composed of elected or customary representatives of various castes (caste councils) or by the village headman with the Panchayat as his consultative body. The village panchayat was the link between the village population and the higher authority. The Panchayat and the headman maintained peace in the village, settled disputes among the villagers, looked after the sanitation and other matters of common concern to the village population, determined and collected the share of the farmer family in the collective land revenue to be paid to the state on behalf of the village. Thus from the standpoint of administration the village was fairly autonomous.

The administrative, judicial, policing and economic functions of the village were performed by the village panchayat and the Headman. In so far as the personal, social and religious life of the village people was concerned, the customary law governing it was operated by various caste councils which regulated the behaviour patterns of respective castes.

The disintegration of empires did not affect the administrative autonomy and life of the village. This was possible because the State, even the Imperial State, intervened in the internal affairs of the village only to the extent of collecting the tribute. The state or king looked after the inter-village administration and other vital matters affecting the people of the kingdom as a whole such as irrigation, roads, etc.

With the advent of the British rule, in India, the Indian society began to experience of the fundamental economic and political transformation. The new administrative machinery evolved and organized by Britain in India supplanted the old one which had functioned for centuries with little change. The new state, the organ of British Rule in India, stationed its own revenue, judicial, police and other officials in the village. The village lost its administrative autonomy, the caste councils, and their panel powers. In the new political set-up, the village became the basic administrative unit of hierarchically graded countrywide administrative system. The local village

officials were independent of any control over them by the village population. Thus if a forest had to be cleared, a well to be dug or roads to be built in the village, it was no longer the responsibility of the village panchayat which independently and of its own will used to evolve a scheme and mobilize the village population for implementing that scheme. It was the new village administration, itself a unit of the national administrative system and subject to the latter's control, that decided those questions. Thenceforward, the social, political and economic life of the rural people was largely determined by the State. Village problems became the concern of the nation and were viewed as problems for the nation and so could not be solved in isolation through the initiative of the village community. After independence we retained the centralized state apparatus developed by the British in India. It should be noted that this administrative system had been devised by them as a lever to put down or restrict the initiative of the people. A critical evaluation of this system from the standpoint of the solution of such problems of the rural population as the general economic advancement, universal spread of education, cheap and expeditious justice, awakening and play of the local initiative within the frame work of the national plan, has, therefore, to be made and a scheme of reconstruction of the existing administrative system evolved.

21.5 SUMMARY

Village communities were the earliest forms of human social organization which attempted to promote good will and mutual cooperation. The village communities with communal functions and ownership existed all over the world in the earliest times. In India the institution of village panchayats was the earliest to be developed and the oldest among those found in the countries of the world.

21.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

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|----------------|---|----------------------------|
| Desai A.R. | : | Rural Sociology in India. |
| Andre Beteille | : | Agrarian Social Structure. |

21.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Describe the traditional, political & administrative organization of the Indian Village.
2. Give a historical account of the Indian Village from the Vedic period to post British period.
3. Explain the importance of Village Panchayats.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. What are the important features of village administration according to Arthashastra.
2. Trace out the origin of the Village Panchayats

UNIT-22: PANCHAYAT RAJ AND VILLAGE POLITICS

CONTENT

- 22.0 Aims and Objectives
- 22.1 Introduction
- 22.2 Evolution of Panchayat Raj
- 22.3 The structure of Panchayat Raj
 - 22.3.1 Gram Panchayat
 - 22.3.2 Panchayat Samithi
 - 22.3.3 Zilla Parishad
 - 22.3.4 Over all Results
- 22.4 Political Power and Panchayat Raj
 - 22.4.1 Factions
 - 22.4.2 Caste Groups
 - 22.4.3 Class Conflict
- 22.5 Summary
- 22.6 Suggested Books
- 22.7 Model Examination Questions

22.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with Panchayat Raj as a three tier system of system of local Government and to show how Panchayat Raj has provided a new frame work for PoliticalStruggle in rural India.

By the end of this Unit you will be able to:

- explain the evolution of Panchayat Raj system,
- explain the structure of Panchayat Raj,
- explain the important aspects of village politics.

22.1 INTRODUCTION

In a country like India, where 80% of the population live in the villages, it is necessary to have an efficient system of decentralised democracy. The village in India has been regarded as the basic unit of local self administration, since the Vedic times. Land reforms, Co-operatives, Panchayat Raj and Community Development movements are intended to bring into being a prosperous dynamic and genuinely democratic rural social system.

The word 'panchayat' is apparently derived from the word 'Pancha'. It broadly refers to an assembly of elders who settle disputes according to custom in a village or within the caste. Panchayat Raj is claimed to be a real democratic political apparatus which would ensure peoples participation in socio economic and political development. Panchayat Raj is an expression of

decentralised democracy at the grass root level giving an opportunity for the rural people to participate in the formulation and implementation of plans for rural development.

In the traditional village panchayat none could afford to ignore the advice of the village elders or panchas. This was mainly due to the fact that villages were largely isolated economically and politically with little occupational mobility.

The traditional village set up was not based on the concept of equality of status and opportunity and on the principle of all men being equal before the law. There was no adult franchise or secret ballot. There was only customary law or rule which was interpreted by the council of elders through consensus of the community.

In rural India the traditional organization was that basically of the caste Panchayat. These panchayats were based on mutual consent and co-operation and organized for the general welfare, reformation, solidarity and integrity of the caste as a whole.

The caste panchayat protected the caste from the outside influences by settling inner disputes. It also framed rules and regulations regarding marital relations, betrothal, divorce, death feasts, food habits etc. Its decisions were respected and strictly followed. It protected the religious and social values and safe-guarded the caste integrity through the regular celebrations of religious rites and rituals.

With the advent of the British, however, the caste leaders found a great change in the number of functions which they had to perform. The caste leaders utilized their powers and influence in determining the success and progress of the village panchayats. The Gram Panchayat could not function efficiently without sufficient co-operation from the caste organizations. In most of the cases both caste leaders and the village leaders worked together. The village panchayat of today, however, bears no resemblance to the village panchayat that existed before the advent of British rule in the country.

22.2 EVOLUTION OF PANCHAYAT RAJ

It was only after Independence that the importance of revitalising village panchayats and assigning to them a specific role in administration was recognized. This has been emphasized in the constitution which lays down in the Directive Principles of State Policy, that "the state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and to endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government".

After Independence the first organized effort to tackle the problems of rural India was through the Community Development Program which was launched on the 2nd October, of 1952. Its intention was mainly to meet the need for promoting public co-operation and participation in National reconstruction. In 1957 a study team was appointed by the Planning Commission to review the working of the Community Development Program and to examine the question of reorganizing the district administration so as to provide for the setting up of popular organizations to span the gap between the village and the state levels. The study team headed by Sri Balvantharai Mehata recommended the setting up of elected bodies at the village, block and district levels. This was called the "Institution of Democratic Decentralization" of "Panchayat Raj". The team suggested that these bodies should be entrusted with the task of planning and development. These recommendations were accepted by the National Development Council in 1958. In the following year, the Central Council of local Self Governments at its meeting recommended that while

ensuring a certain uniformity in respect of the practices and principles, there should not be any rigidity with regard to the pattern to be accepted by the States. Accordingly, no set pattern was laid down for the states to follow. Only certain fundamental principles have been emphasized. These include:-

1. "It should be a three tier structure of local Self Government bodies from the village to the district, the bodies being organically linked up".
2. "There should be a genuine transfer of power and responsibility to them".
3. "Adequate resources should be transferred to the new bodies to enable them to discharge the functions and responsibilities".
4. "The system evolved should facilitate further devolution and dispersal of power and responsibilities in the future"

This report was well received by the Government and its implementation was recommended to all states. But the states were given freedom to make their own variations in the general pattern.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out fundamental principles emphasized by the central council of local self Governments.

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22.3 THE STRUCTURE OF PANCHAYAT RAJ

Panchayat Raj was first introduced in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh in 1959. Later on, it was launched in other States. We shall discuss the general structure and working pattern of the Panchayat Raj at different levels.

22.3.1 GRAM SABHA AND GRAM PANCHAYAT

The Gram Sabha is the general body of the village panchayat and consists of all the voters residing within the jurisdiction of the Panchayat, which may cover one or more villages. In most of the states, the prescribed minimum number of items of work allocated to the Gram Sabha include the consideration of the annual statement of accounts, audit, report of the Gram Panchayat, the administrative report of the preceding year, the program of work for the ensuing year, taxation proposals and any other specific development scheme involving community service, voluntary labour etc.

The Gram Panchayat (Village Council), which is the executive organ of the Gram Sabha, is elected by the Gram Sabha. The members of the Gram Panchayat, i.e., the panchas, are elected by the 207

Gram Sabha by secret ballot in many states. In some States a specified number of seats are reserved for women. Special representation is also provided for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in many states. The Sarpanch of the Gram Panchayat is elected directly by all the voters or the panchas from amongst themselves.

The functions of Gram Panchayats, which can be broadly divided into two categories, obligatory and discretionary, include municipal administration, (maintenance of public streets, local roads, drains, culverts etc., lighting, supply of drinking water, maintenance of land and cattle records, cultural, social, agricultural and development activities). These range from sanitation, conservancy, crop experiments, and promotion of cottage industry to registration of births and deaths. Besides, the state governments generally have the power to authorise the panchayats to perform other functions or duties like supervision of primary schools, welfare of down-trodden classes, etc.

The Gram Panchayats have the power to levy certain taxes, though there are considerable variations from state to state. The main sources of income of the panchayats are property tax, land revenue or rent, and vehicle and profession tax. These taxes are generally compulsory. Panchayats are also empowered to levy some other taxes and fees like control, lighting rate, water rate etc., where such services are provided by the Gram panchayats.

22.3.2 PANCHAYAT SAMITHI (BLOCK COUNCIL)

The Panchayat Samithi, the intermediate tier in the panchayat raj system, functions at all Block levels. The designation of the head of the panchayat Samithi differs from state to state. He is known as the 'President' in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and West Bengal. In Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Punjab he is known as chairman. He is known as Pradhan in Rajasthan and as Pramukh in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The panchayat Samithi generally consists of the Sarpanchas of the panchayats within the jurisdiction of the Samithi, or of members elected indirectly by the panchas or directly elected members. Besides, special representation is provided for the weaker section like women Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes.

The panchayat Samithi in all the States is entrusted with developmental functions and are directly responsible for the implementation of the "Community Development" Program's. They are also charged with the preparation and implementation of developmental plans for the block.

The Samithi is vested with specific executive responsibilities in the matter of primary education, health, sanitation and communication. They also supervise the work of the panchayats and have the right to scrutinize the budget of the panchayats.

The finance of the panchayat Samithi consists essentially of funds drawn from the Block budget and earmarked for specific schemes transferred to the Panchayat Samithi by the State Government for execution. In addition, they get a share of the land revenue and cess of land revenue and grants given by the State Government. The panchayat samithies in some States also have the power to levy certain taxes like tax on profession, surcharge on duty on transfer of immovable property, motor vehicle tax, pilgrim tax, entertainment tax, toll tax and leases etc. Voluntary public contribution are also one of the sources of revenue for panchayat samities.

The panchayat samiti in all the states functions through Standing Committees, which look after specific aspects of the samithis work, like production programs, welfare of the weaker sections, finances, etc.

22.3.3 ZILLA PARISHAD (DISTRICT COUNCIL)

It is the third tier of Panchayat Raj at the district level. It is the adviser and agent of State Government in developmental matter. The Zilla parishad is usually made up of the President of the samitis in the District; Co-opted members, associate members- standing ex-officio members. In other words Zilla parishad generally consists of representatives of the panchayat samithis, M.L.A's and M.P's from the district and some representatives of weaker sections. The presidents of Panchayat Samithies are ex-officio members of the Zilla parishads.

The functions and powers of Zilla parishad vary considerably from State to State. In some states it is a co-ordinating body which exercises general supervision over the working of the panchayat samities and advises the government on the implementation of development schemes. Besides these duties, it has specific executive functions in the establishment, maintenance and expansion of secondary and vocational schools. In some of the States including Punjab, the Zilla parishad has no specific executive function but is a supervisory and co-ordinating body. Besides these the other functions are examination and approval of budget of panchayat samitis, distribution of funds between various blocks, co-ordination and consolidation of plans etc.

The finances of the Zilla parishad consist mostly of funds made available by the State Government and also a share of the land cess and other local cesses and taxes that are assigned to them. Besides, funds earmarked for specific schemes which are entrusted for the execution to panchayat raj bodies, also come into the budget of the Zilla parishad. In some of the states, the parishads are empowered to levy certain taxes or to enhance, subject to certain limits, the taxes already being levied by the panchayat samitis. Zilla parishads function through standing committees set up to look after specific items of work, like education, planning, industries etc.

(d) OVER ALL RESULTS

The record of achievement and performance of village panchayats have not however, been encouraging in general. There has been some success in so far as civic functions like lighting and clearing of the village streets, construction of roads, drinking water wells and such other activities are concerned. But the developmental function which is the most important one has not yet been taken up by them in the right manner.

The working of panchayats is not free from other faults. There is scarcity of popular and effective leadership to take over the responsibility of village planning and development, panchayat meetings are held at irregular intervals and their follow up programmes are insufficient and irregular.

Check your Progress

Discuss the general structure of Panchayathi Raj.

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22.4 POLITICAL POWER AND PANCHAYAT RAJ

At the village level almost all the States decided on having direct election to the village panchayat. The village Panchayat is elected by secret ballot and the number of its members is proportional to the population. In Andhra Pradesh elections at the village level are inevitably fought out on the caste basis. The panchayat samiti comprises of thirty to forty directly elected Sarpanchas of the village panchayat plus some co-opted members and members of the Legislative Assembly in whose constituency the Block is actually situated. Often members are local politicians who ardently seek power.

In Panchayat Raj the real power lies in the middle-tier with the Samiti President and he is the key figure in the whole set up. If the membership of the Samitis is analysed one finds that they consist almost entirely of members of the dominant land owning castes, whatever the political affiliation of the members concerned. Caste, land, money and education are still the prerequisites for political success. In Andhra Pradesh the dominant castes such as Reddys, Kammas and Velamas manipulate the election Process, unless a Brahmin is able to successfully manipulate the caste factor in his favour. The new political set up has politicalised the traditional society. Politics has led to the formation of interest groups, represented by different castes and factions.

A great draw back is that the village panchayats have been mostly distributed by local politics. Rural politics underwent a tremendous change under the influence of developing political affairs. Group factions, pressure groups and interest groups have considerably increased on the basis of number of traditional elements, such as caste, social status and wealth which play an important role in panchayat elections. The bitterness arising out of the election process vitiates the atmosphere of the village, and rival groups hinder the smooth functioning of the village panchayats. Therefore there is a close relationship between the nature of village politics and the effective functioning of village panchayats.

The most important aspects of the village politics are 1. Factions 2. Caste groups 3. Class conflict.

22.4.1 FACTIONS

The word "Faction" has long been used in ordinary political rhetoric. In the literature on Indian politics, however, faction is often used to refer to different political groups which perform positive social functions. The term at first seems to have been used in this positive sense by Oscar Lewis (1954, 55, 58) and his colleague, Harvent Singh Dhillon (1955). According to them factions are groups which emerge in conflicts over scarce resources. More specifically the factions develop as result of Quarrels over the inheritance of land, over the adoption of sons, over the house-sites and irrigation rights over sexual offenses, over sexual murders and quarrels between castes, besides those between different political groups.

Further, they feel that rapid social change would create factions in villages and that they would promote mutual co-operation within the factions while creating tensions among different factions over different issues. Others say that factions operate as political groups. According to Beals and Siegel, factionalism is the result of lack of unity among the villagers. According to Nicholas all the political conflict groups in the villages are factions. Intercaste conflict is important in village population. Nicholas, further, says that competition for rank position within the village between adjacent castes might have been a characteristic of Indian village life before Independence and
210 direct confrontation between low and high ranking castes for village level positions and challenges

to political and economic supremacy seem to be a primary feature of the new order. The main factor for this is the changes instituted by the Indian Government by way of adult franchise and provision of legal privileges for the lower castes and other downtrodden people.

22.4.2 CASTE GROUPS

It is most difficult to analyse the Indian village politics without referring to caste groups. The caste groups are the most influential factors in rural politics. Many sociologists argue that "by nature the castes are not competing groups and if at all they started competing with one another for political power they ceased to be caste groups but active political sub-groups".

In the present Indian rural politics, many castes have formed associations of their own which act as interest groups in the field of politics. These caste associations perform social and economic functions as well as try to upgrade the collective status of their caste in relation to other castes in the hierarchy. These groups also strive for political power in the rural political set up. After independence the election procedure has created channels for the development of many caste groups. It is the conflicts between the different caste groups that have made some of the higher caste groups weak. Today the behaviors of the caste groups in rural areas is changing in favour of achieving greater social mobility and political and economic benefits. At the same time traditional factors such as kinship and caste play a significant role, and the party structure itself is threatened with infiltration of these factors.

22.4.3 CLASS CONFLICT

Rural conflicts are also the results of interaction between various factors including the class forces. Uneven distribution of land and exploitation of the landless labourers by the landowning class is the main factor for rural conflict. All recent studies in the Indian agriculture depict a wide and bitter strife between the landowning classes and the peasantry. The new leadership that has emerged in rural areas is essentially recruited from new landowning class. One advantage is that their leadership coming from higher income groups is equipped with better education and with better resources as its command and with a more rational outlook on life. However, the leadership is bureaucratic and corrupt in character. The study conducted by Planning Commission has revealed that most of the Sarpanchas have been recruited from upper class. This has also exploited the caste sentiments for promotion of their interests. Thus, the replacement of traditional Zamindar by new landowning class is a new phenomenon that has emerged in rural India after independence. It has been pointed out that new landowning class has emerged not only as an economic but also as a political and social leaders in the rural areas. The studies have further indicated how this leadership is developing its hold over administrative authorities like Block Development officers and other official positions. Hence the new land-owning class is emerging as a most powerful and potent force in village India at the present time. This process being accelerated by Panchayat Raj.

The programmes of development adopted by the panchayat raj are today largely paper programmes. But the introduction of panchayat raj has given a new look to the caste systems and local politics. There is an increase in the factional struggles and groups rivalries among those who aspire for power. It has given rise to a new variety of non-bureaucratic officials in the rural areas and intensified the tensions and conflicts among administrative officials and the taluk leaders. It may be noted that "Politics of manipulation" has been brought to the village level. As a result, the ruling party has successfully created through panchayat raj an organized group of supporters who formed the social base in rural areas. Further, it has generated power mongers in rural areas who

would manipulate interests for their own advancement. Consequently, the production plans and community development programmes receive a set back.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the over all results of Panchayati Raj.

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22.5 SUMMARY

Panchayath Raj is an expression of decentralized democracy at the grass root level giving an opportunity for the rural people to participate in the formulation and implementation of plans for rural development. Gram sabha, panchayat samithi, and Zilla Parishad are the three tiers of panchayat raj. The most important aspects of the village politics are the factions, caste groups and class conflict.

22.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Desai. A.R	:	Rural Sociology in India
Dey S.K	:	Panchayat Raj
Lewis Oscar	:	Gram Dynamics in North Indian Village - A study of factions
Ranga Rao. K	:	Village Politics

22.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS.

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines

1. Discuss briefly the structure of Panchayat Raj.
2. Discuss the type of leadership which is emerging in panchayat organisation.
3. Examine the functions of panchayat raj in the context of rural class structure in India.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines.

1. Describe briefly the structure of panchayat samithi in Andhra Pradesh.
2. Mention the objectives of panchayat raj.
3. What is the role played by the Zilla Parishad.

UNIT-23: CASTE, CLASS AND POWER

Contents

- 23.0 Aims and Objectives
- 23.1 Introduction
- 23.2 Nature of Caste and Caste System in India
- 23.3 Relationship between Caste and Class
- 23.4 Relationship between Caste and Power
- 23.5 Relationship between Caste, Class and Power in the Indian Society
- 23.6 Summary
- 23.7 Suggested Books
- 23.8 Model Examination Questions

23.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to discuss the relationship between three major dimensions of social structure in India namely caste, class and power.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the nature of caste system in India,
- explain the relationship between caste and class,
- explain the relationship between caste and power,
- explain the relationship between caste, class and power.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about panchayat raj and Village Politics. In this unit we will study about caste, class and power which are the major dimensions of social structure in India.

23.2 NATURE OF CASTE AND CASTE SYSTEM

The predominant feature of social structure in our country, as is well known, is the caste system. The caste system in its most general but the most fundamental aspect is a system that denotes status and hierarchy. It is pervasive and all embracing, and it controls and defines all social, economic and political relationship for the individual. It is therefore considered the extreme opposite of an egalitarian democratic social order.

The caste system has been one of the oldest and the most elaborate system of social organization. One can know a great deal about an individual, his occupation, his education, his civil and political privileges, his marriage choice and his associational membership and other ritual behavior by knowing his caste. As the caste status is ascribed by birth, the system envisages hereditary substitutability of positions and privileges. The traditional model of caste also marks absence of internal differentiation among the persons belonging to the same caste. All members of the same caste are like each other in that they have the same levels of ritual, socioeconomic and political positions, rights, privileges and responsibilities. On the other hand, the caste model envisages complete vertical differentiation between individuals belonging to different status castes. Dif-213

ferent castes differ from each other in ritual, socio-economic and political positions. Further, there was a considerable congruence among caste, class and power positions. The divisions of wealth and political power followed the same lines as caste division. The hierarchy in these fields approximated the ritual hierarchy. Caste, viewed as a ritual system, was congruent with the political system. Thus, the stratification system in traditional India was relatively less mobile, less differentiated in terms of ritual, economic and political dimensions and on the whole more closed.

23.3 CASTE AND CLASS

One of the most striking features of the stratification system in traditional India is the close correspondence between caste and class. The approach in the study of caste and class has traditionally been definitional. Some scholars took the stand that caste and class are two distinct entities. It is also maintained that the caste system is cultural-specific and unique to India and that it would be misleading to apply it to other societies. They viewed class as an entity composed of several endogamous groups, while caste is socially-bounded on all sides. Therefore, the division into caste has no direct relation with the division into classes. The castes came into existence independently without regard to the classes. To them, the status of a person in a caste society depended not on his wealth as in the class based society, but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the luck to be born.

The other approach while not completely and directly in contrast to the above approach is not that fundamentalist. It puts both caste and class on a continuum in its scheme of classifying the stratification system and has as its basis openness and mobility rather than the rigidity. This approach helps in classifying any society as a caste-society or class-society on the basis of the degree of mobility. It attempts to locate stratification system on a continuum where the caste system is on the left most rigid and closed stratification system, while the class society is on the right end symbolizing open, mobile, and competitive systems. Thus class societies may be represented as extending from those like the caste which are relatively rigid or closed to those which are flexible.

Yet another approach in the study of caste and class deals with the empirically obtained relationship between caste hierarchy and economic hierarchy. This approach is more prominent in the empirical studies of our society made during the last 30 years or so by sociologists and social Anthropologists. They are interested in finding out the extent of correspondence between caste hierarchy and socio-economic hierarchy. These various approaches are, however, not necessarily mutually exclusive nor are they completely opposed to one another. They mainly differ in focus and purpose.

Indian society has been traditionally known as a society where a person's birth in a particular status caste sums up his other positions. Thus, Indian society is considered as a society characterised by "status summation". From this perspective, a person who has a low status in this caste hierarchy also has a low status in other hierarchies of the society such as economic or political. The close correspondence between caste status and socio-economic status has been generally recognized. Low caste and low class have almost become synonymous. The Government of India while making special provisions for what are called "Backward classes" mostly applied caste criteria instead of economic criteria. The underlying implication here is that one could know a great deal about an individual's socio-economic status by knowing his caste status.

However the evidence provided by such studies as Ghurye's and findings of such detailed and more recent village studies at Beteille's Bailey's, Mayer's and others suggests that the relationship between the caste hierarchy and socio-economic hierarchy was much stronger and of higher magnitude in the past than today and that gradually it is steadily decreasing.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the different approaches to study caste and class?

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23.4 CASTE AND POWER

In India there is universal adult suffrage and accordingly every adult can vote without the distinction of caste, class, creed or sex. Legally there cannot be any political stratification in a democracy such as India because everybody is given equal voting power and citizenship status. In modern democracies there can be no stratification of individuals on the basis of voting power, since it is equally distributed. But there can be stratification on a political dimension in terms of actual distribution of political and governmental positions, influence and activity. Thus, in actuality there are always some who participate more than the others. Access to opportunities to participate and the actual use of these opportunities could be one of the major bases of stratification in a society. A society could be highly equalitarian or highly hierarchical in relation to the distribution of political power and participation. We shall now examine the relationship between caste status and levels of political involvement, influence and activity.

Sociologists and Social Anthropologists have made detailed studies of the powerful and influential castes in the rural areas. This phenomenon has been conceptualized by Srinivas as the concept of the dominant caste. This concept has been found to be very useful in understanding the power structure in rural India. Dominant castes have been found to be controlling social, economic and political power. Members of the dominant caste are politically more active and feel politically influential. They have a high sense of efficacy, they perceive themselves to be relatively more powerful in community affairs, vote regularly, participate in political activities and have more contacts with political leaders and government officials. Some recent village studies clearly point out that very high status castes are not necessarily influential castes in Indian villages. Similarly the relationship between caste and general indicators of political involvement has been found to be weak but somewhat stronger than that between caste and political activity. Further, the studies also do indicate the fact that the relationship between caste and levels of political knowledge is considerable but there is practically no relationship between caste and party identification.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Which is a dominant Caste

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23.5 CASTE, CLASS AND POWER

A considerably body of research, however, has shown that socioeconomic status is strongly related to political power. One of the most documented and well substantiated findings in social sciences is that high ascriptive status together with high socio-economic status leads to high levels of political orientation and activity. In this, caste status of person does not contribute to political orientations, influence and activity. Whatever relation caste has to political power is because of the intervening effects of socio-economic status. Thus the stratification profile of modern India, signifies a relative status in-congruence, relative mobility, relative intercaste differentia and relative inter-caste equality. However, this overall pattern has to be qualified in that while both class and politics have opened up, the caste-socio-economic status relationship is relatively stronger and more congruent than caste-power relationship.

The modern legal and constitutional structures and competitive political process constitute one of the major factors influencing the profile of social stratification in India. The egalitarian and secular constitution and laws have been greatly instrumental in converting education, occupation and other class characteristics and political power, leadership positions and civic and political privileges from ascriptive aspects of status to achievable aspects of status. Low-status castes have begun to acquire education, higher level occupations, political influence and leadership positions. More importantly, the competitive political process has narrowed down differences in ritual status in many areas of social and political life, has de-emphasized caste based ritual status and emphasized some new criteria of mobility, namely, education, occupation, political influence and leadership positions. Consequently, the major means of mobility in traditional India-sanskritization- is being by passed in favour of politicization and modernization. Democratic political structures and processes in India have created the possibility of reducing the positive relationship between ascriptive (caste) status and achieved (education, occupation, income) status.

When India became independent and adopted democracy, doubts loomed large in the minds of leaders, social reformers and intellectuals as to how democracy would work in a traditional caste-ridden society. The studies of Indian society, particularly in the 40's and the early 50's held the same doubts predicting that democracy would not survive in a traditional society characterized, among other things, by such parochial and all pervasive institutions as caste. Such a view was based on some general theories relation to society and politics which argued that antecedent

social structures, norms and procedures of social relationship would affect political structures and processes, the stability of the democratic system and its development. But the political leaders argued that caste had no place in democratic India and must go. The constitution of independent India provided for a different ideology of social organization.

It withdrew rank ordering based on birth and envisaged a new society, a democratically ordered society. They tended to think that traditional structures like caste system were undergoing transformation from below and within and were adopting themselves to the demands of democratic politics.

Studies conducted after independence bring out the fact that as the villages came into contact more and more with the outside world and some economic changes took place, the power structure too underwent a significant change. The ultimate seat of political power moved outside the village. The traditional strength of the caste panchayats was also losing ground. Castes at the bottom made conscious efforts to move up, and their desire for a change of status was recognized by the rest of the community. The first step towards this change was the giving up of their traditional occupations. It is also important to note that the people who oppose the traditional village system are not those who suffer most acutely under it, but those who have partly extricated themselves from it through some change in their economic circumstances. Obviously these people are those who perceived a kind of status inconsistency.

Thus political independence naturally gave impetus to the rising tide of aspirations and confidence to the lower castes, particularly, the untouchables. The prevailing liberalism and political modernization naturally helped to relax the caste and ritual rigidities. During this period, the change was mainly at the cultural and political level in the villages. The distribution of power acquired a very dynamic character in the last two decades. In some ways the traditional relationship between caste and power became reversed. Power has also become independent of class to a greater extent than in the past. Ownership of land is no longer the decisive factor in acquiring power. Adult franchise and Panchayat Raj have introduced new processes into the village society. The struggle for power has become a pervasive phenomenon. This may partly be due to the fact that today much power is accessible to the common man than was ever in the past.

There is evidence that at the village and the regional levels of the functioning of social strata there has been upward social mobility in case of the middle castes and middle peasantry. The traditional upper castes have suffered a decline in relative social status or even suffered proletarianization in some exceptional cases. The middle castes have also gained political influence at the village and the regional level. The dominant mode of political conflict in Indian villages is between factions. Inter-caste conflict is important in village politics only where the dominant caste is less than half of the total village population or where a subordinate caste is more numerous than the dominant caste. While competition for rank position between adjacent castes may have been an important feature of village life in olden days, direct conflict between low and high ranking castes is the primary feature of the new order.

While the economic and political structures have to some extent detached themselves from the caste structure, political power is now dependent more on economic power. While in some instances caste has, with other factors, contributed to the success of a candidate in elections, in others it served to divide the support structure. The contribution that caste makes to the political process need not be taken for granted, it requires careful analysis.

Caste is adapting itself to the changing circumstances ensuring smooth change of the system. There seems to be a major change in the cultural patterns and styles of life. There is no more restriction as to the adoption of any type of ritual practice and adopting of any new ways of behavior. In social behavior there is a considerable relaxation in the inter personal behavior between different individuals of different caste groups. This is true even with political or economic life. The modern political and economic cultures are also accepted by all and all are willing to participate in it. But the level of political participation is conditioned by economic power and to some extent by social power.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Power?

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23.6 SUMMARY

The strengthening of political parties in a conscious manner based on economic programmes, of groups based on economic interests, free and voluntary associations could be suggested as one way to dislodge caste from its present position. Political loyalties, union loyalties, class consciousness, the rational and scientific outlook are factors which, if consciously cultivated, could create the proper intellectual climate for a modernizing, secular, democratic society.

23.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Yogendra Singh	:	Modernization of Indian Tradition
M.N. Srinivas	:	Caste in India & Other essays.
Andre Beterlle	:	Caste, Class and Power

23.8 MODERL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.
1. Explain the relationship between caste and class.
 2. Bring out the nature of association between caste, class and power in India.
- II. Answer the following about 10 lines each.
1. Explain the characteristics of caste.
 2. What are the differences between caste & class?

BLOCK - 8 BASIC PROCESS OF CHANGE

BRACUJ

BRAOU

UNIT-24: SANSKRITISATION AND ISLAMISATION

CONTENTS

- 24.0 Aims and Objectives
- 24.1 Introduction
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24.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the twin processes of social change Sanskritisation and Islamisation.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- Define the concepts Sanskritisation and Desanskritisation,
- explain the meaning of Islamisation, its nature, process and implications.

24.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about caste and caste system in India and the relationship between caste, class and power. In this unit we will study about the two processes of social change that is Sanskritisation and Islamisation.

24.2 DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT OF SANSKRITISATION

The term Sanskritisation was used first by M.N.Srinivas to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of India. In his study of the Coorgs in Mysore he found that lower castes in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy had adopted some customs of the Brahmins and given up some of their own considered to be impure by the higher castes. For instance, they gave up meat-eating, consumption of liquor and animal sacrifice to their deities; they gave up meat-eating, consumption of liquor and animal sacrifice to their deities; they limited the Brahmins in matters of dress, food and rituals. By doing this, within a generation or so they could claim higher positions in the hierarchy of castes. Srinivas states:

"The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able in a generation or two to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and tectotalism, and by sanskritising its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins, and the adoption"221

of the Brahmanic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden".

To denote this process of mobility, Srinivas used the term 'Brahmanization'. But later on he has replaced it by Sanskritisation since it is a much broader concept than Brahmanization'. Srinivas observed that the process which motivated the lower castes to imitate the customs of the Brahmins in Mysore was a specific example of a general tendency among the lower castes to imitate the cultural ways of the higher castes. But in many cases these higher castes were non-Brahmins, they were Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, etc., in various regions of the country.

The hierarchy in the caste system is theoretically represented by Varna. There are four varnas, the Brahmin, the kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra in the same hierarchical order. The untouchables have traditionally been outside the varna hierarchy and form the lowest station of the caste stratification. The Brahmins, who constitute the top of the varna hierarchy have enjoyed the most respectable position in the caste system. They form the priestly class, have the monopoly over the study and interpretation of the Hindu scriptures and sacred texts through institutionalized means.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Brahmanization?

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24.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE NATURE OF THE PROCESS & ITS IMPLICATIONS

Status in the caste being ascribed by birth, the chances of smooth mobility to high caste positions were more or less closed. Sanskritisation is the process of cultural and social mobility during these periods of relative openness of the Hindu social system. It is an indigenous source of social change. From a social psychological point of view Sanskritisation is a culturally specific case of the universal motivation toward "anticipatory socialization", i.e., Anticipatory Socialization is the term coined by Merton to designate the commitment of individuals to values and norms which are characteristic of groups to which they as yet do not belong but to which they aspire to the culture of a higher group in the hope of gaining its status in future. In this respect, 'sanskritisation is a unique historical form of the general process of acculturation leading to vertical mobility of groups. Further, in sociological literature, the reference group theory has proved useful in explaining the social and cultural dynamics. As a variant of the general reference group theory, 222 and specifically applicable to the Indian Society the concept of sanskritisation is important.

Historically sanskritisation refers to those processes in Indian history which led to changes in the status of various castes, in the Indian society, its leadership or its cultural patterns in different periods of history. In contextually specific sense, however, sanskritisation denotes contemporaneous processes of cultural imitation of upper castes by lower castes or sub-castes in different parts of India. The nature of cultural norms or customs being imitated may vary from sanskritic or Hindu traditional forms to the tribal and even the Islamic patterns. This is illustrated by the diversity or pattern found in the contextual process of sanskritisation. Studies show that at many places lower castes imitate the customs of the Kshatriyas and not of the Brahmins, and at other places tribes are reported to imitate the customs of the caste Hindus.

Consequently Srinivas has changed his definition and explanation of the concept of sanskritisation. Now sanskritisation to him is "a process by which a low Hindu caste or tribal or other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, frequently, 'twice born', caste. Generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community". This new definition of sanskritisation is evidently much broader than the earlier one and it is not limited to the Brahmins as a reference group or to the observance of mere rituals and religious practices. To Srinivas, sanskritisation means "not only the adoption of new customs and habits but also exposure to new ideas and values, which have found frequent expression in the vast body of sanskrit literature, sacred as well as secular. Among the four varnas of the Hindu social system, the first three, namely, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas known as 'Dwijya Varnas' (Twice-born), follow to a greater extent the values and customs as embodied in the great sanskrit literature, sacred as well as secular. The lower castes have tried to raise their social status and prestige by taking those upper castes as reference groups and by sanskriting themselves."

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Define Sanskritisation.

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24.4 DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT OF DESANSKRITISATION

The phenomenon of economic and political domination also assumes great significance in this process. This has been well recognized by Srinivas, who has integrated the concept of sanskritisation with that of power and domination. He remarks that "the mediation of the various models of sanskritisation through the local dominant caste stresses the importance of the latter in the process of cultural transmission". In the context of a community or a region, any dominant caste, lower or upper, could be accepted as a reference group. But whenever the reference group is lower in caste hierarchy than the recipient one the resulting anticipatory socialization process 223

would normally lead to desanskritization, since the recipient group drifts away from the ideals and values as embodied in the "Great Tradition" or in the Sanskrit or Vedic literature. Thus, if the locally dominant caste is Brahmin, it will tend to transmit a Brahmanical model of Sanskritisation, where as if it is Rajput or Bania it will transmit Kshatriya or Vaisya model. As mentioned by Pocock, Singer, Dube and Damle, these models seem to be very useful in explaining the specific types of sanskritisation processes to suit different regional conditions and historical antecedents.

However, there are sociologists like M.S.A.Rao and others who treated sanskritisation as a form of protest against the normative structure and principles as laid down by the Great Tradition. It amounts to a rejection of the Hindu theory of Karma which integrates the various levels of role-institutionalization supposed to be ascribed by birth. It is thus a process of usurpation of a position higher in hierarchy as defined by the Great Tradition, though the rejection of the fundamental principle of hierarchy itself. Many sectarian movements emerged as a result of protest against established tradition. Protest ideology based on relative deprivation, helps establish the identity and draw boundaries between the protesting and dominant groups. M.S.A, Rao refers to the latter as "opposition reference groups", because the relationship between the (protest) groups concerned and the reference groups is one of opposition and conflict. Opposition reference groups represent the cognitive aspects of protest ideology. This means that the members of the concerned group take to sanskritisation not because they wish to emulate, the reference group but because they would like to challenge and wrest away the monopoly of the upper castes in the use of religious, economic, educational and political goods and services.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is desanskritisation?

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24.5 MEANING OF ISLAMISATION, ITS NATURE, PROCESS AND IMPLICATIONS

Historically speaking, the process of Islamisation preceded to process of christianization (Westernization). While Westernization has been very prominent since the advent of British rule, various other forces had earlier their impact on the Hindu social system and its culture. The establishment of Muslim military and political power in much of India has produced waves of social change. The muslim impact and imprint on Indian society had been considerable and realistic interpretation of social change in the Hindu social structure and organization should take note of the Islamisation process as well.

The process of Islamisation covers three types of movements in cultural status (1) an upward cultural and social mobility in the status of groups through conversion to Islam; (2) movements towards orthodoxy in cultural and religious matters among the converts to Islam; and (3) adoption

of some Islamic cultural values and styles of life by Non-Muslims either for reasons of expediency and profit or because of cultural contact (yogendra Singh: 1973).

Urdu Muslim rule in India, Islam as a form of cultural system naturally provided sure access to the highest social status, power and profit. Conversion to Islam under these circumstances offered an easy and shorter route to status enhancement. The other relatively less certain way to the same was selective acculturation through learning and cultivation of skills needed by the new rulers.

Islamisation as a process of status mobility within the Islamic social structure has many sociological equivalents of those characterizing sanskritisation. In both the processes, mobility in status is sought through adoption of names and customs of culturally highly placed groups. In both situations, the economic status of the reference model is and has been traditionally of a superior nature. Finally, both in sanskritisation and in Islamisation, the aspiration for mobility is preceded by some degree of betterment of the economic status of the aspirant group.

Finally Islamisation also means increasing movement among Indian Muslims towards new identity formulation based on a rigorous espousal of orthodox Islamic principles in their sociocultural life and conscious rejection of such elements as were relicts of their Hindu antecedents, Hindu past. Many muslim communities which were converted from lower Hindu castes had continued to maintain their cultural links with Hinduism its festivals, deities and rituals. Many of them observed the rituals of both the religions. In this manner the local level tradition of Islam came to be symbiotically integrated with the local tradition of Hinduism which continued for hundreds of years. It was in this context a revivalist movement for Islam which was started with the sole objective of freeing the Indian Islamic cultural traditions from Hindu influences. Islamisation, thus, in the form of revivalism intensified identity consciousness within the core muslim population breaking their cultural ties existing with Hinduism. The political expression of Islamisation is also reinforced through cultural movements. This is in harmony with the ethos of Islam, wherein religion and politics are fused into a uniform ethical system.

Thus Islamisation, like Sanskritisation, is a disguised politico-cultural movement. Both have consciously or unconsciously revolted against the principle of hierarchy - a major value component of the traditional world view. But revolt against hierarchy though sanskritisation implies a withdraw from tradition resulting in the accelerating of the pace of modernization. In comparison Islamisation as a movement of revivalism of basic values in the Islamic tradition, reinforced the conservative aspects.

Many Hindu Communities and castes during the Muslim rule in our country borrowed and adopted many Muslim cultural patterns ranging from food habits, style of dress, the observing of the purdah to the learning of urdu. For example, Kashmiri pundits, Telangana Brahmins were sociological cases of Islamization in India. These communities adopted Muslim culture, learned their language and literature, molded their domestic life according to the Muslim way of life. Islamisation in this form like Westernization operated as a form of anticipatory socialization in the culture of the dominant ruling community which at that time not only had a higher position but also served as an instrument of access to higher offices and material benefits.

Thus it could as well be said that such Brahmins got desanskritised in following the Islamic model as well as the Sudra model of reference group behaviour. Without reference to the caste, in general terms, this could be broadly described as the kingly or the political model and this would mean that irrespective of the social or ritual status any group would tend to follow the dominant political pattern and values of the region at a given point of time.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Islamization.

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24.6 SUMMARY

Sanskritization refers to the processes in Indian history which led to changes in the status of various castes, in the Indian Society, its leadership or its cultural patterns in different periods of history. Islamization like Sanskritization is a disguised politico - cultural movement. Both have consciously or unconsciously revolted against the principle of hierarchy a major value component of the traditional world view.

24.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

M.N.Srinivas	:	Social change in Modern India
Yogendra Singh	:	Modernization of Indian Tradition.
M.N.Srinivas	:	Caste in Modern India and other Essays.

24.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the role of Sanskritisation as a process of social change in Indian society.
2. Discuss the nature & forms of Islamisation Process that occurred during the Muslim rule in India.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Explain the concept of Islamisation.
2. Explain the concept of sanskritisation.

UNIT-25: WESTERNISATION AND MODERNISATION

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- 25.0 Aims and Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Similarity of Terms : Westernisation and Modernisation
- 25.3 Terminological Differences of Modernisation
- 25.4 Srinivas's Concept of Westernisation
- 25.5 The Concept of Modernisation
- 25.6 Modernity and Tradition
- 25.7 Summary
- 25.8 Suggested Books
- 25.9 Model Examination Questions

25.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the concepts of Westernisation and Modernisation and discuss them as basic processes of social change.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- define the concepts of Westernisation and Modernisation and explain their similarity,
- explain the terminological differences of Modernisation,
- explain the concept of Modernisation.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the twin processes of social change Sanskritisation and Islamisation. In this unit we will study about Westernisation and Modernisation which are also processes of social change.

25.2 SIMILARITY OF TERMS: WESTERNISATION AND MODERNISATION

There is a tendency among social scientists to use the terms 'Westernisation' and 'Modernisation', synonymously. This is so because the term modernisation has come to be widely used to describe the changes brought about in a non-western country on the lines of the more advanced western countries. According to, Eisenstadt "Historically modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth to nineteenth century and then have spread to other European countries and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the South American, Asian and African continents. Defined this way, modernisation is equated with westernisation and implies that modernization requires the replacement of traditional culture of the society concerned, by that of the West. But in reality, modernization is not a substitute process but an additive process. It would involve the transformation and adaptation of the traditional culture of a society but not to 227

the supercedence. Modernisation is a synthesis of old and new ways and therefore takes different forms in different societies depending upon what culture each of them has. Eisenstadt himself points out that modernisation varies with the needs, the prevailing conditions and the stage of development of each country. As such, each country has different starting points for its modernisation, process and these different starting points will determine the contours and problems of its modernisation process.

In the case of the Third World countries which have gained their political independence from colonial powers after World War II and emerged as new nations the stimulus to modernise could have come from the west. But these new nations also being old societies with their own cultural tradition would have distinct modernisation requirements and hence, different starting points. An unilinear movement in Western direction is hardly a solution to their modernisation problems.

25.3 TERMINOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN MODERNISATION

There are some social scientists who not only make a clear distinction between the concepts of Westernisation and modernisation but also show a definite preference for one or the other of these terms.

For instance Denial Lerner prefers to use the term modernisation to refer to the process of social change in the traditional society of which he makes an empirical study. In the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Lerner has defined modernisation as the current term used for the old process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to the more developed. Defined thus, modernisation stands for changes brought about in underdeveloped societies on the lines of the more developed societies. If these developed societies that are being used as models are Western, it would be logical to refer to this process of change as Westernisation, but Lerner chooses to call it modernisation, because he feels that the West and things western do not have quite happy connotations for the developing societies, most of these societies having only recently become independent from colonial powers.

Yet another reason given for the preference of the term modernisation to 'westernisation' is that today there are also models other than the Western model of modernisation such as the Russian and Japanese models. For these reasons modernisation is considered to be a more comprehensive term to describe the process of social change characterizing the developing societies today.

Knowing fully the implications of the use of the term Westernisation in the study of social change in modern India, M.N. Srinivas still uses it in preference to the term, 'modernisation'. He gives his own reasons. First Srinivas felt that the term "Westernisation" unlike "modernisation" is ethically Neutral. It does not carry the implication that is good or bad whereas modernisation most often carries the implication that it is good. Secondly, Srinivas feels that modernisation is a simple unidimensional concept that cannot explain the complex processes of change that India underwent as a result of the prolonged contact with the British. Although other Western powers like the Portuguese, Dutch and French have come to India earlier, Srinivas used the term 'Westernisation', only to refer to the British impact and uses it specifically to characterize the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, encompassing changes at different levels of technology, institutions, ideology and values.

25.4 SRINIVAS' CONCEPT OF WESTERNISATION

M.N. Srinivas is known for his concept of "Westernisation" Along with Westernisation" he uses another concept namely, Sanskritisation, to explain some features of religious, cultural and social change in India.

Sanskritisation is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste or tribe changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in tune with those of a high caste and is a process which seems to have occurred throughout Indian History, and still continues to occur. Westernisation on the other hand, refers to changes brought about in Indian society during the British rule and which continue even after independence. Sanskritisation implies an indigenous process of social change whereas westernisation an exogenous one. While Sanskritisation is confined to lower Hindu castes and tribes, westernisation is not confined to any particular section of the Indian population. Those with urban residence, western education, employment in the government (a good proportion of these being the upper castes) were the ones who underwent early westernization. Because of the preponderance of upper castes among those who got westernized early it would not be wrong to say that as the lower castes Sanskritised their life style, the upper castes westernized theirs. It was only much later that some of the lower castes realized that for the mobilization of their castes not sankritisation but westernisation was necessary.

As has been already pointed out, srinivas uses the term to refer to the radical and lasting changes brought about in Indian society by the British rule. The first step in westernisation was the establishment of Pax Britanica. The British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values. The new technology and the revolution in communications which this new technology brought about, enabled the British to politically, administratively, and economically, integrate the country. The British laid the foundations of a modern state by surveying land, settling the revenue, creating a modern bureaucracy, army, and police, instituting law courts, codifying the law, developing railways, roads and canals, establishing schools and colleges and so on. The British also brought with them the printing press which made possible the transmission of modern as well as traditional knowledge to a large number of Indians and such knowledge ceased to be the preserve of only the upper castes. The newspaper made people in different parts of the far-flung country realize they had common bonds and the events happening in the outside world could influence their lives.

Westernisation resulted not only in the introduction of new institutions but also in the occurrence of fundamental changes in the old institutions. For example, before the coming of the British, the schools were open only to the upper castes children and transmitted mostly traditional knowledge and imposed no restriction on the entry of any particular group.

Srinivas also differentiates between primary and secondary Westernisation. Those who underwent primary westernisation are those who participated in Westernisation in a deeper sense-who attended the new educational institutions, entered the professions, took up jobs in the bureaucracy and engaged them selves in trade, commerce and industry in the big and developing towns. These who underwent westernisation in the secondary sense are patients in the Hospitals, litigants in law courts and readers of newspapers and books in the Indian languages.

The study of Western literature, political thought, history and law made Indians sensitive to certain new values. One such value was humanitarianism-an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age and sex. Humanitarianism 229

underly many of the reforms introduced by the British in the first half of the nineteenth century. The introduction of British Civil, Penal and procedural law ensured for the first time the equality of all men before the law.

Equalitarianism and secularisation are two other values promoted by humanita-rianism.

The principle of equality found expression in the abolition of slavery, and in the provision of new educational, economic and political opportunities which were in theory at least open to all irrespective of religion, race or caste.

Secularisation implied that religious customs had to satisfy the test of reason if they were to survive. It is this rational approach that paved the way for a reinterpretation of Hinduism at both the ideological and the institutional level and also for the many social reforms.

The Section of Indian society which led the others in Westernisation are referred to as the "New Elite" by Srinivas. They belonged to different castes, religions and ethnic groups, and were the ones who took to western education and the new careers it led to, or were prominent in the professions and government service or were those who took advantage of the new opportunities for trade and commerce. Some of the groups mentioned are Brahmins and Vysyas in most parts of India, Parsis, Muslims of certain regions, Nayars, Syrian christians, Kayasthas, Patidars etc.

The new opportunities-educational, economic and political were in theory caste free and open to all. But in actuality, they were more accessible to the high caste with a tradition of learning, employment in the government and urban residence than to the lower castes. Therefore, there definitely was an overlapping of the traditional and the new elite. However there were in each region, a few castes, not regarded as high castes, who became wealthy by availing themselves of the new opportunities afforded by the British rule. In such cases, they resolved the inconsistency between their new economic status and low ritual status by sanskritising themselves. But very soon, these lower castes realised that to catch up with the high castes, mere sanskritisation was not enough but that westernisation was necessary and they began to reach out to western education and its fruits. In certain areas where there was high caste dominance in education and the new occupations, the mobility desires of the lower castes were given expression through the "backward class movement".

The new elite played a key role in reinterpreting Indian thought, tradition and culture in response to the western impact. Their role was not to blindly borrow ideas and institutions from the British but to selectively borrow and subject the borrowed items to elaboration and reinterpretation. They were the spokesmen for the west in so far as their people were concerned and spokesmen for Indian people in so far as the British were concerned.

The new elite was also characterized by certain amount of ambivalence towards their own society as well as towards the ruling British.

They were on the one hand extremely conscious of the evils of their own society like Sati, thuggee, human sacrifice, female infanticide, slavery, untouchability, religious prostitution, child marriage, purdah system etc. (Moved by the new spirit of self criticism and the desire to introduce radical changes in Indian society, leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy played leading roles in urging the British to wipe out these social evils). On the other hand they had developed a great sense of pride in the rich and ancient culture of their country. This contributed to their self respect and stimulated a national consciousness among them which ultimately led to the freedom movements.

There was also a similar ambivalence towards the British. The British were admired and envied for a variety of things. They were the masters of new knowledge, ideas and technology. They were respected as able and just administrators, honest merchants and brave warriors. While educated Indians deeply resented the evangelizing aspect of missionary work, they appreciated the good work done by the missionaries in providing education and medical relief to all sections of the population, including the socially and economically backward sections. Awareness of the contrast between themselves and their rulers produced among the educated Indians a variety of reactions from self-debasement to bitter denunciation of every thing western.

The new elite gradually grew in numbers, strength and influence. They realised that Indian society not only had to get rid of its evils but also acquire political power to carry out the task of modernising itself.

The Westernised intelligentsia that emerged among the Indians by the latter half of the nineteenth century became the torch bearers of a new and modern India. The leaders included such great personages as Tagore, Vivekananda, Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Patel, Gandhi, Nehru and Radha Krishnan.

With a view to awakening public opinion by direct appeals to people, an organisation called the Indian Association was started by the leaders. This was the precursor of the Indian National Congress. The immediate goals of the Indian National Congress was to make legislatures representative and the Civil Service more Indian and the long term goals were to make the people politically aware to secure a form of responsible government.

Although the first response of the Indian elite to the British influence was the attempt to reform traditional Indian Society, the nationalist urge gradually gained in strength, so much so, that there was debate among the leaders as to which of the two, that is, reform of society or demand for freedom, should have priority. Those who supported the former were known as moderates, and the latter extremists. The conflict ended in a victory, for the extremists. When the Indian National Congress adopted in 1906 "freedom struggle" as its goal. But it is noteworthy that later when Mahatma Gandhi assumed leadership of the Indian National Congress, programs of social reform were integrated into those of the freedom struggle. The World War II had produced a marked rise in nationalism and a heightened national awareness. National awareness necessarily implied heightened self awareness at every level of the social structure. This new awareness led not only to political independence but also to the division of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan. Further Independent India was forced, in the interest of her survival to commit herself to a policy of quick elimination of traditional and hereditary inequalities. The above description of the process of social change under the rubric of "westernisation" by Srinivas is essentially an account of the process of modernisation in India. This will become clear when we examine the concept of modernisation further.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

Define Sanskritisation

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25.5 THE CONCEPT OF MODERNISATION

Modernisation has been variously defined by social scientists, since it has become increasingly specialized with each discipline defining it from its own perspective.

Daniel Lerner, a sociologist who has done extensive work in the field of modernisation used the term to refer to a "disquieting positivist spirit" touching public institutions as well as private aspirations.

According to the above mentioned definition, "rationality" is the essence of modernisation.

Black uses the term to refer to the dynamic form that the age old process of innovation has assumed as a result of the explosive proliferation of knowledge in recent times.

Modernisation as a process of change is best understood at two levels of analysis (1) the individual level (2) the societal level. Modernisation at the individual level implies a change in values, attitudes, and behavior. This change is described as "Social mobilization" by Karl Deutch. Social mobilization refers to a process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and individuals become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior. This kind of change comes about through modernizing influences like exposure to mass media, urban living, literacy, change of occupation, mobility etc.

Based on his cross cultural study of modernisation Inkeles lists the attitudes and personality characteristics of the "modern" man. They are (1) a disposition to accept new ideas and try new methods, (2) a readiness to express opinions, (3) a time sense that makes men more interested in the present and the future rather than in the past (4) a better sense of punctuality, (5) a greater concern for planning, organisation and efficiency (6) a tendency to regard the world as calculable, (7) a faith in science and technology and finally, (8) a belief in distributive justice.

Yogendra Singh in his book 'Modernisation of India Tradition' shows how the Indian tradition- both Hindu and Islamic traditions- has been responding to the forces of modernisation. He points out that the characteristic features of the Indian tradition are hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence and that the challenge of modernisation is to break away from them - a break from hierarchy to equality, from holism to individualism, from continuity to historicity and from transcendence to this worldly rationalism and secularism.

Modernisation at the societal level is characterized by structural differentiation and denotes a high degree of specialization and differentiation, of individual activities and institutional structures. It implies that recruitment to these specialized and differentiated individual roles are made on the basis of achievement and not ascription. Further it is characterised by specificity of roles (dissociation of different roles held by an individual) and specificity of goals in the institutional sphere. These changes are associated with growth in knowledge, science and technology and can be seen in all institutional spheres.

In the political sphere the implications of modernisation are most strikingly apparent in the centralized and rationalized functions of the modern state. This in turn is possible because of the rule of law maintained by a highly organized bureaucracy and a close rapport between the state and the member of society.

In the economic sphere there is a transition from small scale units of production to the more centralized more bureaucratized and larger unit of production operating for new markets.

In the occupational sphere there is increasing differentiation and specialization giving rise to many professional categories.

The educational institution of a modern society is geared more to innovation than to preservation of knowledge. Further religion has ceased to have any influence on education.

In the cultural sphere, there is growing differentiation of the major systems viz., religion, philosophy and science.

In the area of social stratification there is the development of an ambiguous status system. This is attributable to power, status and wealth and jobs allocated on the basis of achievement rather than on the basis of ascription.

Thus we see that modernisation is a pervasive process that affects every institutional sphere of society.

We have so far dealt with modernisation as a process of social change but we have to examine the context in which it is considered a goal towards which every society is moving.

The demonstration effect of the highly developed societies has resulted in the rising aspirations of people all over the world and today, more than ever, there is concern on the part of all nations to achieve development at a rapid pace. The conscious attempt being made to raise the level of one's own society in relation to other societies can be described as the tendency towards modernisation. This tendency to modernise is a global feature and is common to all nations. Both developed and under developed. Viewed in this perspective, modernisation can be considered as a goal towards which every society is moving. It becomes a goal because of the belief that society can, and should, be transformed, and that change is desirable. Modernisation, when treated as a goal involves certain value judgments. For instance, there seems to be the assumption that the western model of modernisation exhibits certain characteristics and sequence, whose relevance is global. Most definitions of modernisation treat it as a movement from the traditional way of life to a more complex technologically advanced, rapidly changing style of life, and from a closed to an open society. Such definitions imply that the impetus for change necessarily comes from the West and that modernisation involves replacement of the tradition of the society concerned by the culture of the West. They imply that for the achievement of modernity, tradition must be superseded. Such dichotomous models of modernity and tradition associate modernity with dynamism and change proneness and tradition with immobility and resistance to change.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is social mobilization?

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Define Modernization?

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25.5 TRADITION AND MODERNITY

There are many definitions which treat modernity as the polar opposite of tradition. This has given rise to much confusion in modernisation theory. But if we understand that they have been conceived as dichotomous only for heuristic purposes much of the confusion can be avoided. In actuality, modernisation is an adaptive process. It involves transformation and adaptation of tradition but not its supercedence. Since modernisation stands for a rational approach to all aspects of social life it is not opposed to tradition because all traditions are not necessarily irrational, but it is certainly opposed to traditionalism which is the tendency to think of all past beliefs and practices as immutable. As such any comprehensive theory of social change should take into account the mutual interaction and infiltration of tradition and modernity. This means that modernity need not involve a total divorce from the tradition of the society, instead, it involves a continuity with it.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the ingredients of individual modernity?

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What is traditionalism?

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25.7 SUMMARY

We have seen that modernisation in India started with the Western contact, especially through establishment of the British rule. This contact had brought about far reaching changes in the culture and social structure of Indian Society. Although not all of these changes could be called modernising the basic direction of this contact was towards modernisation. Yogendra Singh points out that western culture itself had undergone fundamental transformation through Industrial Revolution and Social Reformation. Its traditional principle of hierarchy in stratification exemplified both by church and feudalism was shaken, its medieval holism of value system was seriously affected by the emergence of Protestantism. Its place was being taken by rational-individualism in economy and society. Similarly, in Indian society too the western impact posed a serious challenge to the two cardinal attributes of the Indian tradition, those of hierarchy and holism.

Initially, the contact led to changes at the macro level and later to micro level changes. Above all, it brought about a radical change in the response pattern of educated Indians to the western influence. This is what ultimately led to the emergence of leaders like Gandhiji who could successfully mobilise the Indian people for the attainment of political freedom.

25.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Eisenstadt S.N 1969	:	Modernisation: Protest and change
Rogers. E 1969	:	Modernisation Among Peasants
Saksena R.N 1972	:	Modernisation and Development Trends in India in Sociological Bulletin vol. 21.
Sill D.L (ed) 1968	:	International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
Singer M. 1972	:	When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An anthropological approach to Indian Civilization.
Srinivas M.N 1972	:	Social Change in Modern India.
Yogendra Singh	:	Modernisation of Indian Tradition.

25.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain Sriniva's concept of "Westernisation"
2. Define Modernisation.
3. Are Westernisation and Modernisation synonymous terms?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Is modernity opposed to tradition?
2. Explain why Westernisation and Sanskritisation are regarded as basic processes of social change in India.
3. Why does Lerner prefer the term 'modernisation', to 'westernisation' to refer to the process of social change in the traditional society he studied.

UNIT-26: INDUSTRIALISATION AND URBANISATION

CONTENTS

- 26.0 Aims and Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Urbanisation and Industrialisation as Processes of Social Change
- 26.3 Urbanisation and Industrialisation - are they Correlated?
- 26.4 What is Urbanisation
- 26.5 Urbanism as a Way of Life
- 26.6 Impact of Urbanisation on Indian Society
- 26.7 What is Industrialisation
- 26.8 Industrialism
- 26.9 Impact of Industrialisation on Indian Society
- 26.10 Summary
- 26.11 Suggested Books
- 26.12 Model Examination Questions

26.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to define the concepts of urbanisation and Industrialisation and to discuss them as processes of social change with particular reference to Indian society.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain urbanisation and Industrialisation as Processes of social change,
- explain what is meant by urbanisation,
- explain urbanism as a way of life,
- explain the impact of urbanisation on Indian society,
- explain what is meant by industrialisation and its impact on Indian society.

26.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about Sanskritisation and Islamisation, westernisation and modernisation. In this unit we will study about Industrialisation and urbanisation which are also basic processes of social change.

26.2 URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION AS PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In the context of social change and development a close relationship between modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation is assumed as a logical connection. In fact urbanisation and industrialisation are looked upon as major agents of modernisation. If we consider the various dichotomous classifications of social structure in sociological literature such as Tonnies "Gemeinschaft" (community) and "Gesellschaft" (Society), Durkheim's "Mechanical Solidarity"

and "Organic Solidarity" Maine's "Status and "Contract" Redfields, "Folk and Urban" and "Spencer's Military" and "Industrial" societies we find that all these classifications refer to the difference between traditional and modern, pre-industrial and industrial and folk and urban social organisations. In each formulation the first part depicts traditional pre-industrial and folk societies and the latter part, modern, industrial and urban societies with their attendant social and cultural structures. While there is no doubt that urbanisation and industrialisation accelerate the modernisation of societies, the extent and pattern of their modernising roles vary with the conditions existing in each society. For example, in India, the persistence of certain traditional cultural values and institutions have affected not only the patterns of urbanisation and industrialisation but also their influence on the modernisation of the society.

26.3 URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION: ARE THEY CORRELATED?

Urbanisation and industrialisation are thought of as interrelated processes because they have occurred concomitantly in various parts of the world. But there are several instances where one has occurred without the other. For example: in China there were cities having large agglomeration of people at relatively high densities without industrialisation. In India too in the pre-British period as well as during the British period, there were urban areas which were merely administrative and marketing centres. Country wise, it is possible to have industrialisation without a high level of urbanisation. If there has been urbanisation without industrialisation and vice-versa it means that there is no necessary causal relationship between them. However, the development of the modern city is closely associated with industrialisation. Industrialisation is likely to effect, in a very significant way, not only the rate of growth of a particular urban area but also the type of growth in urbanisation and the relative level of economic development involved in urbanisation. Industrialisation should go hand in hand with urbanisation in order to provide employment for the great number of people flocking to large cities. If the rate of industrialisation lags behind that of urbanisation, it leads to the problem of over-urbanisation.

The concept of urbanisation and industrialisation have to be understood in order to understand these processes as they are taking place in India.

26.4 WHAT IS URBANISATION?

According to Louis Wirth, urbanisation is a process of extension or accentuation of the mode of life, characteristic of a city. J.C. Mitchell defines urbanisation as the process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits common to cities and corresponding changing of behaviour patterns. From the above mentioned definitions it is clear that urbanisation is not simply a matter of growth of towns and cities nor is it merely a concentration of people in towns or cities. It is a sociologically relevant process involving behavioural and organisational changes. However, the use of the term in a demographic sense of increasing concentration of people in towns or cities is not irrelevant. Thus Kingsley Davis classifies urbanisation as the switch from "spread out" to concentration pattern of human settlement. Such demographic interpretations of urbanisation take the density of population as the index of urbanisation. For example a convenient index of urbanisation is the proportion of people living in places of 1 lakh population or more. Here the "points of concentration" are cities and the "process" is purely a matter of the redistribution of population in space. This definition does not consider the concept of urbanisation-

tion as a diffusion of urban traits at all. Such a definition is too narrow, to account for the dominance of cities which is not a consequence of concentration of members but is due to the impact that city has on social life. The sociologist looks upon the city as a particular form of human association. According to Wirth "to define city in terms of numbers or size is arbitrary. "A sociologically significant definition of city seeks to select out these elements of urbanism which mark it as a distinctive mode of human group life". Urbanism itself should not be viewed as rigidly delimited to the physical entity of the city because urban attributes do not cease to manifest abruptly at the urban boundary line but diffuse outward from cities. Hence urbanisation is not merely a concentration of people in the cities and their incorporation into its systems of life but is essentially a process of cumulative accentuation of the distinctive mode of life characterising urbanism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Define a city.

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26.5 Urbanism as a way of life

Louis Wirth analyses the forms of social action and social organisation which characterise cities and offers his theory of "urbanism as a way of life". He starts by identifying the characterising features of city and then proceeds to examine the consequences emerging from them.

A city is characterised by a relatively large, dense and socially heterogeneous population. Therefore the variables, the effect of which on social relationship, social organisation and personality of individuals that should be examined are size of population, density of population and heterogeneity of population.

The immediate consequences of size, density and heterogeneity of population are variations in personal traits, occupation, cultural life and ideas of individual members of the urban community. Such variations give rise to segregations on the basis of ethnic origin, colour, social and economic status, etc. In populations characterised by such variations, bonds of kinship and other primary group sentiments and solidarity tend to become weak and be replaced by more formal and impersonal relationships. In such situations it is not possible for people to participate in social interactions with their full personalities. This leads to segmentalised social relationships. The 238 segmentalised social relations in turn will affect the urban personality. The city life is such that it

makes it necessary for the individual to depend upon a number of people and organisations for the satisfaction of needs. The social relations are on the basis of utility in the sense that the role that each one plays is looked upon as a means for the achievement of personal ends. This also means that the interactions are role oriented and not person-oriented and that social relationships have more instrumental value than intrinsic value. Thus the social contacts of the urbanite assume more of a secondary character. The greater division of labour and specialisation of functions in the city leads to greater social and physical mobility. The city also subjects its residents to a multitude of stimuli (for example mass media) which demands a certain degree of mental agility from them thereby contributing to greater psychic mobility.

As a consequence of the nature of city life the urban man tends to gain emancipation from primary group controls. Thus along with the anonymity, superficiality and transitoriness of city life lead to a state of anomie or the social void to which Durkheim refers to while explaining the normlessness and social and personal disorganisation in the context of rapid social change.

Wirth lists out the typical features of urbanism: (1) A complex division of labour with a diversified occupational structure which forms a major basis of the system of social stratification (2) High territorial and social mobility (3) marked functional dependence of the population (4) Substantial personal anonymity in interpersonal contacts and segmentalisation of social roles and role interactions (5) Reliance on indirect modes of social control and (6) Normative deviance.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the characteristics of city?

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What are the features of urbanism?

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26.6 IMPACT OF URBANISATION ON INDIAN SOCIETY

Urban culture in India is centuries old. The traditional cities in India were planned on the basis of the principle of hierarchy; the favourable sites and neighbourhoods being assigned on the basis of caste and social rank. The king occupied the most favourable site followed by the Brahmins and merchant caste and the lower and untouchable castes had to live on the outer fringes of the city. The traditional form of urbanisation thus only reinforced the hierarchical, caste oriented and pre-industrial cultural patterns. Modernisation in India has certainly had its impact on the traditional form of urbanisation but as many urban studies have pointed out it has not led to the total breakdown of traditional patterns. Cities in India continue to have cultural and structural attributes which are far different from those considered to be typical of a city. Some of the typical attributes of a city are formalisation, atomisation, lack of familism, predominance of secular ideologies etc. But in the Indian context cities are not very different from villages in terms of these attributes. Familistic norms and joint family structures are found to be predominant in many urban areas. Even the neighbourhood patterns of some cities in India are found to be based on caste and kinship lines as in the villages. The migratory pattern in the city is also closely related to the ties of kinship and acquaintance; migration to cities itself often being caused by social and economic stresses in the village rather than the 'pull' of the city.

Cities in India do not constitute a cultural isolate. There is a continuity of inter action between the city and the villages and in many areas of cultural activities the distinction between the two as separate complexes is blurred by the unity of the regional cultural pattern. As Bert Hoselitz observes, "Indian cities, even some of the largest ones, show sizable quarters which have preserved their rural character and life is carried on under general conditions only little different from those of the villages". Urbanisation in India, according to him, follows a pattern which exists in Latin America.

Many urban studies report also the invigoration of traditional ways to take advantage of the opportunities offered by modernisation. G.R. Gadgil's study of Poona City revealed an increased strengthening of caste and communal associations for management of educational and other cultural resources and opportunities. According to Milton Singer's study of Indian cities, modern media of communication are being used for the spread of traditional culture. Although, urbanisation certainly has a modernising impact on Indian culture, it also tends to reinforce tradition.

The rate of urbanisation in India is rather slow. Why has Indian urbanisation been so slow? According to Kingsley Davis, it can only be explained in terms of the relative slowness of economic development in India.

In 1901, about 11% of the population lived in urban areas. The proportion continued to be in the same range till 1931. By 1941, urbanisation had increased with 14% of the population living in urban areas. It is after 1951 that urbanization has risen fairly rapidly from 17.59% in 1951 to 23.71% in 1981.

The slow urbanisation rate in India has no doubt retarded the pace of social structural changes in the society but has not slowed down the diffusion of modern values to any appreciable extent. Urbanisation has led to the growth of commercialism, monetisation of economic relationships, factory and workshop employment for many, popularisation of mass media for leisure and entertainment and growth of modernised elites. Communication studies have also revealed that modern values and informations have steadily spread from cities to villages.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the changes brought about by urbanization?

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26.7 WHAT IS INDUSTRIALISATION

Moore defines industrialisation as the extensive use of inanimate sources of power in the production of economic goods and services. The concept of industrialisation is not limited solely to manufacturing, as agriculture is also subject to mechanisation as are services such as transportation and communication.

The scientific advances of the 18th century brought Western Europe to the beginning of a new era. It ushered in the Industrial Revolution. The first stage of Industrial Revolution was marked by the development of machine industry to replace handicraft. Industrialisation in the Western Europe was preceded by extensive value changes. The underlying changes in values was the invasion of rational thought into many areas previously considered sacred. The rational system of thought was first applied in the economic field and this had its impact on all other social institutions. The application of power driven machinery not only gave rise to the factory system of production but also mechanisation of agriculture, transportation and communication. The concentration of factories gave rise to industrial cities, and the growth of industrial cities resulted in the migration of population into them. The development of factory system of production also expanded the corporate business method. The use of machines gave rise to greater division of labour and specialisation. The new mode of production resulted in great increases in production and reduction in the cost of production. The increase in quality and quantity of production 241

brought about a rise in the level of living and led to the rise of a new class structure and new economic philosophies.

Industrial society is dynamic. Hardly is a pattern set before another emerges. Today we have entered another era marked by changes as dramatic and as massive as the Industrial Revolution itself. Mass production which was made possible by new sources of power from oil and electricity and the huge national and international markets produced the second Industrial Revolution. The use of newer forms of energy are taking us further by paving the way for the take over of industry by the automated electronic equipment.

We have seen that the industrial mode of production gives rise to an economic organisation which influences all sections of the society. Industrialism as a configuration of technology, economy and business values emerges as one of the most widely spread culture systems in human history. No social institution, be it education, polity, family, religion, or any other has escaped its influence.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Define industrialization

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26.8 INDUSTRIALISM

Industrialism is a 'culture system' that goes with industrialisation. Industrialism is characterised by mass production system, rapidly changing technology, high level of urbanisation, bureaucratic organisation and formal relations. Rapid industrialisation draws labour force from villages and their families. In most non-industrial societies, the constellation of kinsmen constitutes a major source of social and personal identification. The required geographical and social mobility of an industrial economy clearly weakens or breaks up the traditional kinship ties of the urban industrial recruit. Village identities may be transferred to the cities temporarily but they rarely survive in an appreciable measure. In such circumstances, apathy, alienation and deviant conduct are likely to ensue. The division of labour is complex and the worker is reduced to the passive role of tending machine. The worker feels insecure, unhappy and powerless and articulates his feelings through specialised interest groups and associations like the trade unions.

The institution of rationality, i.e. an emphasis on problem solving and impersonal relationships that is typical of industrial society often leads to a kind of instrumentalism. In other words, relationships are based on 'rational' utility to each other rather than on human reciprocity. The relationships are not primary and person oriented but secondary and role oriented. The inability of people to meet each other as full persons makes for superficiality and anonymity.

High rate of industrialisation and urbanisation provides the social milieu for "mass society". The concept of mass society stands for a mechanical society in which people are increasingly treated as part of a mass, subjected to mass production system and easily manipulated by the mass media which gives rise to a mass culture.

26.9 IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALISATION ON INDIAN SOCIETY

Compared to other nations industrial growth has been slow in India. The reasons for retardation are apparently the Indian social organization, the long period of British rule and the unfavourable demographic situation.

The role of cultural and institutional factors in the slow growth of industrialisation has been a subject of much speculation among social scientists. Starting from Max Weber, there are a number of social scientists who attribute the slow rate of economic growth in India to its philosophy of renunciation of the "other worldly asceticism" of the Hindu religion. Other social scientists have refuted this argument and have pointed out how orthodox Hindu practices are undergoing transformation under the influence of urbanization and industrialisation. Milton Singer notes how in modern India the individual avoids conflict between his traditional values and secular ones by compartmentalising them, applying the former at home and the latter in the office.

According to the 1981 census the distribution of main workers by broad categories shows that 41.53% are cultivators, 25.16% agricultural labourers, 3.99% engaged in house hold industry and 29.32% other workers. Although this does not give the percentage of industrial workers, we can surmise that industrial workers constitute only a small fragment of the total work force. Further, many studies of industrial workers in India have emphasised the fact that the workers are not committed to industry work and way of life. They do not choose their career voluntarily but are pushed into it by circumstances. This means that the proportion of rise in the industrial work force is a result of the society to meet the needs of its members. These studies thus assume that the factory workers are a class of deprived persons who have been pushed out of their traditional occupations temporarily to which they aspire to return. It is claimed that the problems of absenteeism, erratic labour turnover and inordinate leave applications etc. of the factory workers can be understood in this light. These assumptions could be valid to a certain extent. But there certainly are exceptions. Lambert's study of the five factories in Poona shows that (1) Selectivity in labour force is not confined to the deprived sections (2) and that a good proportion of the factory workers studied had worked in factories before indicating that they did have a stable relationship with factory work. However, Lambert's study does bringout that the factory social structure maintains many elements of traditional society like particularistic considerations in recruitment etc.

The low industrialisation rate has had the effect of "over urbanisation" in some of the cities in India. Over-urbanisation results when there is migration from rural areas at a rate higher than the expansion of industrial employment opportunities in the cities. Many of such migrants are forced to eke out their livelihood in various marginal "Services", and occupations rather than in manufacturing. This is a trend quite contrary to the development sequence in the older industrial countries.

However India has now begun to make some significant progress in the industrial sphere. According to "the Hindu" Survey of Indian Industry 1984, the index of all industries had risen by 243

Wilbert E. Moore	:	Social Change
Wilbert E. Moore	:	Impact of Industry
Turner R 1962	:	India's Urban Future
Vincent M. J and Mayers J1965	:	New Foundations in Industrial Sociology.

26.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in the about 30 lines each.

1. Discuss urbanisation and industrialisation as processes of social change.
2. What is the relationship between urbanisation and industrialisation?
3. Discuss urbanism as a way of life.

II Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. What are the characteristic features of urbanisation in India?
2. What are the reasons for the slow rate of industrialisation in India?
3. What is meant by the concept of industrialisation?
4. What is meant by 'organic solidarity'. Is it applicable to urban life?
5. What brought about Industrial Revolution?
6. Explain the concept of 'mass society'.

BRAOU

UNIT-27: THE MEANING OF SECULARISM AND THE PROCESS OF SECULARISATION

Contents

- 27.0 Aims and Objectives
- 27.1 Introduction
- 27.2 Different Meanings of the term Secularism
- 27.3 Types of secularization concepts
 - 27.3.1 Decline of Religion
 - 27.3.2 Conformity with 'This World'
 - 27.3.3 Disengagement of Society from Religion
 - 27.3.4 Transposition of Religious Beliefs and Institutions
 - 27.3.5 Desacralisation of the World
 - 27.3.6 Movement from a 'sacred' to a 'secular' Society
- 27.4 The Process of Secularization
- 27.5 Westernisation and Secularisation
- 27.6 The Secularisation of Indian Culture
 - 27.6.1 Purity Pollution
 - 27.6.2 Life Cycle Ritual
 - 27.6.3 Position of Priestly Brahmins
 - 27.6.4 Change in Caste, Village Community and Joint Family
- 27.7 Summary
- 27.8 Suggested Books
- 27.9 Model Examination Questions

27.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the various meanings of the term secularism and the secularisation process.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the different meanings of the term secularism,
- explain the different types of secularization concept,
- discuss the process of secularization,
- explain the process of secularization of Indian culture.

27.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about the Sanskritisation, Islamisation, Westernisation, Modernisation, Urbanisation and Industrialisation. In this unit we will study about the process of secularisation.

27.2 THE DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF THE TERM 'SECULARISM'

The term 'Secular' has a long history and has its origin in Latin word signifying the span of a century or the spirit of an age. In the course of its history the term has acquired considerable ambiguity bearing both the religiously neutral sense of an immeasurably great span of time and the religiously negative sense of 'this world'. By the Middle Ages it has acquired yet other connotations. The best known use of the secularization terminology was by G.J. Holyoake (1817-1906) in his system of social ethics in the 19th Century. According to Holyoake, secularism refers to a practical philosophy for the people, intended to interpret and organise life without having recourse to the supernatural. It also come to mean an attitude of indifference to religious institutions and practices or even to religious questions as such. It was Max Weber who first used 'secularization' as a descriptive and analytical term. Historians too have since used the term similarly. Thus in sociology and history the term has come to have a relatively neutral connotation.

The various connotations of the term 'secularism', mentioned above suggested that there is a certain degree of vagueness about it. In some instances it implies anti-religious favour and in some other, it is represented as a process unrelated to religious or religiosity. Traces of these past meanings of the term still cling to it even today.

In order to have a clear understanding of the concept, it becomes necessary to examine in detail the different ways in which the term is being used.

27.2 TYPES OF SECULARIZATION CONCEPT

There appear to be six types of secularization concepts in use to-day.

27.2.1 DECLINE OF RELIGION

According to this type, the previously accepted symbols, doctrines and institutions have been losing their prestige and influence, the culmination of secularization being religionless society. J. Milton Singer views secularization as a process in which traditional religious symbols and forms have lost their force and appeal.

27.2.2 CONFORMITY WITH 'THIS WORLD'.

According to the second type, the culmination of secularization would be a society totally absorbed with the pragmatic tasks of the present and a religious group indistinguishable from the rest of the society. The religious group turns its attention away from the supernatural and becomes more and more interested in 'this world'. The culture becomes secularized. Harlan Paul Douglas defines secularized culture as one in which 'conventional religion is no longer the operative religion'.

27.2.3 DISENGAGEMENT OF SOCIETY FROM RELIGION

The culmination of this kind of secularization would be a religion of a purely inward character, influencing neither institutions nor corporate action, and a society in which religion does not figure outside the sphere of the religious group. The French theologian and social analyst, Roger Mehl, has described secularization as the 'historical process which tends to contest the public role of religion, to substitute other forms of authority for religious authority and finally to relegate

religion to the private sector of human existences. This kind of secularization takes two forms: (a) intellectual-existential. (b) institutional social.

The intellectual-existential aspect of disengagement is the attempt to establish an autonomous sphere of knowledge having no religious presuppositions. It refers to the secularization of science or ethics or art in so far as they are separated from religious control.

Institutional-social secularization is usually traced in terms of the rise of the 'secular' state and its gradual assumption of the educational and welfare functions once performed by the churches (religious institutions). A good example is the secular state of India. The Indian Government is secularized in the sense that it has adopted an attitude of neutrality towards both individual and groups religious belief and practice. Talcott Parsons proposes "differentiation" as an alternative to the above mentioned disengagement thesis. Instead of viewing the process of secularization as the decline of religion, he sees secularization as simply a new way of conceiving and practicing religion in keeping with the general differentiation of society. Robert Bellah also puts forward a similar descriptive and neutral concept of secularization.

27.2.4 TRANSPOSITION OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND INSTITUTIONS

The culmination of this kind of secularization process would be a society which has taken over all the functions previously discharged by the religious institutions. Knowledge, patterns of behaviour and institutional arrangements which have once been understood as grounded in divine power are transformed into phenomena of purely human creation and responsibility.

27.2.5 DESACRALISATION OF THE WORLD

The world is gradually deprived of its sacral character as man and nature became the object of rational-casual explanation and manipulation. The culmination of this kind of secularisation would be a completely 'rational' society in which the phenomena of the supernatural would play no part. According to Historian Eric Kahler, secularization means that man has become independent of religion and lives by reason, face to face with objectified physical nature.

27.2.6 MOVEMENT FROM A 'SACRED' TO A 'SECULAR' SOCIETY

According to this kind of secularization, the culmination of secularization should be a society in which all decisions are based on rational and utilitarian considerations and there is complete acceptance of change. According to Howard Becker, the main variable is resistance or openness to change. Sacred society is associated with reluctance to change and secular society with readiness to change. The members of a secular society are willing or able to respond to new cultural elements. It is organised on flexible principles which allow for variation and change. A secular society is able to make contacts with other societies; its value systems are permeable. In this sense, 'secular' is not synonymous with 'profane' or 'irreligious'.

The types of secularization concepts mentioned above reflect the various connotations of the term. However, a close examination of each of them will reveal that the processes mentioned above are related. Three of the types mentioned are found to be complimentary. They are the processes of desacralisation, differentiation and transposition. Desacralisation is the process by which the world is gradually deprived of its sacral character as man and nature become the object of rational casual explanation. The next process is the decline of religion (differentiation) and finally the process of transposition of religious belief and institutions by the principle of reason and modern 248 knowledge.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

List out the types of secularization concepts.

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27.3 THE PROCESS OF SECULARIZATION

Secularization is found to be a process closely related to modernization. It is a process of Desacralisation of man, world and nature as objects of rational analysis and manipulation. The process leads to increasing purposeful rational motivation and decreasing affectual motivation. Its popularity implies that most issues and events in personal and social life are evaluated not from the religious point of view but from the rational utilitarian. With the intensification of the process of secularization the various spheres of social life which have been formerly guided by religiously ordained norms are now increasingly governed by norms which tend to be rational. In the secularization process even knowledge, the world view and modes of response and adaptation to crises and contingencies are purged of religious influences and pre-suppositions.

M.N.Srinivas uses the concept of secularisation to study social change and modernisation in India. According to Srinivas, the term, 'secularisation', implies that what was previously regarded as religious is now ceasing to be such. It also implies a process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of society-economic, political, legal and moral becoming increasingly discrete in relation to one another. The Indian concept of the secular state is based on the acceptance of such a differentiation.

Another essential element in secularisation according to Srinivas is rationalism, a comprehensive expression applied to various theoretical and practical tendencies which aim at interpreting universe purely in terms of thought regulating individual and social life in accordance with the principles of reason. Rationalism involves among other things the re-placement of traditional beliefs and ideas by modern knowledge.

27.4 WESTERNISATION AND SECULARISATION

M.N.Srinivas relates secularisation process in India to the British rule and the Westernisation process initiated by it. The British rule initiated a process of secularisation of Indian social life and culture. The development of communications, growth of towns and cities, increased spatial mobility and the spread of education strengthened the secularisation process. The British rule brought about changes at different levels- technology, institution, ideology and values. The new technology and the revolution in communications enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history. Westernisation resulted not only in the introduction of new institutions (e.g. newspapers, elections) but also in fundamental changes in respect of the old institutions. For instance, although there were schools in India in the pre-British period, they were open only to 249

upper caste children and imparted mostly traditional knowledge. Westernisation implies certain value preferences. A most important value, which in turn subsumes several other values is humanitarianism by which is meant an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, and sex. Egalitarianism and secularisation are both implied by humanitarianism. The principle of equality found expression in the abolition of slavery, in the opening of new schools and colleges which were open to all irrespective of religion, race and caste. The new economic opportunities were also in theory open to all, though the upper castes and other groups who lived in the big towns and coastal areas enjoyed a considerable advantage over the others. The introduction of reforms and the British legal system involved the abolition of certain customs claiming to be part of religion. This meant that religious customs had to satisfy the test of reason and humanity if they were to be allowed to survive. As the British rule continued rationality and humanitarianism gained in significance and popularity. Humanitarianism resulted in the reinterpretation of Hinduism at both ideological and institutional levels.

The two World Wars and Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience campaigns, both of which socially and politically mobilized the masses gave an impetus to secularisation. Gandhiji himself was an advocate of secularism. Secularism for Gandhiji did not mean a-religiosity but the spirit of religious tolerance. The process of secularisation which had started during the British rule has become broader and deeper since the achievement of Independence. India was declared a secular state and its Constitution recognised equality of all citizens before law.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between Westernization and Secularisation?

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27.5 THE SECULARISATION OF INDIAN CULTURE

While discussing the Sanskritisation process, Srinivas has pointed out that secularisation has simultaneously been gaining ground in modern India. Of the two processes, Sanskritisation has affected only Hindus and tribal groups whereas, secularisation has affected all Indians, especially the urban and educated groups. However, among the different religious groups Hindus have been more affected than any other religious group by the secularisation process. The concept of pollution and purity which are central to Hinduism have greatly been weakened by the modernizing influences and the secularisation of the style of life. Moreover, the fact that Hinduism lacks

a central and nation-wide organisation with a single head and that it is largely dependent for its perpetuation on such social institutions as caste, joint family and village community - institutions which have also been changing in important respects - has rendered it particularly vulnerable to the forces of secularisation. Different sections among Hindus have been affected to different degrees, the new elite being probably the most affected.

Srinivas finds that secularisation has resulted in the reinterpretation of Hinduism. He illustrates this by pointing out the changes that have come about in the ideas of purity and pollution, in the life cycle rituals, and in the lives and position of the priestly class - Brahmins and also the implications for Hinduism of the changes in caste, village community and joint family.

27.5.1 PURITY POLLUTION

The structural distance between various castes is defined in terms of purity and pollution. A higher caste could retain its 'purity' only by abstaining from certain forms of contact with the lower castes, which were considered to be 'polluting'. Corresponding to the caste hierarchy are hierarchies in food, occupation and styles of life. The highest castes are vegetarians as well as teetotalers while the lowest eat meat and drink. Among occupations, those involving manual work are considered low and polluting. The daily routine was also permeated with ideas of purity and pollution. A person's normal condition was one of mild impurity. One had to be ritually pure not only while praying but also while eating. In order to be pure, one has to have a bath, change into ritually pure clothes and avoid contact even with other members of his family who are not in a similar 'pure' condition. Traditionally, a man does not shave himself. He is shaved by a member of the barbers caste. The barbers touch as well as shaved hair are both polluting and called for ritual purification. Initially, there was some resistance to the use of safety razor among the high castes, as the use involved pollution. The Brahmins and older women were most particular about observing the rules of pollution. Traditional Brahminical life required not only leisure but also spatial immobility. The notion of pollution and purity has weakened and become less pervasive during the last few decades on account of spread of education, new economic opportunities, spatial mobility and urbanisation. In the new situation a man's daily routine and his place of residence are influenced more by his job than by caste and religion. Education of women have made them more conscious of the need for hygiene than the traditional concept of purity pollution. The reinterpretation of traditional religion by the Bhakti movement has also further weakened the ideas of purity-pollution.

27.5.2 LIFE CYCLE RITUAL

The secularisation process has also led to the abbreviation of the rituals performed at various life-cycle crises. For instance, formerly a Brahmin wedding would last for five to seven days. Today there is an increasing tendency to drop non-sanskritic rituals and to compress Sanskritic rituals into a few hours. Ceremonies such as name-giving, the first tonsure and the annual ritual of changing the sacred thread are as elaborate as they were at one time. Certain rituals, are telescoped. Thus the wedding ritual may be combined with the donning of the sacred thread and with the consummation ritual.

The amount of time spent on the daily rituals has also been steadily decreasing for Brahmin men and women.

The rise in the age of marriage for Brahmin girls has enabled them to take advantage of opportunities for higher education and even to pursue professional careers. These have led to a changed outlook as regards pollution rituals.

27.5.3 POSITION OF PRIESTLY BRAHMINS

The new Hindu elite, under the Western influence are able to take a critical view of their religion and religious practices and customs.

The orthodox elements among the Hindus, the foremost among them being the priestly Brahmins (Vaidikas) have steadily lost prestige in the face of growing secularisation of Hindu life and culture. At one time those who had a reputation for Sanskrit learning had commanded the respect of the people but with the institution of Sanskrit teaching in modern schools and colleges which made Sanskrit learning open to all irrespective of caste and religion, the priestly Brahmins, have begun to lose their distinction in the regard. Moreover, increasing prestige is being attached to technology, engineering, medicine and the science. The style of life of the lay (loukika) Brahmins has gradually been changing with secularisation. This has given rise to tensions between them and the traditional minded priestly Brahmins who seem to be fighting a losing battle against secularisation.

27.5.4 CHANGES IN CASTE, VILLAGE COMMUNITY AND JOINT FAMILY

The three main elements of the Indian social structure have been caste, village community and joint family system.

The vast improvement in rural communications since World War II, the introduction of universal suffrage and self-government at various levels, the abolition of untouchability, the increasing popularity of education among rural folk and the community development program all these have changed the outlook of the villagers. Everywhere social life is becoming freer than before. Secularisation and politicisation are on the increase and the villagers expectations have been rising in respect of the quality of their life.

The unit of endogamy has widened breaking down the barriers between sub castes, if not castes.

The joint family too has undergone changes, particularly among the upper castes and the Westernised elite living in larger towns and cities. The development of communications, the growth of urbanisation and industrialisation and the prestige of a regular cash income in an office, factory or the administration, has resulted in the dispersal of kin groups and migration from their native places. yet it would not be correct to say that the Indian family system is changing from the joint to the nuclear type. Many urban households are only the 'satellite' of a dominant kin group living in a village or a far off town. The Indian family system, like the caste system, is resilient, and has shown great adaptability to modern conditions. In the larger cities, voluntary associations are formed on the basis of language, sect and caste which try to recreate their home environment for the members. Nevertheless, the traditional environment recreated in a big city differs significantly from the one left behind. Therefore it is freer, more cosmopolitan and more streamlined than the old one and lacked the complexities and rigidities of the traditional environment. Further, it casts more to the parental generation of the immigrants than to the off spring generation.

The significant changes occurring in the caste system, family system and village community have resulted in the reinterpretation of Hinduism. New agencies like Ramakrishna Mission and Arya Samaj have emerged to provide a structure for the reinterpreted Hinduism. Old institutions such as monasteries and temples, cults of saints, bhajan groups and pilgrimages are adopting themselves to the new circumstances. Mass media such as the films, television, radio, books and newspapers are playing their part in the popularisation of Hinduism. The government, too, is playing an important role in the recognition of Hindu society through legislation and other means

(e.g., changes introduced in the Hindu personal and Family Law have also aided the process of secularisation. Yet another secular phenomenon is the enmeshing of Hinduism with nationalism. Hinduism has assumed a political form in the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) and the Jan Sangh. These political and cultural organisations have become agencies for the perpetuation and reinterpretation of Hinduism. Hinduism has increasingly, though very slowly, been manifesting changes in its traditional social structure of caste, kinship and village community and is increasingly involved with the State, political parties and organisation promoting Indian Culture.

Thus Srinivas finds that although secularisation is a general process affecting all Indian, it has had the greatest impact on the Hinduism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the difference between sanskritisation and secularisation?

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17.6 SUMMARY

M.N.Srinivas used the concept of secularisation to study social change and modernisation in India. It implies that what was previously regarded as religious is now ceasing to be such. It has led to the abbreviation of the rituals performed at various life cycle crises. The three main elements of the Indian social structure caste, village community and joint family system have changed.

27.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

M.N.Srinivas	:	Social Change in Modern India.
Yogendra Singh	:	Modernisation of Indian Tradition
Weiner M (ed)	:	Modernisation: The dynamics of Growth.

27.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the concept of "Secularisation".
2. How did the British rule in India initiate the process of secularisation of Indian social life and culture?
3. How has secularisation contributed to the reinterpretation of Hinduism?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. What is the impact of secularisation on the Hindu wedding ritual?
2. What are the secularising influences on caste system, joint family system and village community?
3. What do the terms 'pollution' and 'purity' imply?
4. How does Gandhiji define Secularism?
5. What are the new agencies that have emerged to provide a structure for reinterpreted Hinduism?
6. What role is the government playing to re-organisation of Hindu Society?

BRAOU

BLOCK - 9 THE PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION

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UNITE-28: MEANING OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNALISM AND REGIONALISM

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- 28.0 Aims and Objectives
- 28.1 Introduction
- 28.2 Meaning of Social Integration
- 28.3 Integration as a Sociological Concept
- 28.4 The Need for National Integration in India
- 28.5 The Major Hurdles of National Integration in India
 - 28.5.1 Regionalism
 - 28.5.2 Communalism
- 28.6 Summary
- 28.7 Suggested Books
- 28.8 Model Examination Questions

28.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to acquire you with the meaning of social Integration and to discuss its relevance in the present Indian context and to examine communalism and regionalism as forces of disintegration.

By the end of you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of social integration,
- explain integration as a sociological concept,
- examine the need for national Integration in India,
- examine communalism and regionalism as forces of disintegration.

28.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about the Basic processes of social change. In this unit we will study about the meaning of social integration and the problem of communalism and regionalism.

28.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Integration literally means the process of producing a single unit from separate parts. It implies the unification of diverse elements into a single whole.

In social structural terms, integration would mean the elimination of hard and fast barriers in the communal life and the relations of the culturally and socially distinctive groups of a plural society.

Integration has two levels (1) the integration of the parts to the whole and (2) the integration of parts themselves. The former aspect implies social cohesion while the latter, emotional change 257

Integration or solidarity born out of "shared disposition" of the members of a group. Both these aspects are necessary for social integration. Integration calls for commitment to the same values, sharing of a common identity and common goals. In other words, social integration involves the development of a minimal ends-means consensus.

There are different aspects to the usages of the term 'integration Gillin (1948) points out to four different usages (1) relatedness, (2) functional linkage, (3) consistency and (4) balance among the components of a culture system.

Landecker (1951) distinguishes four types of integration (1) culture, that is, consistency among the standards of a culture; (2) normative or the consistency among cultural standards and the conduct of persons; (3) communicative or the change of meanings throughout the group; and (4) the functional or the interdependence among members through the division of labour. Excluding the first the other three types of integration come under social integration.

28.3 INTEGRATION AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT

Integration is an important concept in sociology. We find that Comte, Wirth, Tarde, Le Bon, Durkheim, Cooley and Mead have stressed consensus as basic to collective life.

The great pioneer in the study of social integration was Durkheim. According to Durkheim each society is held together by one of two kinds of social solidarity (integration) depending upon the nature of the society's social organization. In simple societies, where the division of labour is rudimentary, the members are held together by what Durkheim termed mechanical solidarity, or the solidarity of sameness. Advanced societies with more complex division of labour are held together by organic solidarity or solidarity of difference (interdependence). This solidarity resembles that which we observe in higher animals. Each organ in effect has its autonomy but is functionally integrated with the other organs. Thus organic solidarity is based on the reciprocal needs of various parts of society for the other parts.

Durkheim used the term "integration" to refer to the degree to which the behaviour of members of a group is group oriented or self oriented. Durkheim accounted for differences in the rates of suicides in terms of the differences in group integration. According to Durkheim a society or a group is said to be integrated to the degree to which its members possess a 'common conscience' of shared beliefs and sentiments, interact with one another and have a sense of devotion to common goals. In Durkheim's view altruism represents a high level of integration. At the lower end of the integration scale is the condition Durkheim calls egoism. Egoism is strong when the common conscience is weak (that is, if few common beliefs and sentiments are present), and interaction is limited and when dedication is to self-interests rather than the interests of the group.

The concept of integration is central also to the Functionalist school in Sociology. Functionalism views society as a system i.e., as a set of inter connected parts which together form a whole. The functionalists basic unit of analysis is society and its various parts are understood primarily in terms of their relationship to the whole. The early functionalists often drew an analogy between society and an organism such as the human body. They have argued that an understanding of any organ in the body such as the heart or the lungs would involve an understanding of its relationship to other organs and also, of its contribution to the sustaining of the organism. In the same way, the understanding of any part of society requires an analysis of its relationship to other parts and most importantly, of its contribution to the maintenance of society. Continuing this analogy, they

have argued that just as an organism has certain basic needs which must be satisfied if it is to survive, so also a society has basic needs which must be met if it is to continue to exist. These basic needs or necessary conditions of existence are referred to as functional pre-requisites of society. Talcott Parson whose name is synonymous with functionalism identifies four functional pre-requisites- adaptation, goal attainment, pattern maintenance and integration. Thus integration is considered to be a functional pre-requisite of a society.

According to Parsons, value consensus forms the fundamental integrating principle in society. If members of the society are committed to the same values, they will tend to share a common identity which provides the basis for unity and co-operation from shared values derive common goals. Values provide a general conception of what is desirable and worth-while. Goals provide direction in specific situations. A common goal helps in achieving co-operation. Roles provide the means whereby values and goals are translated into action. The content of roles is structured in terms of norms which define the rights and obligations applicable to each particular role. Norms can be seen as specific expressions of values. According to Parson's theory of integration, integration is achieved when the focal elements in the cultural system-the society's common values - are institutionalized in the structural elements of the social system.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Whatis Organic Solidarity.

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28.4 THE NEED FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDIA

National integration may be defined as a process involving a general patriotic consciousness and nationally constructive efforts of different groups and sub groups to attain common welfare and maximum level of solidarity, identification and involvement. National integration means an abiding sense of national unity which binds together all the members of a nation and which enables them to make the requisite sacrifices as and when necessary, to preserve the national integrity. National integration implies the creation of a 'we' feeling among the nationals of a country, the sharing of common goals and the emergence of a cohesive attitude. Economic, cultural and social integration form essential elements of national integration.

The Indian society is essentially pluralistic in character. The vastness of the country with people of various races, religions, languages, customs and life styles has no doubt posed problems from 259

time to time. But all through the ages the stream of unity and currents of the synthesis have evidently influenced the ethos of social-political life. There have been marked elements of continuity and synthesis which have paved the way for a composite Indian culture.

Integration in India should be a process in which the differences are neither suppressed or compromised but is harmonized or synthesized. Integration does not mean assimilation. It implies the harmonious co-existence of various groups inter-related in a meaningful way with one another. There has to be harmonisation of loyalties with loyalty to the nation as a supreme value transcending other loyalties like loyalty to the religion, caste, region etc. Notwithstanding the differences, the Indian people had united to work for the common goal of freedom from foreign rule. The same unity had manifested itself during national crises like the Chinese aggression and the Indo-Pakistan wars. It is this unity in diversity that must be activated and made a permanent feature of our national life.

28.5 THE MAJOR HURDLES TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDIA

The keynote of integration should be unity in diversity. Indians have through the centuries learnt to accommodate different cultures and tolerate multiplicity. The empires of Asoka and Harsha and the Moghals extended over a large part of India. Before independence the freedom fighters had mobilised the masses to rise against the foreign rule. India's independence was both nationally and internationally an event of great significance. Yet the Independence Day was not the happiest day for many of us in this country, including the father of the nation, since it was marked by the partition of the country. The pre-independence unity weakened further after the attainment of Swaraj. Dis-integrating factors such as loyalties towards one's language or state or region and attachment to castes or religious communities have begun to come to the forefront. The differences are being played up and fissiparous tendencies are showing up. The contemporary problems of separatist tendencies have their root in the pre-independence past. The British not only subjugated but also ruled us on the basis of 'divide and rule' policy. The British rule thrived on our regional and communal differences. No doubt the freedom fighters were able to unite the people during the freedom movement. But after the dawn of independence, the country faced a tremendous upsurge of divisive forces. The need to be integrated as a nation was felt all the more time after 1947. The National Integration Council which was set up in 1961, Identified "regionalism" and "communalism" as the two major hurdles to the achievements of national integration. The fact that the National Integration Council has been revived following the Assam agitation and communal riots in various parts of the country indicates that regionalism and communalism continue to be major obstacles to the realization of national integration. Elimination of these obstacles or hurdles is, therefore necessary. These hurdles have to be dealt with, if a determined move towards national integration is to be made although it is unfortunate that much of our scarce resources are at present being wasted in suppressing regional animosities and communal violences when actually we should be channeling them towards the development of the country.

28.5.1 REGIONALISM

One of the main threats to our national unity and integration has come from regionalism. India is a vast country with 24 States and 7 Union territories, formed mainly on the linguistic basis. The 260 different languages of India are derived from three groups - the Indo-Aryan, the Dravidian and

Austro-Asiatic family of languages. During the British period, many of the present regional linguistic units were amalgamated and a single administrative unit had come to include several linguistic regions. The easy means of transport and communications developed by the British enabled people to migrate from one region to another in search of employment and other economic pursuits. But after independence and the reorganisation of the states on linguistic basis those who had moved away from their own linguistic regions, were reduced to the status of linguistic minorities in the newly reorganised states. The re-organisation of states has no doubt resulted in the formation of compact units for the purpose of administration and economic development but it also divided the people into different, often conflicting linguistic groups. Very often the conflict was not merely linguistic but also economic. It is the urge of the various linguistic groups of India for self expression and the aspirations of the linguistic regions for economic development that have generated regionalism. Regionalism or the emphasis on the needs of each region in itself is not dangerous but it is the assertion of its claims by each region that is a threat to national Integration. Regional particularism manifests itself in the disputes between adjoining states regarding borders and sharing of river waters, controversies between surplus and deficit states regarding food policy, bickerings about allocation of capital intensive projects, separatist tendencies etc. The most important reason for inter state squabbles is the regional imbalances and uneven development within the country and the ever widening gulf between the relatively developed and the underdeveloped regions. The disparities in respect of natural resources and development between the states (regions) is reflected in the widely varying per capita income of the different states.

The uneven development of the regions has also led to uneven employment opportunities. The formation of militant senas demanding preferential treatment in employment to the "sons of the soil" is a direct consequence of it. The regional economic imbalances due to natural and historical cause have widened with the passage of time. In the process of development the metropolitan centres have become the growth poles and special concentration of economic development have clustered around these centres. These focal points have developed at a relatively fast rate leaving the other areas behind. This has bred antagonistic feeling among the people in the less developed regions against their fortunate counterparts in the developed regions. People of the more developed areas in their turn have shown singular indifference towards those in the underdeveloped regions. Thus regional economic imbalance is an important obstacle to national integration in India. The government is no doubt consciously trying to remove these imbalances so that the country could go forward as one unit.

28.5.2 COMMUNALISM

The term 'communalism' has different connotations, communalism can best be defined as religious antagonism caused by the projection of religion into the sphere of politics.

The main communal problem in India at the time of Independence was Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Subsequently there arose other communal tensions as well.

In India, communalism assumed serious proportions with the advent of the British and was in fact to a large extent the result of the British policy of "divide and rule". In fact, it will not be wrong to say that "communalism was British gift to India".

Prior to the British rule there was no record of Hindu Muslim riots or communal tensions. There were, no doubt, wars between Hindu and Muslim rulers. There were attempts by rulers to prosecute persons belonging to other religious faiths but these were cases of oppression of a 261

section of the subjects by the rulers. It did not take the form of religious antagonism between Hindu and Muslim masses.

It was communalism that brought about the division of India and it is the very same evil that culminated in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Communalism had been growing in India since the late nineteenth century; it was hoped that after independence, nationalism would put an end to it. But as Jawaharlal Nehru had pointed out, along with Indian nationalism, there were also growing group nationalism-Hindu nationalism and Muslim nationalism to start with and later Sikh nationalism. In a multi religious country like India, religion can play a destructive role if it is used as a means for political aggrandisement or economic betterment. Unfortunately that is precisely what has happened. Political parties have been formed on communal basis. With declining employment and economic opportunities, it was easy for communal leaders to whip up the religious feelings of the people to serve their own purposes. In Independent India, the communal spirit instead of subsiding is growing in volume and proportion. It is unfortunate that religion which should inspire compassion, fellow feeling and tolerance should divide the masses and inflame prejudices and cause communal riots.

Communalism is a doctrine which upholds the view that only those who profess the same religion can become a nation. There is no greater illusion than the belief that if India were to become a land of only Hindus or of Muslims or of Christians or of Sikhs, internal peace would be restored and the nation would march forward in unity and strength.

India has accepted secularism as a national goal. A secular state does not, of course, mean that people should give up their religion. A secular state means a state in which the state protects all religions but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not itself adopt any religion as state religion.

28.6 SUMMARY

Multiplicity of religions need not play a negative role in respect of national integration and communal harmony. What determines the role of religion in national integration and communal harmony is the way one is taught to look at his own religion and other religions. Each religion has its own philosophy, sacred books, traditions, rituals, customs and practices. There is no reason why any one should not believe customs and practices. There is no reason why any one should not be proud of his religion but it is also necessary to recognise the universality of the presence of basic spiritual values in all the religions be it Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism or any other. Thus the need of the hour is to bring together different religious groups to avoid religious controversies and promote religious tolerance

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is communalism.

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What is regionalism.
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28.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Gupta N L	:	Nehru on Comunalism Sampral, Virodhi Committee, New Delhi.
Kaul, Jolly Mohan	:	Problems of National Integration
Rao. V K R V	:	The Role of Religion, paper in seminar on National Integration and Communal Harmony sponsored by Gandhi Dharsan Committee.
Roy P K	:	The Concept of Integration in Anthropological and Sociological Theory "Journal of Social Research" Vol 13, No:2 Sept. 1970. PP 29-42.
Sinha M R	:	Integration in India.
Thurtha N V	:	National Integration.

28.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. What is meant by the term integration?
2. Discuss integration as a sociological concept?
3. Discuss the need for national integration in India.

II Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. How does Parsons define 'integration;?'
2. What do you understand by the term 'regionalism'?
3. What is communalism?
4. What are the major hurdles to the achievement of national integration in India.
5. What is meant by 'mechanical solidarity'?
6. What is 'organic solidarity'?

UNIT-29: UNITY AND DIVERSITY AND THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALISM

CONTENTS

- 29.0 Aims and Objectives
- 29.1 Introduction
- 29.2 The Concept of Nationalism
- 29.3 Emergence of Indian Nationalism
- 29.4 Factors Impeding the Growth of Indian Nationalism
 - 29.4.1 Communalism
 - 29.4.2 Regionalism
- 29.5 Unity in Diversity
- 29.6 Summary
- 29.7 Suggested Books
- 29.8 Model examination questions.

29.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to discuss nationalism and the factors affecting it.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- explain the concept of nationalism,
- discuss about the emergence of Indian nationalism,
- examine the factors impeding the growth of Indian nationalism,
- explain what is meant by unity in Diversity.

29.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about National integration, communalism and regionalism. In this unit we will study about unity and diversity and the problem of nationalism.

29.2 THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism implies the consciousness of one nation hood and its related sense of political identity, which results from political consensus. Its sociological manifestation is the nation-state.

According to the New Columbian Encyclopedia, Nationalism is basically a state of mind or consciousness in which the individual believes his primary duty and loyalty to be to the nation-state. The nation-state commands the loyalty of the individual above such lesser loyalties as those of region, race, religion and language. The nation becomes a viable social category which serves to command loyalties and to legitimatise actions. Nationalism is a comparatively recent phenomenon, generally considered to have been born with the French Revolution. But despite its being of recent origin it has played a crucial role in forming bonds that hold modern nations

together. Nationalism provides much of the cohesiveness and order necessary for the existence of the modern nation-state. For people to be nationalistic, it is necessary for them to regard themselves as belonging to a nation i.e., to identify themselves with a large group of people all of whom generally have a sense of unity or solidarity. The rise of centralised governments which placed people under one rule made this possible. The realisation that they possess a common history, religion, language or race has also helped in realising a national identity. When both a common identity and a formal authority structure over a large territory (i.e., the state) exist, then nationalism becomes possible.

The sense of national identity implies a vertical form of identification the sense of attachment that individuals have to a superordinate political unit (the nation) and to symbols of that political unit. Another significant aspect of this kind of identity is one's horizontal identification with one's fellow citizens - the sense of integration which individuals have with other people living within a clearly demarcated area under a common political system.

29.3 EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Indian Nationalism has emerged in the course of the 19th and 20th Centuries mainly as a reaction against colonial rule.

The British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian Society and Culture. Srinivas uses the term "Westernization" to characterise the changes brought about in Indian Society and Culture at different levels - technology, institutions, ideology, values - as a result of over 150 years of British rule in India. One of the results of the prolonged contact with the West was the rise of an elitist class which became the torch bearer of a new and modern India. The elite played a creative role in reinterpreting Indian thought, traditions, culture and history in response to European criticism. Awareness of the glaring social evils of the society promoted a spirit of self-criticism. They selectively borrowed ideas and institutions from the British subjecting the borrowed items to elaboration and reinterpretation. Thus the urge to reform the traditional Indian Society preceded the urge for freedom. The new elite was also proud of their country and its rich and ancient culture. In fact, this sense of pride in their country was a continual source of strength throughout the freedom struggle. The nationalist urge had gained gradually in strength in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. Commitment to Nationalism had been the chief characteristic of the freedom movement. Nationalism contributed also to rapid politicization in India. This movement was led by the Indian National Congress which right from its inception took a non-communal stand and remained committed to the nationalist ideal despite many difficulties such as the heterogeneous nature of its leadership which from time to time consisted of zealous communal elements and the stresses in the Hindu-Muslim relationship in India. In the rise of Indian Nationalism, the role of Gandhiji has been of great historical significance. Gandhiji had an uncanny ability to project the many humanistic values of the modern West through traditional cultural symbolism, which appealed to the Indian masses. Indeed, the kind of nationalism which he advocated was rooted in the Hindu tradition while being at the same time non-communal and secular. Secular nationalism has been emphasized by other leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

29.4 FACTORS IMPEDING THE GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

The struggle against the British rulers had unified the people despite the differences of language, creed and caste. Indians had worked together for the common goal of freedom from foreign rule. But even as the freedom struggle was being carried on unitedly the forces of disruption were at work. In a society segmented along the lines of religion, caste, language and region, heightened national awareness implied heightened self-awareness at every level of the social structure. Thus along with nationalism developed communalism, casteism, heightened linguistic consciousness and regionalism. In the year after independence, we have witnessed riots involving not only religious groups but also linguistic, regional and caste groups. These clashes point to the fact the people would not cease to identify themselves with the primordial groups-religious, linguistic, regional and caste to which they belong. They tend to look upon the members of the groups to which they do not belong as aliens.

Indian Nationalism has been based on the theory that it is possible for a people who profess different religions, speak different languages and live in different regions to become a nation. This theory has been put to test and is found to be sound. It was on this basis that the Indian National Congress was organised and struggle for freedom waged and won. In sharp contrast to this theory of Indian Nationalism, Communalism is a doctrine which upholds the view that only those who profess the same religion can become a nation; the advocates of linguism argue that only those who speak the same language can be emotionally welded together to form a nation.

Of the many factors impeding the growth of nationalism, communalism and regionalism have been the most potent.

29.4.1 COMMUNALISM

The frequent occurrence of communal clashes shows how wide-spread and deep-rooted communalism is in the country.

Immediately after independence the main communal problem in India was that of Hindu-Muslim antagonism. But in recent times there have been communal clashes also between Hindus and Sikhs.

Communalism implies that the members of a religious community identify themselves to completely with it that their identification with the national political community is only of secondary importance. Communalism impedes the growth of nationalism in two ways: first, by making an individual's allegiance to the religious group an all-encompassing one thereby giving a subsidiary place to his allegiance to the national political community and secondly by making it difficult for members of the different communities to work together in the cause of the nation. People who are suspicious of one another cannot and will not cooperate in any such cause. Without mutual trust and cooperation, an atmosphere of latent civil war is created. It will weaken the defences of the country and retard the process of planned economic development. A modern state needs more of co-operation from its citizens than states of earlier days which were content with the discharging of protective and police functions. This is why so much stress is being placed today

266 in all developing countries on national co-operation and loyalty among all sections of the public.

same and they differ in their food habits, dress and of course, language. Yet, with all these differences the Punjabi and the Andhra share common identity stemming from their common national heritage and a common set of moral and mental qualities. There is something living and dynamic about this heritage which shows itself in their ways of living and their responses to life and its problems. Ancient India was a world in itself, a culture and civilization which gave shape to all things. Even when foreign influences came they did not lead to disruption of the existing culture because they were absorbed and synthesised. There was immediately an attempt to achieve a synthesis. The people inhabiting this vast land profess different religions and speak different languages, but they reveal in their engagement with life a commonness of approach and value system.,

Differences, big or small, could always be noticed even within a national group, however closely knit it might be. The essential unity of that group becomes apparent only when it is compared to another national group. In ancient and medieval times, the idea of the modern national was non-existent and feudal, religious racial or cultural bonds bound the people together. Yet at almost any time in the recorded history an Indian would have felt more or less at home in any part of India, and would have let himself to be a stranger and alien in any other country. Again, converts to non Indian religions have never ceased to be Indians on account of change of their faith.

Today, the spirit of nationalism is so strong that Indians in foreign countries inevitably form a national group for various purposes in spite of their internal differences. An Indian Christian is looked upon as an Indian wherever he may go. An Indian Muslim is considered an Indian in Iraq or Iran or any other country where Islam is the dominant religion.

There are, indeed, sufficient number of binding elements in the Indian Society to make India, as it is presently constituted, into a strong nation. This is true in spite of it being rocked by regional, communal and linguistic differences which are in fact a consequence of it being so vast in every aspect. With an imaginative public policy, the size and diversity may be turned into sources of strength and not of weakness.

The key note of integration should be unity in diversity. Integration based on homogeneity is inferior to integration of diverse cultural elements. Socio-cultural differences in themselves do not lead either to disunity or integration. It is only the chauvinistic attitude which leads to disintegration. The basis of integration lies in people's consciousness of possessing a common territory and government, being heirs to a common heritage, historical and otherwise having common goals. Accessibility of the law to all and a sense of being assured equal treatment and justice contribute to national morale. When the country as a whole is facing some external threat, the morale is usually high. But even in the absence of it there should be a feeling of oneness in striving to attain some goal which is desired by all.

The idea of unity is basic to the Indian philosophy of life and is emphasised in the Constitution of India, the Preamble of which embodies the resolve of people of India to secure citizens "justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation". This ideology of the Preamble of the Constitution of India pervades the whole frame of the Constitution, which upholds the doctrine of oneness and just and equal treatment to every citizen of India.

The Constitution demands the supreme allegiance of every citizen which transcends the religious, sectarian, regional or linguistic allegiance. Primacy must be given to the loyalty to the Nation and the role of the citizen as a national of India must be given overriding importance over his role as a member of a religious or linguistic community.

The unity and integrity of India need not be a negation of the multiplicity and diversity of people based on the differences identifiable with race, caste, creed, political philosophy and economic status, region and language but can be the realization of unity consistent with the growth and development of the diverse elements that constitute the nation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Who have advocated secular Nationalism?

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.....

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29.6 SUMMARY

The greatness of India lies in her diversity, in her ability to absorb outside influences and transform them into new forms and aspects of her own life. Her rich cultural heritage bears a wonderful testimony to the creative ability of the people and provides a striking example of the concept of unity of diversity.

29.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Roy P K		The concept of Integration in Anthropological and Sociological Theory. Journal of Social Research Vol. 13. No:2, Sept. 1970. pp 2-42.
Sinha M R	:	Integration in India
Thrtha N V	:	National Integration.

29.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the concept of Nationalism.
2. How did the British rule in India lead to the emergence of Indian Nationalism?
3. What role did the elite play in the development of Indian Nationalism?

II Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. What constitutes the sense of national identity?
2. What does unity in diversity mean?
3. What was Gandhiji's role in the development of Indian Nationalism?

Books consulted and suggested readings

Bertrand, AL	:	Basic Sociology
Hertzler, JO	:	Society in Action
Johnson, HM	:	Sociology: A systematic Introduction
Loomis and Beegle, AJ	:	Rural Sociology
Talcott Parsons	:	The Social System
Bierstedt, R	:	Social Order
Bottomore, TB	:	Sociology: A guide to Problems and Literature
Mac Iver, R M and Page, C H	:	Society: An Introductory Analysis
Davis, K	:	Human Society
Anderson, W A and Parker, F B	:	An Introduction to Sociology
Appelbaum, R P	:	Theories of Social Change
Bierstedt, Robert	:	The Social Order: An Introduction to Sociology
Dube, S C	:	Explanation and Management of Change
Inkeles, Alex	:	What is Sociology
Moore, W E	:	Social Change
Smelser, N J	:	Sociology: An Introduction
Madan & Majumdar	:	An Introduction to Social Anthropology
Romesh Thapar	:	Tribe, Caste & Religion in India
N K Bose	:	Indian Tribes
K Ranga Rao	:	Samantas
Durkheim	:	The elementary forms of the Religious life
K L Bhowmik & Others	:	Tribal India
D N Majumdar	:	Races & Cultures in India
Harskovits	:	Economic Anthropology
Dr. M V T Raju	:	A study of Jatapu Kotapadu Colony
Beteille Andre 1980	:	Agrarian Social Structure.
Desdai A R 1969	:	Rural Sociology in India
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C B Mamoria	:	Agricultural Problems in India
P C Joshi	:	Land Reforms in India; Trends & Prospects
Ramaswamy E A & Uma Ramaswamy	:	Industry & Labour
Tom Burns (ed)	:	Industrial Man
Gisbert, Pascal	:	Industrial Sociology
Dey S K	:	Panchayat Raj
Lewis Oscar	:	Group Dynamics in North Indian Village A study of Factions.
Ranga Rao K	:	Villae Politics
Yogendra Singh	:	Modernization of Indian Traditon
M N Srinivas	:	Caste in Modern India & Other essays
Westermark	:	Christianity & Morals

- B Sheik Ali : Islam-A cultural orientation
- Mussin Tayyibji : Tyabjis Muslim Law
- Coulson : Succession in the Muslim family
- Ahmed : Marriage, Family & Kinship
- Mazhar Ul Hq Khan : Purdah & Polygamy
- M Subbamma : Christianity and women
- M Subbamma : Islam and Woman
- Anderson N and Iswaran K 1965 : Urban Sociology
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- Moore W E 1965 : Social Change
- Moore W E 1969 : Impact of industry
- Singh Y 1973 : Modernization of Indian Tradition
- Smelser J 1970 : Sociology: An introduction
- Turner R 1962 : India's Urban Future
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- Eisenstdt S N 1969 : Modernization: Protest and change
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- Rogers E 1969 : Modernization among peasants
- Saksena R N 1972 : "Modernization and Development: Trends in India"
- Sills, D L 1968 (ed) : International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 10
- Singer M 1972 : When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An anthropological approach to Indian Civilization
- Srinivas M N 1972 : Social Change in Modern India
- Weiner M (ed) 1966 : Modernization: The dynamic of growth
- Kaul, Jolly Mohan 1973 : Problems of National Integration
- Roy P K 1970 : The concept of INtegration in Anthrological and Sociological Theory. Journal of Social Research, Vol. 13, No.2, Sept. 1970 pp 29-42
- Sinha M R (ed) 1971 : Integration in India, Indian Institute of Asian Studies, Bombay
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GLOSSARY

1. Attitudes : Learned tendencies to react in some characteristic way to persons, situations or things. They can be considered as having their origin in the mores, general values of value systems.
2. Collectivity : Plurality of individuals interacting according to an agreed set of rules which have the sanction of a system of social values.
3. Culture : That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capability acquired by man as a member of society.
4. Determinism : The deterministic point of view sees certain factors as critical in the determining of broad social events. For example, technological determinism holds that technology is the casual factor in social change.
5. Environment : Anything and everything external to group which influences directly or indirectly the behaviour of group members.
6. Functionalism : A procedure whereby social and cultural phenomena are analysed in terms of the functions they fulfill in society.
7. Interaction : Relationships between two or more persons which have some meaning to those concerned.
8. Life cycle : A sequence of stages in the life of an individual, group or society.
9. Social Structure : Social structure is the complex of the major institutions and groups in society.
10. Social system : A term frequently used with reference to a group to connote the presence of structure or organisation and persistence in the patterned interrelationships of the persons involved. Parsons has defined society as relatively the most self sufficient type of social system.

Dr. B.R.Ambedkar Open University

(Undergraduate Programme)

Faculty of Social Sciences

SOCIOLOGY

Syllabus for Third Year

Course IV	: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN INDIA
Block - 1	: Social Structure
Unit - 1	: Meaning of Society, Social System and Social Structure
Unit - 2	: Elements of Social Structure
Block - 2	: Social Change
Unit - 3	: Meaning of Social Change, Evolution and Progress
Unit - 4	: Factors of Social Change
Unit - 5	: Technological Factors of Social Change
Block - 3	: Hindu Social Organisation
Unit - 6	: The Normative and Scriptural Bases of Hindu Religion
Unit - 7	: Varna and Jathi
Unit - 8	: Marriage, Family and Kinship
Unit - 9	: The Jajmani System
Unit - 10	: The Problem of Schedule Caste
Block - 4	: Muslim and Christian Social Organization
Unit - 11	: Basic features of Islam and Christianity
Unit - 12	: Marriage - Family and Kinship among Muslims
Unit - 13	: Property and Inheritance and Purdah
Unit - 14	: Marriage and Family among Christians
Block - 5	: Tribal Social Organizations
Unit - 15	: Tribal Religion
Unit - 16	: Marriage, Family and Kinship
Unit - 17	: Property and Inheritance among Indian tribes
Block - 6	: Economic Organization
Unit - 18	: Agrarian Structure
Unit - 19	: Land Reforms and their Impact
Unit - 20	: Economic Development and Social Change

Block - 7	:	Political Organization
Unit - 21	:	Traditional Village: Political and Administrative Organization
Unit - 22	:	Panchayat Raj and Village Politics
Unit - 23	:	Caste, Class and Power
Block - 8	:	Basic process of change
Unit - 24	:	Sankritization and Islamization
Unit - 25	:	Westernization and Modernization
Unit - 26	:	Industrialization and Urbanization
Unit - 27	:	Meaning of secularism and the Process of Secularization
Block - 9	:	The problems of Integration
Unit - 28	:	Meaning of Social integration and the Problem of communalism and Regionalism
Unit - 29	:	Unity and Diversity and the Problem of Nationalism.

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Dr. B.R.Ambedkar Open University

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

B.Sc. THIRD YEAR (3 YEAR DEGREE COURSE) EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTION PAPER

SOCIOLOGY

COURSE IV: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN INDIA

Time: 3 Hours

Max. marks: 100

SECTION - A

15x4 = 60

1. Answer any four of the following eight questions in about 30 lines each
ఈ క్రింది 8 ప్రశ్నలలో నాలుగింటికి 30 పంక్తులలో జవాబు వ్రాయుము
Each question carries 15 marks
ప్రతి ప్రశ్నకు 15 మార్కులు
1. Discuss about the meaning of social change, evolution and progress
సామాజిక మార్పు, పరిణామం, ప్రగతి అనే అంశాల అర్థాలను వివరించండి
2. Discuss about the elements of social structure
సామాజిక నిర్మాణంలోని అంశాలను వివరించండి
3. Discuss about the factors of social change
సామాజిక మార్పులకు గల కారణాలను వివరించండి
4. Discuss urbanism as a way of life
జీవన విధానంగా నగర వాదాన్ని చర్చించుము
5. What are the various laws passed by different states for the abolition of untouchability
అంటరానితనం తొలగించడానికి వివిధ రాష్ట్రాలు చేపట్టిన చట్టాలేమిటి
6. Explain the concept of sanskritization
సంస్కృతీకరణ భావాన్ని వివరించండి
7. Discuss the need for integration in India
భారతదేశంలో జాతీయ సమైక్యత అవసరాన్ని గురించి వ్రాయుము
8. Explain the concept of nationalism
జాతీయతా భావాన్ని వివరింపుము

SECTION - B

Answer any 5 of the following questions in about 10 lines each.

కింది ప్రశ్నలలో ఏదేవి 5 ప్రశ్నలకు 10 పంక్తులలో సమాధానం రాయండి

Each question carries 8 marks

ప్రతి ప్రశ్నకు 8 మార్కులు

1. Explain the relationship between Jathis & occupation
జాతులు వృత్తుల మధ్య సంబంధాన్ని వివరించండి
2. Explain the nature of Jajmani system
జజ్మాని విధానం స్వభావాన్ని వివరించండి
3. What is social mobilization
సమాజ సమీకరణ అంటే ఏమిటి
4. What do the terms pollution and purity imply
పవిత్రత, అంటు అనగా ఏమిటి
5. Why is Hindu marriage a sacrament
హిందూ వివాహం ఎందుకు పవిత్రమైనది
6. What is the twenty point programme
20 సూత్రాల కార్యక్రమం ఏమిటి
7. What is communalism
మతతత్వం అంటే ఏమిటి
8. Explain the concept of westernization
పాశ్చాత్యీకరణ అనే భావనను వివరించండి
9. What constitutes the sense of national identity
జాతీయ గుర్తింపు అనే భావం ఏవిధంగా ఏర్పడుతుంది
10. What is organic solidarity
జీవ సమైక్యత అనగానేమి

DR.B.R.Ambedkar Open University

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY

COURSE - III : SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN INDIA

ASSIGNMENT - 1

NOTE :

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books
2. As far as possible, try to answer the questions independently in your own words
3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference
4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment
5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluators
6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour time.

PART - A

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

క్రింది ప్రశ్నలకు సుమారు 30 పంక్తులలో జవాబులు రాయండి.

1. What is the essence of Hindu thought.
హిందూ ఆలోచనా ధోరణి సారాంశమేమిటి?
2. What are the various development programmes undertaken for the welfare of scheduled castes.
హరిజన సంక్షేమ నిమిత్తం చేపట్టిన వివిధ అభివృద్ధి కార్యక్రమాలేమిటి?
3. The jajmani system is fading out comment.
జాజ్మాని విధానం క్రమంగా అంతరిస్తున్నది. చర్చించండి.

PART - B

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

క్రింది ప్రశ్నలకు సుమారు 10 పంక్తులలో జవాబులు రాయండి.

1. Explain the relationship between jathis & occupation.
జాతులు, వృత్తుల మధ్య సంబంధాన్ని వివరించండి.
2. What are the functions of jajmani system.
జాజ్మాని విధానం నిర్వచించే విధులేమిటి
3. Explain the features of Mitakshara school.
మితాక్షర సంప్రదాయం ప్రముఖ లక్షణాలను వివరించండి.

DR.B.R.Ambedkar Open University

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY

COURSE III : SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN INDIA

ASSIGNMENT - 2

NOTE :

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books
2. As far as possible, try to answer the questions independently in your own words
3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference
4. Use your own fullscape pages for writing the assignment
5. Leave sufficient margine for the comments of the evaluators
6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour's time.

PART-A

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

క్రింది ప్రశ్నలకు సుమారు 30 పంక్తులలో జవాబులు రాయండి.

1. Explain some similarities between Islam and Christianity.

క్రైస్తవ, ఇస్లాం మతాల మధ్య పోలికలు తెలుపుము.

2. Bring out the types of families based on types of marriages with examples.

కుటుంబాల నమూనాలను, వివాహరీతులను ఉదాహరణలతో వివరింపుము.

3. Examine the impact of machine technology on social structure.

సామాజిక స్థితిపై యంత్ర సాంకేతికత యొక్క ప్రభావాన్ని పరిశీలించండి.

PART-B

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

క్రింది ప్రశ్నలకు సుమారు 10 పంక్తులలో జవాబులు రాయండి.

1. What change have occurred in Indian agriculture because of planned development.

ప్రణాళికాబద్ధ వ్రకారం భారతదేశంలో వచ్చిన వ్యవసాయ మార్పులెమిటి.

2. What are the characteristics of underdeveloped societies,

అభివృద్ధిచెందని సమాజాల లక్షణాలెమిటి.

DR.B.R.AMBEDKA OPEN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY

COURSE - III : SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN INDIA

ASSIGNMENT - 3

NOTE :

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books
2. As far as possible, try to answer the questions independently in your own words
3. If it is necessary to quote from any source give the correct reference
4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment
5. Leave sufficient margine for the comments of the evaluators
6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour time.

PART - A

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.
క్రింది ప్రశ్నలకు సుమారు 30 పంక్తులలో జవాబులు రాయండి.
1. Explain the role of sanskritization as a process of social change in Indian society.
సంస్కృతీకరణ ప్రక్రియ భారత సమాజంలో ఏర్పడిన మార్పులను తెచ్చిందో వివరించండి.
2. What role did the elite play in the development of Indian nationalism
భారత జాతీయత పెంపొందించడంలో ప్రముఖులు వహించిన పాత్ర ఏది.
3. How has secularization contributed to the reinterpretation of Hinduism.
హిందూమతాన్ని తిరిగి వ్యాఖ్యానించడానికి సెక్యులరిజం యెట్లా తోడ్పడింది.

PART - B

- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.
క్రింది ప్రశ్నలకు సుమారు 10 పంక్తులలో జవాబులు రాయండి.
1. What is traditionalism.
సంప్రదాయ వాద మంటే ఏమిటి.
2. What are the major hurdles to the achievement of national integration in India.
భారత జాతీయత పెరుగుదలకు అవరోధంగావున్న కొన్ని విషయాలను తెలుపుము.
3. What does unity in diversity mean
భిన్నత్వంలో ఏకత్వం అనగానేమి.

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