

INDIAN SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

G. S. Ghurye (Colonial, Nationalist, Indological)
M. N. Srinivas (Structural - Functional)

Unit Structure :

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1.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the Indological approach to the study of Indian society.
- To familiarize the students with the contribution of G. S. Ghurye.
- To understand the structural functionalist approach to the Indian society and acquaint students with the contribution of M. N. Srinivas.

1.1 INDIAN SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

Sociology as an independent social science was born in the west in the 19th century. It emerged in a short span of time as one of the most popular disciplines today even in the East. The French, British and the American sociologists in particular, have contributed a great deal to the development of sociology on a scientific basis. Sociology had to face the challenges from other social sciences which were not ready to recognize it as one among them. Early sociologists very courageously and appropriately responded to such challenges. Sociology which imbibed the scientific perspective and accepted positivism as its article of faith forged ahead and as a result sociological studies and researches claimed credibility and respectability both in the academic and administrative circles. Both sociology and social anthropology were brought to India from outside, particularly from Britain. British Scholars who lived in India and later Indian scholars who were trained in Britain and U.S.A. played a major role in the development of these two disciplines in India. Sociology came to be recognized as an independent discipline of academic study in India when a separate department of sociology and civics was started under the guidance of Patrick Geddes in the Bombay University in 1919. The Western and Indian Scholars played an important role in the development of sociology in India. Scholars from both sides produced literature to the enrichment of sociological knowledge. Western scholars like Verrier Elvin, Herbert Risley, Hutton, Nesfield, B. S. Cohn, Kathleen Gough, Sir Henry Maine, David Pocock, Charles Metcalf, Mackie Mar riger and others did contribute during its initial stages of development in India. Indian scholars, though some of them often pursued anthropological, historical, Indological and other approaches, contributed, in no small measure, to the enrichment of sociology as an academic discipline in India. Mention must necessarily be made of the intellectual giants such as Radhakamal Mukherji, K. P. Chattopadhyay, M. N. Srinivas, G. S. Ghurye, B. N. Seal, D. P. Mukherji, Iravathi Karve, K. M. Kapadia, A. R. Desai, S. C. Dube, M. S. A. Rao, who did a lot to provide a good foundation for the study of sociology in the Indian Universities.

Check Your Progress :

1. Write a note on the development of sociology in India.

1.2 G.S. GHURYE (COLONIAL, NATIONALIST, INDOLOGICAL)

Introduction :

Sociology was established as an academic discipline in India, during the late colonial period and developed rapidly after independence with the growth of the university system and the founding of research institutions. In writings of the history of sociology and social anthropology in India, the institutions and personalities of the 'Bombay School' must find a central place. The Department of sociology at Bombay University was for many years the premier department in the country, and the head of the department during this period (1924- 59), G. S. Ghurye, is often referred to as the 'father of Indian Sociology'. Ghurye is most remembered for his leading role in the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the discipline in the country. He built up the Bombay department practically from scratch, and during his thirty-five years as head he produced a large number of PhD and M.A. students. Including several of the most prominent sociologists of the next generation. He also founded and ran the Indian Sociological Society and its journal, Sociological bulletin. Although Ghurye Indological or Cultural historical approach to sociology was soon superseded by structure – functionalism he and his students left a distinctive stamp on the way in which sociology is practised in India.

1.2.1 Biography:

G S Ghurye(1893-1984)

Dr. Govind Sadashiv Ghurye remains an influential figure in both his persona and writings. Born in 1893 in the Saraswat Brahmin family in Maharashtra he died at the ripe age of 91 in Bombay. He was a brilliant student of Sir Patrick Geddes who started the Sociology department in University of Bombay in 1919. He is often referred to as the Father of Indian Sociology, 'doyen of Indian sociologists' for his contribution to Indian sociology. He almost single-handedly managed to build the first generation of Indian sociologists.

Dr. Ghurye had a brilliant academic career throughout. He was educated and trained in Sanskrit and Sociology.

Ghurye founded the "Indian Sociological Society" in 1952 and was the first editor of its journal "Sociological Bulletin". Under Ghurye's guidance, sociology came to be defined as the study of India (Hindu) civilization & the history & structure of its social basic institutions - family, kinship, caste, religion – through textual & empirical methods.

Ghurye was systematic in his teaching methods. In his teaching and research, he refused to make a distinction between social anthropology and sociology. Ghurye tried to study Indian society and culture through multiple methods. He relied on both the empirical and textual methods for studying Indian society. Although trained in Indology, Ghurye was not averse to the fieldwork traditions of social and cultural anthropology.

He was greatly interested in world civilization and particularly in the Hindu civilization. His focus was on the Indo-Aryan civilization and its evolution in India. Ghurye tried to focus on various important aspects of Indo-Aryan civilization like the evolution of caste, family structure, and its relationship with Indo-European family structure, and the evolution of religious consciousness. He was not only concerned with past evolution but also with the contemporary problems of his time. His work *The Burning Cauldron of North East India* is one best example of his interest in contemporary issues.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly write a note on G. S. Ghurye?

2. Elaborate on Ghurye as a teacher, Scholar and institutional?

1.2.2 Works of Ghurye:

Ghurye wrote a series of books both on sociological themes. Here is a glimpse of some of his important books:

- *Caste and race in India* (1932): In Cambridge, caste was one of the four topics of Ghurye's PhD research and upon his return he was able to mould it into a comprehensive book. In this book, he deals with the problem of caste and settles down to talk about the present-day complexities of the problems. In the latest edition of *caste and race in India* {1969} he added such vital topics as the evolution of sub castes, sub caste and kin, caste and politics and the position of the scheduled castes.
- *The Aborigines - so called-and their future* (1943): He wrote the book to refute anthropologist' Verrier Elwin's thesis of isolation

of tribal groups and argued in favour of their assimilation into the larger community.

- The Mahadev Kolis (1957): Some years later, Ghurye published a study titled “the Mahadev Kolis” based on field data from three districts of Maharashtra. This was his first major attempt to deal with a problem at the micro level.
- Social tension in India (1968): in this book Ghurye examines in a historical context, the deeply divisive role of culture, language and religion in India. The book dealt with problems of national integration.
- Whither India? (1974): in this book Ghurye discussed the waves of political fragmentation, “Dravidian alienation” and “Muslim participation”.
- “The Vidyas” and “Vedic India”: He had earlier written Vidyas (1957) where he outlined the branches of knowledge as convinced by the Hindu servants from the Vedic period.

In Vedic India (1979), he gave a detailed description of the culture and people of the Vedic age.

Check Your Progress

1) Briefly write about the sociological writings of Ghurye?

1.2.3 Theoretical Approach and methodology :

1.2.3.1.Indology: Meaning and Definition :

"Indology is basically the use of ancient texts and scriptures of India by the sociologists to understand the social and cultural life in India". Indological perspective claims to understand Indian Society through the concepts, theories and frameworks that are closely associated with Indian Civilization. It made a claim that Indian Society is unique in structure, function and dynamics and cannot be associated with the European Society. Indology relies on book view and culture. In both the forms Indology consists of studying language, beliefs, ideas, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, rituals, ceremonies and other related components of culture.

1.2.3.2.Approach

Ghurye's rigor and discipline are now legendary in Indian sociological circles. Despite his training at Cambridge under W.H.R. Rivers & his broad acceptance of the structural – functional approach, Ghurye did not strictly conform to the functionalist

tradition when interpreting the complex facets of Indian society and culture, which he chose to investigate. Ghurye had conducted village, town and community studies.

- i) Primarily Indological methods.
- ii) Survey – type research involving primary data collection. He did not conform to accepted methodological canons. Ghurye's flexible approach to theory and methodology in sociology and social anthropology was born of his faith in intellectual freedom, which is reflected in the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches.
- iii) Ghurye also used historical and comparative methods in his studies which have also been followed by his students.
- iv) Ghurye was initially influenced by the reality of diffusionist approach of British social anthropology but subsequently he switched on to the studies of Indian society from Indological and anthropological perspectives. He emphasized on the Indological approach in the study of social and cultural life in India.
- v) Ghurye utilized literature in sociological studies with his profound knowledge of Sanskrit literature. He extensively quoted from the Vedas, Shastras, epics and poetry of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti to shed light on the social and cultural life in India. He made use of literature in vernacular e.g. Marathi and cited from literature of modern writers like Bankimchandra Chatterjee as well.

The intellectual trends that contributed to Ghurye's sociological imagination were British orientalism, nationalism and diffusionism. Indology and diffusionism are usually identified as the two major influences on his work.

His approach was Indological/cultural historical which was later replaced by structural-functionalism.

Ghurye was the **functionalist** who used the historical comparative methods in the study of sociology to understand the traditional customs, caste, religion, etc. He said that in order to understand the caste system we have to understand the Hindu religion, because caste originated from there. In Ghurye's view, Indian sociology was produced by the spread of Brahmanical Hinduism. Therefore, he studied religious texts and hence he was an Indologist, anthropologist.

Orientalism emerged out of the 18th century European social thought that dealt with the nature and origin of civilization, namely the Greek and the Egyptian civilization. The early British orientalist sought to reconstruct ancient Indian civilization through

the study of Sanskrit texts. Because ancient Indian civilization was identified with Hinduism as embodied in the Sanskrit texts. Brahminical Hinduism became the defining feature of Indian society. In this discourse, Muslims were seen as foreign conquerors and despotic rulers who were responsible for all current social evils, while the virtues of traditional Hindu government, laws and customs were applauded. Brahminical knowledge received new legitimacy and religion came to be regarded as the guiding principle of society. Orientalist scholarship had a lasting effect on the modern understanding of Indian society and history, an understanding that is reflected in the work of Ghurye. As in orientalist construct religion is the guiding principle of the Indian society and specifically Brahmanical religion as prescribed in the sacred texts provides the moral principles for the organisation of society.

The orientalist theory of Indian history was absorbed in diverse ways into the emerging **nationalist** discourse of the 19th and early 20th century. While the Aryan theory emerged out of orientalism, its wide circulation and success in colonizing the consciousness of the educated middle class can be attributed to its appropriation by the nationalist ideology. This national identity is premised on a single history, language and culture. In this discourse, Indian culture was equated with Vedic culture, Indian philosophy with Vedanta and Indian religion with Hinduism. The image of Indian Muslims as outsiders and aggressive invaders in the past and as communal separatists in the present became a central theme of Hindu nationalist thought. The Aryan theory of invasion theory of Indian history took a major political role in the building of nationalism. Ghurye never questioned this construction of history and on the contrary the idea that India is Hindu is reinforced by his sociology. He appropriated colonial constructions of Indian history and society and reworked them to create a nationalist sociology.

As a strong nationalist, Ghurye wanted India to become a true nation- state. He hoped for the emergence of an integrated nation which he saw as a solution to social tensions. He defined social integration as a state in which individuals and groups have common values and therefore granting cultural autonomy to minority groups does not solve the problem of inter-group tensions. Hence, he was opposed to the appeasement of minorities in the name of secularism. He believed national integration should be achieved by the absorption of diverse religious and backward groups into mainstream Hindu society. Ghurye's opposition to caste enumeration in the census stemmed from his conviction that national unity could be achieved only through cultural homogeneity and he criticised caste associations, caste-based movements and reservation of seats.

Diffusionism emerged as a critique of late 19th century evolutionism. Anthropologists argued that biological makeup and culture were linked and culture was carried by race. Diffusion is usually identified as Ghurye's major theoretical orientation. His textual, Indological perspective, his historical/civilisational approach to sociology, and his cultural nationalism show clear continuities with the Aryan theory of Indian history as reworked by the nationalist discourse, as well as with diffusionism.

The diffusionist influence can be seen in works such as *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture* (1955), in which Ghurye analyses the history of the human family through kinship terms and behavioural data drawn from three ancient cultures-Indo-Aryan, the Greek and the Latin.

The first expression of Ghurye's civilisational perspective is found in his work *Caste and Race in India* (1932) in which he reproduces the orientalist theory of the Indo-Aryan invasion and the racial theory of caste of the 19th century.

There was a great political unrest at the time colonial rule over Bombay, which became a centre of nationalist agitation. The Bombay govt was worried about the rise of radical political activity in the city, especially the trade unionism of the mill workers. They believed that the social research on urban & industrial issues would help to formulate policies.

Ghurye's sociology drew heavily on the traditions of British & German orientalism. The early British orientalists sought to reconstruct ancient Indian civilization through the study of Sanskrit texts. The orientalist discourse was 'dialogically produced' by European scholars through interaction with Brahminical pundits placing them at the centre of the social order.

Similarly, the social reform discourse, with its focus on religion as a source of solidarity & transformation & on the institutions of family & patriarchy as repositories of Hindu tradition, & its attempt to reconstitute tradition with modernity, shows striking parallels with Ghurye's sociology.

Ghurye's search for the roots of Indian culture in the Vedic age is reflected in several books. Much of his work centres around traditional Hindu or Brahminical knowledge systems, religious practices, social organization and law as reflected in the Sanskrit texts. Nationalism provided an ideological basis for the thought of most of the first-generation Indian sociologists who attempted, in different ways, to demonstrate the organic unity of Indian society. Ghurye's sociology provides a prime example of this quest. His thought was shaped by the experience of colonialism, the

constructed memory of India's Past glory' & the nationalist project of future emancipation and his perspective reflected a complex mix of nationalist, orientalist and reformist ideas.

Check Your Progress

1. In detail explain the approach adopted by Ghurye to understand Indian Society?

2. Write a note on Indology.

1.2.4 Ghurye on Caste

Ghurye's understanding of caste is comparative, historical and Indological. He considers caste as a product of Indian culture changing with the passage of time. In his book Caste and Race in India he agrees with Sir Herbert Risley that caste is a product of race that came to India along with the Aryans. Ghurye highlights six structural features of caste system:

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

Besides the above characteristics he laid particular emphasis on endogamy as the most important feature of the caste system.

Check your progress

- 1) Write a note on features of caste as explained by G S Ghurye.

1.2.5. Critical Evaluation:

- Sociology under Ghurye's leadership focused more institutions such as family, kinship, and caste and religions while neglecting the economic & political aspects of social life. Ghurye did involve other social sciences like economics in his research. Thus, he did not make sociology interdisciplinary.
- His brand of sociology emerges as an elaboration on a narrow Hindu/ Brahminical nationalist ideology that advocates cultural unity and nation building rather than political and economic equality.
- It has been argued that most of Ghurye's works are based on textual and scriptural data. The choice of scripture and the way of writing may have bias towards one section of society to another
- The idea of Indian culture used by him is homogenising and hegemonic, denying the historicity and fluidity of Indian traditions.
- By asserting the civilizational unity of India and cantering it on the culture of the Aryans and their descendants and by extension on Hinduism and Brahmanism, Ghurye's brand of sociology tends to reinforce the claims of Hindu nationalism.
- Ghurye failed to recognise domination, exploitation and conflict as fundamental features of the Indian society due to his immersion in Orientalist discourses about Indian civilisation.

Check Your Progress

- 1) Critically evaluate the approach of G.S. Ghurye to the understanding of Indian Society.

1.2.6 Conclusion:

Dr. G. S. Ghurye's name has assumed importance for he was one of the founding fathers of Indian sociology. Though Prof. Patrick Geddes started the Department of Sociology at the Bombay University, it was Dr. Ghurye who built and developed it on a firm foundation. He earned a permanent name as a classical sociologist of India and also of the East, by his scholarly contribution and profound depth of sociological knowledge.

1.2.7 Summary:

Ghurye's record as a teacher, research guide and author are unique. During the same period of postretirement, he published 16 books out of 31 works that were published during his lifetime. He wrote over 30 papers and spent considerable time in updating several of his books which were published in revised editions. His postretirement achievements made an impressive and noteworthy record. There was a time when many sociology faculties in India had at least one of his students propagating his tradition.

1.3 STRUCTURAL – FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

1.3.1 Understanding Structural- Functionalism

The key points of the functionalist perspective may be summarized by a comparison drawn from biology. Every part of the human body has a function that maintains the organism. If each part is examined in isolation, it will not reveal the entire working and maintenance of the part unless studied in relation to other parts comprising the whole organism. Functionalism as an approach adopts a similar view. Functional approach to the study of society views society in terms of its constituent parts and their relationship with each other in order to maintain the society as a whole. The followers of this perspective focus on the understanding of the ordering and patterning of the social world. This perspective of society stresses on harmony and cohesion rather than conflict and contradiction.

1.3.2. Structural-Functionalist Approach in India

The Structural-functional approach has been a predominant approach in the study of Indian society since the 1940s till the end of the 20th century. Students of Indian society, both sociologists and social anthropologists, have undertaken extensive analysis of the caste and village systems in order to understand the unique nature of Indian society. Among the Indian scholars, G. S. Ghurye, M. N. Srinivas and S. C. Dube may be considered to be in the forefront of structural-functional approach in the study of Indian society. The structural- functionalists view that the Indian society is made up of castes as significant parts that collectively constitute the social system. Castes form the units or the building blocks of Indian social structure since they have been enduring or lasting groups that determine the person to person institutionally defined relationship in the society.

Check your progress:

1) What is the meaning of the structural functionalist approach?

1.4.M.N. SRINIVAS (1916-1999)

1.4.1. Life Sketch of M. N. Srinivas

Mysore Narasimhacharya Srinivas (1916–1999) was a world-renowned Indian sociologist. He was born in a Brahmin family in Mysore and died at the age of 83 at Bangalore. Srinivas initiated the tradition of basing macro sociological generalisations on micro- anthropological insights and for giving a perspective to anthropological investigations of small-scale communities. Srinivas was an internationally renowned scholar who obtained his degree of MA, LLB and PhD from Bombay (now Mumbai) and DPhil from Oxford University. Known as an institution builder, a creative researcher and a devoted teacher, he preferred to be a professor rather than accepting offers of joining powerful posts in the government.

1.4.2. Methodological approach of Srinivas

Srinivas was a proponent of the field view. Srinivas was interested in understanding his countrymen not through the Western books or through sacred books and literature but through direct observation, field study and field experiences. He carried out an intensive study on the Coorgs between 1940-1942. According to Srinivas there are basically two ways of understanding our society. Those are: book view and field view. Book view also known as Indology is to understand the society from the books and sacred literature available whereas the field view is where knowledge is obtained through field work-the empirical study to understand the society.

Check your progress:

1) What is the difference between book view and field view?

1.4.3.Works & Writings

Srinivas has written extensively on many aspects of Indian society and culture and is best known for his work on religion, village community, caste and social change.

Srinivas produced outstanding scholarly work such as:

- Religion and Society among Coorgs of South India (1952)
- India's Villages (1955)
- Social change in Modern India (1966)
- Caste in Modern India and Other Essays (1966)
- India: Social Structure (1980)
- The Dominant Caste and Other Essays (1987)

1.4.3.1. Social Change

Social change as a theme continues to be a significant concern of Indian sociologists and social anthropologists. The term social change implies significant alteration in behaviour patterns and cultural values resulting in transformation and having a lasting effect on the society's culture. Srinivas has used the concepts of Sanskritization and westernisation to understand social change in India.

1.4.3.2 Sanskritization

Srinivas coined the term Sanskritization to reflect the social mobility present in Indian Society.

According to M.N. Srinivas Sanskritization is a process by which a "low" Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, a "twice" born caste. In his study of Mysore Village, Srinivas finds that at some time or the other, every caste tries to change its rank in the hierarchy by giving up its attributes and trying to adopt those of castes above them. This process of attempting to change one's rank by giving up attributes that define a caste as low and adopting attributes that are indicative of higher status is called 'Sanskritization'. This process essentially involves a change in one's dietary habits from non- vegetarianism to vegetarianism, and change in one's occupation habits from unclean to clean occupation.

1.4.3.3. Dominant Caste

The concept of dominant caste was first proposed by Srinivas in his early papers on the village of Rampura. This concept is crucial in understanding the social and the political life in rural India. The term dominant caste is used to refer to a caste which "wields economic or political power and occupies a fairly high position in the hierarchy." The dominant caste may not be ritually superior but is numerically larger, owns land and has political influence over the village matters. The people of other lower castes

look at them as their 'reference group' and try to imitate their behaviour, ritual pattern, custom and ideology. All the other castes of the village stand in a relationship of service to the dominant caste. The members of a dominant caste have an upper hand in all the affairs of the locality and enjoy many special opportunities as well as privileges. Srinivas has defined the following six major characteristics of Dominant caste.

- i) Land Ownership
- ii) Numerical Strength
- iii) High place in local hierarchy
- iv) Western Education
- v) Job in administration and
- vi) Urban sources of income

Of the above the characteristics of numerical strength, economic power through land ownership and political power are particularly significant. The ritual status of the caste is no longer the major basis of its position in the social hierarchy. In his study of Rampura in Mysore he found that there are the Brahmins, peasants and the untouchables. Though the Brahmins are ritually superior the peasants own lands and are numerically stronger as well as wield political influence over the village affairs and therefore the peasants are the dominant caste in the village and all the other castes stand in relationship of service to the dominant caste.

1.4.3.4. Religion and Society

Srinivas' work Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952) led him to formulate the concept of Brahminization to represent the process of the imitation of life-ways and ritual practices of Brahmins by the lower-caste Hindus. The concept was used as an explanatory device to interpret changes observed in the ritual practices and life-ways of the lower castes through intensive and careful field study. In Religion and Society, Srinivas was concerned with the spread of Hinduism. He talked about "Sanskritic Hinduism" and its values. Related to this was the notion of 'sanskritization' which Srinivas employed "to describe the process of the penetration of sanskritic values into the remote parts in India. Imitation of the way of life of the topmost, twice-born castes was said to be the principle mechanism by which the lower castes sought to raise their own social status".

Check your progress:

- 1) What is social change?

2) Give names of any 2 works of M N Srinivas.

3) Elaborate on the contribution of M N Srinivas to Indian Society.

1.5. CRITICAL APPRAISAL

- i. Although Srinivas has talked about the economic and technological development, he has side tracked the lower segments of society.
- ii. In promoting Sanskritization he has marginalised and alienated religious minorities.
- iii. The ideas of Sanskritisation and dominant caste have put him closer to the Hindutva ideology of cultural nationalism.
- iv. His understanding was more elitist and represented an upper castes view.

Check your progress

1) Critically evaluate the approach of M N Srinivas.

1.6. GLOSSARY

Indology
Structural functionalism
Book view
Filed view
Sanskritisation
Social change
Dominant caste
Westernization.

1.7 QUESTIONS

- 1 Write in detail the contribution of G. S. Ghurye towards the development of sociology in India?
- 2 Give a biographical sketch of G. S. Ghurye?
- 3 Elaborate on G. S. Ghurye's writings and methodologies?
4. Explain the Indological Approach of Dr G S Ghurye
- 5 Write a detailed note on the contribution of M. N. Srinivas to Indian Sociology?
- 6 As a structural – functionalist elaborate on the methods and Approaches adopted by M. N. Srinivas?

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DIALECTICAL APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGY

**A.R. Desai and D. P. Mukerji, Non- Brahminical Approach
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Phule.**

Unit Structure :

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- 2.3 D.P. Mukerji
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 - 2.3.3.1 Personality
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- 2.6. Mahatma Jyotirao Phule
 - 2.6.1. Biography.
 - 2.6.2 Methodology and Approach
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 - 2.6.4. Critical Evaluation
 - 2.6.5 Summary
- 2.7 Let us sum up
- 2.8 Glossary
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2.0 OBJECTIVES

- To familiarize students with a dialectical approach to Sociology.
- To acquaint the students with the methodology used by A. R. Desai in studying Indian Society.
- To introduce students to the work of D. P. Mukerji.
- To understand the non-Brahmanical Approach as presented by Dr. Ambedkar.
- To evaluate the contribution of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to the understanding of caste.
- To acquaint the students with the contribution of Mahatma Jyotirao Phule to eradicate Caste system and social Injustice.

2.1 DIALECTICAL APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGY

The Dialectical- Historical Approach is related to the Marxist methods and propositions for the analysis of social reality. Yogendra Singh (2004) has used the term dialectical and not Marxist as in Indian sociology, Marxist approach comprises several adaptive models. Most Marxist thinking in India was done in the forties and fifties by non- sociologists. The study of Indian social reality from the Marxism perspective has been conducted by scholars such as M.N. Dutta, D. D. Kosambi, A. R. Desai, D. P. Mukerji, R.S. Sharma, Irfan Habib and others. Among the early sociologists who emphasized the significance of the dialectical model were D. P. Mukerji, A. R. Desai and Ramakrishna Mukherjee.

The Marxist approach endeavors to locate within a specific society, the forces which preserve and forces that lead to changes in the social organization which would take the productive power of mankind to the higher level. Marxism aims at providing a scientific study of society from a class angle. It focuses on the property relations as a crucial element for properly understanding the nature

of transformation taking place in the country. Desai feels that the adoption of Marxist method will be helpful in studying industrial relations in the context of management-labour relations, capital - labour relations and in the context of the state that has adopted the capitalist path of development. The dynamics of rural, urban, educational and other developments will be better understood in the larger context of social framework. The Marxist approach helps to understand the social reality through the means of production, the techno-economic division of labour involved in operating the instruments of production and social relations of production or what was more precisely characterized as property relations. It recognizes the dialectics of evolutionary as well as revolutionary changes of the breaks in historical continuity in the transition from one socio-economic formation to another. While understanding society, primacy is given to economic infrastructure, culture is seen as rooted in economic infrastructure. This amounts to rejection of pure Indological view and the faulty interpretation it generates. Indian society is studied in terms of conflict and social institutions are seen as exploitative and existing for the benefit of the few.

2.2 A.R. DESAI

2.2.1 Biography

A.R. Desai was born on April 16, 1915 at Nadiad in Gujarat and died in 1994 at Baroda. Influenced by his father, a well-known litterateur, A R Desai took part in student movements in Baroda, Surat and Bombay. He graduated from the University of Mumbai and obtained his law degree and PhD in Sociology under G S Ghurye from University of Mumbai. He taught at the University of Mumbai and later also became the head of the Department. He was also the President of the Indian Sociological Society (1980-81) and the Gujarat Sociological Society (1988-90).

2.2.2 Methodological Approach.

He consistently advocated and applied a dialectical-historical model in his sociological studies. He closely studied the works of Marx and Engels and the writings of Trotsky. He may be regarded as one of the pioneers in introducing the modern Marxist approach to empirical investigations involving bibliographical and field research. He rejects any interpretations of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities. His sociology is essentially a secular phenomenon where he relies on economics to understand and analyze social structures. All his studies are based on the Marxist method of historical-dialectical materialism. He considers that the emerging contradictions in the Indian process of social transformation arise mainly from the growing nexus among the capitalist bourgeoisie, the rural petty-bourgeoisie and a state apparatus. This nexus thwarts the aspirations of the rural and

industrial working class. The contradiction however is not resolved and takes new forms of protests and social movements.

Desai's sociological vision stands out for its differences with Indian social anthropology of the 1960s and 1970s. When the other Indian sociologists were concentrating on analysing the micro (the village), Desai's sociology studied the macro and the meso Capitalism, nationalism, classes, agrarian structure, the state and peasant movements among other things using the historical method of analyses. His use of historical method gave a new perspective to evaluate changes in the Indian society by giving specific meaning to the Marxist notion of structure and the various elements in its constitution in India such as feudalism, capitalism, the relationship between class and nation, peasants and working class, the post – colonial state and the rights of the deprived.

Check your Progress

1) Elaborate on the methodology of A R Desai.

2.2.3 Works and writings

A. R Desai has applied his Marxist perspective to understand the diverse aspects of Indian social reality. The main works are:

- The Social Background of Indian Nationalism (1948)
- Rural Sociology in India (1969)
- Slums and Urbanization in India (1970,1972)
- State and Society in India (1975)
- Peasant Struggle in India (1979)
- Rural India in Transition (1979)
- India's Path of development (1984)
- Desai also developed the field of Political Sociology in 1960s.

2.2.3.1 Transformation of Indian Society.

The introduction of new economic reforms disrupted the old economic system. The old land relations and artisans were replaced with the emergence of new land relations and modern industries. The class of zamindars replaced the village commune. New classes emerged with modern industry like capitalist, industrial workers, agricultural labourers, tenants, merchants etc. The new land revenue system, commercialization of agriculture, fragmentation of land etc. led to the transformation of Indian villages. These changes resulted in polarization of classes in

agrarian areas, poverty in rural areas and exploitation. In urban society there were capitalist industrial working class, petty traders, doctors, lawyers etc. The introduction of railways, postal services, centralized uniform law, English education brought about qualitative changes in Indian society. However, the introduction of railways and press by the British unintentionally led to the unification of Indian society. The social infrastructural setup gave rise to the nationalist freedom movement and awakening of Indian nationalism.

2.2.3.2 Social Background of Indian Nationalism.

Desai applied the Marxist approach to the study of nationalism in India during the British rule. In his work *The Social Background of Indian Nationalism* he traces the emergence of Indian Nationalism from a dialectical perspective. Indian nationalism emerged due to the material conditions created by British colonialism. The new economic relations developed by industrialisation and modernization developed by the British is a stabilizing factor in the continuity of traditional institutions in India, which would undergo change as these relations would change. He does not trace tradition from caste, religion or ritual. Rather the dialectical history of India he presents shows that traditions have their roots in India's economy and production relations.

In the *Social Background of Indian Nationalism and Recent trends in Indian Nationalism* (1960) he provides an analysis of the emergence of various social forces which altered the economy and society in India within the context of colonialism. The state that emerged in India after independence was a capitalist state. The state performed the functions of protecting the propertied class and suppressing the struggles of the exploited classes.

2.2.3.3 Peasant Struggles

In his two volumes of *Peasant Struggles in India* (1979) and *Agrarian Struggles in India after Independence* (1986) Desai highlighted the difference in the peasant struggles then and now. The agrarian struggles at present are waged by the newly emerged properties classes as well as the agrarian poor especially the agrarian proletariat. He maintained that progress could be achieved by radically transforming the exploitative capitalist system in India.

2.2.3.4 State and society

In *State and society in India* (1975) Desai provided a critique of the theories of modernization. In his works he puts the state at the centre and elaborates on its role as facilitator of social transformation. In his later works on state he pursued the theme of the repressive role of the state and the growing resistance to it.

2.2.4 Relevance of Marxist Approach

While American structural functionalism and British functionalism dominated social sciences and sociological researches in the 50's and early 60's Desai continued to write on Indian society and state from a Marxist perspective. The Marxist approach according to Desai could help to study the government policies, the classes entrenched into the state apparatus and India's political economy. The Marxist approach helps to raise relevant questions, conduct research in the right direction, formulate adequate hypotheses, evolve proper concepts, adopt and combine appropriate research techniques and locate the central tendencies of transformations with its major implications. The Marxist approach helps to understand social reality through means of production, the division of labour and social relations of production. The Marxist approach gives central importance to property structure in analysing any society. For Desai the property relations are crucial as they help to shape the purpose, nature, control, direction and objectives underlying the production.

2.2.5. Critical Appraisal

- i) Desai's project of Sociology remained largely ideological and political.
- ii) Yogendra Singh argues that Desai's Marxist analysis fails at the level of empirical support. His theoretical framework can be challenged by the strength of substantial data.
- iii) Some of his writings are over generalized without studying the minute details of society.

2.2.6 Conclusion

A.R. Desai has applied the use of Marxist approach for the understanding of the Indian social realities. He applies historical materialism for understanding the transformation of Indian society. Desai views that Marxist paradigm is the most relevant framework that can help in comprehending properly the transformation that is taking place in the Indian Society and its various sub-systems. In his studies of nationalism, analysis of rural social structure, the nature of economic and social policies of change in India and the structure of state and societies he has tried to expose the contradictions and anomalies in policies and process of change resulting from the capitalist bourgeoisie interlocking of interest in the Indian society.

2.3 D.P. MUKERJI

2.3.1 Biography.

D P Mukherjee (1894-1961) one of the founding fathers of sociology in India was born on 5th October 1894 in a middle-class Bengali family. He acquired his MA in economics and history. He began his career at Bangabasi College, Calcutta. In 1922 he joined

the newly founded Lucknow University as a lecturer in economics and sociology. He retired as Professor and Head of the Department in 1954. In 1953 for a year he served as a visiting professor of Sociology at the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. He was the first president of the Indian Sociological Conference. He was also the vice president of the International Sociological Association. Besides being a scholar in the field of sociology he was versatile who made landmarks in economics, literature, music and art. He preferred being called Marxologist i.e. a social scientist of Marxism. As a scholar and a teacher, he engaged in dialogue, lectures, discussions and conversations encouraging interchange of ideas with his students.

2.3.2 Methodological Approach.

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji popularly referred to as DP was perhaps the most popular of the pioneers in Indian Sociology. He came to sociology more as a social philosopher. He resisted any attempt at compartmentalisation of knowledge in social science. He was interested in understanding the nature and meaning of Indian society rooted in Indian tradition. He followed Marxism as a method of analysis rather than Marxism as a political ideology. He recognised the importance of Marxism to analyse the socio-economic forces operating in human society. His dialectical analysis of Indian history suggested that tradition and modernity, colonialism and nationalism, individualism and collectivism could be seen as dialectically interacting with each other. He attempted a dialectical interpretation of the encounter between the Indian tradition and modernity which unleashed many forces of cultural contradictions during the colonial period. He focussed on the historical specificity of India's cultural and social transformation which was characterised less by class struggle and more by value assimilation and cultural synthesis that resulted from the encounter between tradition and modernity.

2.3.3 Works and Writings.

Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji was a versatile scholar. He wrote nineteen books, ten in Bengali and nine in English. His early publications include.

- Personality and the social science (1924),
- Basic concepts in Sociology (1932),
- Problems of Indian Youth (1942),
- Modern Indian Culture (1942),
- Modern Indian Culture: A sociological study (1942),
- Tagore: A study (1943),
- On Indian History: A study in Method (1943),
- Introduction to Music (1945),
- Views and Counter-views (1946)
- Diversities (1958).

His first book in English, *Personality and the Social science* (1924), was described by him as 'a personal document' written with 'the sole purpose' of clarifying his 'attitude towards systematized knowledge of society and life in general. In his later work *Basic concept in Sociology* (1932) he discussed the notions of 'Progress', 'Equality', 'Social forces', and 'Social control'. In this work, he had clearly stated that he was not comfortable with the contemporary western sociological theories which seemed to him 'heavily mechanistic and ethnocentric'.

Check Your Progress

Q.1 Bring out the main writings of D. P. Mukerji.

Q.2 Highlight a few works of D. P. Mukerji.

2.3.3.1 Personality

DP from the very beginning organised his ideas around the notion of personality. According to him, abstract individuals should not be the focus of social science theories and pleaded for the holistic, psycho-sociological approach. Personality could be understood as the "synthesis of the double process of individuality and the socialisation of the uniqueness of individual life, this perfect unity" that he called personality (1924).

DP while defining personality has made a distinction between the ideas of Purusha from the western notion of individuality. The purusha is not isolated from society and individuals and neither is it under the hold of group mind. Purusha is an active actor who establishes contacts and relations with others and fulfils his responsibilities. The western individual man is dominated by the market forces, manipulated by advertisements, press chains etc. that restricts his freedom and right to choose. In contrast the low level of aspiration of the average Indian which is moderated by group norms results in better life. The Indian sociologist will have to accept the group as his unit ejecting the individual.

2.3.3.2 Modern Indian Culture

D.P. Mukerji in his “Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study” has revealed British rule as the real turning point for the Indian Society. His concept of tradition appeared for the first time in the year 1942 in his book Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study.

The middle class helped consolidate the British rule in India but later challenged it successfully. His vision of India was a progressive, peaceful India ‘born out of the union of diverse elements, of distinctive regional cultures. Reorientation to tradition was an essential condition of moving forward. In his view “politics has ruined our culture”. The national movement for him was anti-intellectual though it generated idealism and moral fervour. He believed that modernisation cannot be achieved by imitation. Tradition is the principle of continuity and modernity should be defined in relation to tradition and not its denial. He explains tradition as Parampara- the sanskritic equivalent of tradition. The Indian traditions can be classified a primary- primordial and authentic traditions; secondary- when Muslims arrived in the country and tertiary tradition that reflected the differences among various traditions in India. Traditions have a source which may be scriptures, mythical heroes etc. and this historicity of traditions is recognised by most people that ensures social cohesion and social tradition. Thus, tradition performs the act of conserving but is not necessarily conservative. Traditions do change through the principles of Sruti, Smriti and Anubhava. Anubhava or personal experience is the revolutionary principle. The traditional system accommodates the dissenting voices. The strength of the Indian tradition lies in the crystallisation of values emerging from the past happenings. The adjustments with modernity will occur and that Indians will not vanish with the western culture. DP does not worship tradition and his idea of well-balanced personality is a mixture of moral fervour and aesthetic and intellectual sensibility with the sense of history and rationality.

He argued that there is a dialectical relation between India’s tradition and modernity, British colonialism and nationalism and individualism and collectivity. He argued that traditions are central to the understanding of Indian society. The encounter of tradition with modernisation created cultural contradictions, adaptations and conflict. This dialectic between tradition and modernity ends up in conflict and synthesis. It is this dialectic which helps to analyse Indian society. The central point in his book Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study was that the key to the history of India was cultural synthesis- a creative response to the internal and external political and cultural challenges. Indian tradition is the result of certain historical processes.

2.3.3.3 Making of Indian History.

Analysing the history of India, D.P. Mukerji has closely followed the ideas of Karl Marx. He differed from Marx's assessment of the positive consequences of British rule as well as his negative assessment of pre-British traditions. He differed from Marx who said that 'England had to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive and the other regenerating- the annihilation of the old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundations of western society in India' (1959). For Marx modernisation of India had to be westernisation. DP was opposed to the view of Marx about India's past and future. Indian history could not be made by outsiders.

While discussing the history of India D.P. Mukerji has emphasized on two key words; 'specificity' and 'crisis'. The former points to the importance of the encounter of traditions and the latter to its consequences. Tradition in Marxist view is "the comparative obduracy of a culture-pattern". According to Mukerji this Marxist approach needs to be grounded in the specificity of Indian history as Marx himself had done by focussing on Indian capitalism, the dominant institutions of western society. DP was interested in the study of tradition and modernity and this could be done by focussing first on tradition and then on change.

DP's greatest contribution lies in his theoretical formulations about the role of tradition in order to analyse social change. The Indian social reality can be properly understood in terms of "its special traditions, special symbols and its special patterns of culture and social actions".

2.3.3.4 Modernisation

Modernization: Genuine or spurious?

For DP the place of religion and philosophy was dominant in the history of India. For him "Indian history was Indian culture". The national movement had been anti-intellectual since there was much unthinking borrowing from the west. He believed that there could not be genuine modernisation through imitation. People could not abandon their own cultural heritage and internalise the historical experiences of other people- this would lead to cultural imperialism. In his study published in 1943 on Tagore DP views the nature and dynamics of modernisation. It emerges as a historical process which is at once an expansion, an elevation, a deepening and revitalisation- a larger investment of traditional values and cultural patterns. Resulting from the interplay of tradition and modern. Tradition in this view gives one the freedom to choose between alternatives and evolve a cultural pattern which is a synthesis between old and new. Modernity must be defined in relation to and not in denial of tradition. He has stressed the importance of self-consciousness which is a form of modernisation which consists of

nationalism, democracy, the utilisation of science and technology, planning for social and economic development and the cultivation of rationality.

Check your progress

- 1) Discuss the major works and contribution of D. P. Mukerji.

2.3.4 Critical Appraisal

- i) He was not involved in any empirical exercise of data collection. He was an armchair social critic, social philosopher and culturologist.
- ii) His work does not have any new conceptual framework (Unnithan et al, 1965)
- iii) Saran (1962) has pointed out DP does not subject the socialist order itself to analysis and takes its benign character on trust.
- iv) He fails to realise that technology-oriented society cannot be non-exploitative and not anti-man and the traditional and the modern worldviews are rooted in different conceptions of time.

Check your progress

- 1) Critically evaluate the contribution of D.P. Mukerji to understand Indian Society.

2.3.5 Conclusion:

The work of D. P. Mukerji is quite significant in building the sociology of India. He was deeply influenced by Marxian thought as is evident in his emphasis on economic factors in the process of cultural change. He adopted the Marxian Approach in various ways ranging from simple emphasis upon the economic factor in the making of the culture to an elevation of practice to the status of a test of theory. The theme of tradition and modernity is central to his works.

2.4 NON BRAHMINICAL APPROACH

The word subaltern as defined by the Oxford dictionary stands for the general attribute of subordination expressed in terms of caste, class, age, gender. It includes the characteristics of defiance and submission. It conveys a view from below i.e. a view or understanding from the bottom of the society or the flow of knowledge from below. The Proponents of the subaltern approach in India are David Hardiman, B. R. Ambedkar, Ranajit Guha, Kapil Kumar and others. The subaltern studies emerged as the critique of the nationalist Marxist and elitist historiography to incorporate the voices of the weak into the project of history rewriting. The thrust of subaltern historiography is on reconstructing the other history, i.e. is the history of people's politics and movement and their attempt to make their own history. This perspective emphasises not to view peasant or tribal insurgents merely as objects of history but to treat them as makers of their own history.

A non-Brahmanical approach to the study of society in India is based on rejection of Brahmanical history from the shudra-ati shudra perspective. One of the main proponents of the non-Brahmanical approach is Mahatma Phule. Brahminism for Phule was historical and based on the ideology of oppression and domination. At the theoretical level Phule sought to unite the shudras and Ati shudras. He argued that the shudras and ati shudras together represented an oppressed and exploited mass. Phule's writing and theorization is 'shudra ati shudra' rewriting of history.

The writings of Ambedkar and Phule questioned the writings of the scholars who based their analyses of India from a Brahminical viewpoint that privileged the Brahmins at the cost of non-Brahmins by the 'Brahminical production of knowledge'. This production of knowledge was challenged by the marginal voices with an emancipatory perspective.

Check your progress

- 1) Explain the features of the non-Brahmanical approach.

2.5 DR. BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR (1891 –1956)

2.5.1. Biography

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly also known as *Babasaheb*, was an Indian jurist, political leader, philosopher, anthropologist, historian, orator, economist, teacher, and editor. Ambedkar was born in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in the central provinces (now in Madhya Pradesh) into a poor Mahar (considered an untouchable caste) family. Ambedkar's family belonged to Ratnagiri district of Konkan and had for long been working in the British army. Overcoming numerous social and financial obstacles, Ambedkar became one of the first untouchables to obtain a college education in economics and political science in India in 1912. He went abroad for higher education. He obtained his PhD in 1917 from Columbia and later from the London School of Economics. In 1918 he became professor of political economy in the Sydenham College of commerce and economics in Bombay. In 1920, he published a weekly *Mooknayak (leader of the silent)* in Mumbai to criticize orthodox Hindu politicians and the reluctance of the Indian political community to fight caste discrimination. Ambedkar campaigned against social discrimination, the system of *chaturvarna* – the categorization of Hindu society into four *varnas* – and the Hindu caste system. Ambedkar gained a reputation as a scholar and practiced law for a few years. In 1923 he started his law practice and devoted himself for the upliftment of Dalits and the poor. While practicing law in the Bombay high court he established the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha, to promote education and socio-economic improvement of outcastes i.e. depressed classes. In 1927 Ambedkar decided to launch active movements against untouchability. In 1930 he became the president of the All India Depressed Class Association. In 1936, he formed the Independent Labour Party, which later turned into the All India Scheduled Castes Federation. Upon India's independence on 15 August 1947, the new congress-led government invited Ambedkar to serve as the nation's first law minister. On 29 August, Ambedkar was appointed chairman of the constitution drafting committee, to write India's new constitution which was adopted on 26 November 1949 by the constituent assembly. Ambedkar argued for extensive economic and social rights for women, and also won the assembly's support for introducing a system of reservations of jobs in the civil services, schools and colleges for members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, a system similar to affirmative action. Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet in 1951 following the stalling of his draft of the Hindu code bill in parliament, which sought to explain gender equality in the laws of inheritance, marriage and the economy.

Towards the end of his life, he felt that the only way to fight the caste system was not to reform it but to leave it and so he led the conversion of millions of Dalits to Buddhism in Nagpur on 14th

Oct 1956. Ambedkar always felt that the depressed class has no honour in the Hindu religion which is reflected in his writings and actions.

Check your progress

1) Write the biographical sketch of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

2.5.2 Methodology and Approach

Ambedkar provided a subaltern approach and philosophy to understand caste-based inequality. He was a liberator preaching to the untouchables that liberty is not a gift; it has to be fought for. He declared until and unless the downtrodden themselves came forward to fight their battle, no one else could alleviate their grievances. Self-awakening could provide the necessary strength to fight against evils in society. He gave them a mantra-educate, organize and agitate.

Ambedkar realized that caste and Brahminic Hinduism reinforce each other and discriminate against the downtrodden. The genesis of the oppressive nature of the caste dominated society is attributed to the sacred Shastras of the Hindus and the reading of these texts by the downtrodden was a sacrilegious act to be severely punished as sanctioned by the Manusmriti. According to Ambedkar, the Vedas, Smritis and Shastras were all instruments of torture used by the Hindus against the untouchables. In his Annihilation of Caste, he emphasized that the Shastras were a system of rules to deprive the untouchables of their basic needs and deny them equal status in the society.

Another aspect of Ambedkar's subaltern approach was his distinct views of Indian nationalism opposed to the dominant views Hindu nationalism as represented by Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Ambedkar's form of nationalism, popularly known as "Dalit BahujanSamaj", included the subaltern philosophy of Jyotirao Phule and Periyar E.V. Ramaswami i.e. an anti-Hindu and anti-Brahminical discourse of India nationalism. It aimed at establishing a casteless and classless society where no one would be discriminated against on the basis of birth and occupation. It was the Manu smriti which made the shudras and women as 'servants' of society. Therefore, he said that such a religion must be destroyed. He constructed Buddhism in opposition to Hinduism. Ambedkar built up a critique of pre-colonial

Brahminism and its inegalitarian social set up based on the low and high dichotomy of the graded caste system.

He rejected Gandhi's attempt to remove untouchability by trying to unite the untouchables and caste Hindus and termed it as a mere facade aimed at buying over the untouchables with kindness and warned untouchables not to fall into the trap of Gandhism. He disagreed with Gandhi that demands for political representation for Dalits would weaken the Hindu religion.

He suggested that evils such as sati, child marriage and prohibition on widow remarriage were the outcomes of caste. He suggested inter-caste marriage and inter-dinning to solve the caste problem. He also felt that hereditary priesthood should go and should remain open to all co-religions having appropriate qualifications as certified by the state. Ambedkar, however, knew these suggestions would not be acceptable to Hindus.

Ambedkar's legacy as a socio-political reformer had a deep effect on modern India. His thoughts have influenced various spheres of life and transformed the way India today looks at socio-economic policies, education and affirmative action through socio-economic and legal incentives. His condemnation of Hinduism and its foundation of the caste system, made him controversial and unpopular among the upper caste Hindus. His conversion to Buddhism sparked a revival in interest in Buddhist philosophy in India and abroad.

Ambedkar's political philosophy has given rise to a large number of mass political parties like BSP, publications and workers' unions that remain active across India, especially in Maharashtra.

Check your progress

1) Explain the non-Brahmanical approach of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

2.5.3. Works.

- In "*The Annihilation of Caste*", a famous book, Ambedkar strongly criticized Hindu orthodox religion and the caste system. He wrote of how the shudras were deprived of education and freedom of occupation and were subjected to stigmatized manual labour, all resulting in their virtual economic slavery; how they were segregated and deprived of basic rights such as

drinking water even from public wells, and above all how they were made victims of social persecutions.

- In “*Who were the shudras?*” Ambedkar discovered from his research on ancient India and anthropology that the Mahars were an ancient Buddhist community of India who had been forced to live outside villages as outcasts because they refused to renounce their Buddhist practices. He considered this to be the reason why they became untouchables.
- In ‘*Riddles in Hinduism*’: Ambedkar exposed contradictory statements the Brahmins wrote about the origin of gods and their supremacy, about the Vedas and its origin, about the creation of the universe etc.
- States and minorities.
- Emancipation of the untouchables.
- The Buddha and his Dhamma.
- Castes in India: their mechanism, genesis and development.

2.5.4 Critical Appraisal

- Ambedkar did not focus on the tribal and did not try to build a political bridge with them, though he considered the untouchables and tribal as deprived communities.
- Ambedkar recognized the presence of linguistic and cultural identities but was deeply suspicious of them excluding minorities that do not share the dominant identity.
- Ambedkar believed that at the level of caste, Brahmin was the main enemy, just as capitalism and landlords were the main enemies at the level of class. He saw them as separate and did not attempt to forge a unity between caste and class as Phule had.
- Ambedkar wasn’t against British rule and took the help of the British to get whatever concessions he could for the lower castes. For this he accepted the position of labour minister in the British government. After 1947 he even agreed to Nehru’s offer to become the law minister though he saw the congress as a ‘brahmin-bourgeois’ party. Thus, he turned to reformist interest-group politics. He supported Nehruvian socialism in state supported industrial development i.e. public sector but did not oppose the problem of upper caste domination over state machinery.
- Ambedkar led his followers towards Buddhism to end the exploitation of the caste system. But religious conversion cannot be a solution to a deep socio-economic problem like caste. Even today Dalits and scheduled castes face numerous atrocities. According to the union home ministry, between 2001 and 2005, the total number of crimes against the SC’s alone

were 1,56, 274. The new religion has done not much to solve their problems.

- Ambedkar had also suggested inter-caste marriage as the remedy to destroy caste. Today, marriages are preferred not only within castes, but also within sub-castes. In Haryana and Rajasthan, for instance, the khap (caste council) gives orders to kill young lovers for marrying outside their caste. Such inhuman killings are glorified as honour killings.
- Ambedkar did not predict the political outcome of caste. It is getting stronger day by day. Today caste is used widely and indiscriminately for political ends. This has sharpened caste and sub-caste identities and resulted in caste alliances of different types in different regions for the single purpose of using political power. Conflicts between the dominant castes and the rise of the scheduled castes have become common and violent.

Check your progress

1) Critically evaluate the anti-caste approach of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

2.5.5. Conclusion

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is well known as a great thinker, a social reformer, a fearless fighter, a famous advocate and a great humanist. In his training and in his vision of life, Dr. Ambedkar was deeply aware of the large dynamics of the world, its complexity and differential bearing on social groups, localities and nations. The backward classes in India, while allowing the political legacy of Dr. Ambedkar, are yet to engage with the understanding that marked his political involvement while their counterparts will probably rest content in retaining him merely as a symbol. Besides, given the size of Dalits, low caste and disadvantage in general, no political party can afford to ignore the electoral dividends that Dr. Ambedkar as an ally can bestow for the state to sustain a modicum of hegemony Dr. Ambedkar has become an indispensable necessity today.

Dr. Ambedkar carried on his battle against untouchability throughout his life. In 1947, Dr. Ambedkar became a law minister of the government of India. He took a leading part in the framing of the Indian constitution, outlawing discrimination against untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts, ideas and philosophy are reflected in his books. His writings such as "Origin and Mechanism of caste",

“Annihilation of Caste”, “who were the shudras?”, “Who were the untouchables?” etc. reveal his scholarship and the clarity of this thought. Dr. Ambedkar's disappointment was growing because of the perpetuation of untouchability in the Hindu society. Finally, in great despair he renounced Hinduism and became a Buddhist in October, 1956.

2.6 MAHATMA JYOTIRAO PHULE (1827-1890)

2.6.1. Biography

Mahatma Jyotiba Phule was a 19th century activist, thinker, social reformer, writer, philosopher, editor and revolutionary from Maharashtra. His influence was seen in the fields of education, agriculture, caste system, women, widow upliftment and removal of untouchability.

Phule was born in Satara district of Maharashtra in a family belonging to the Mali (fulmali) caste, perceived to be an inferior caste by certain sections of the society. Since Jyotirao's family worked as florists under the peshwa rule, they came to be known as 'phules'. His mother died when he was 9 months old. After completing his primary education Jyotirao had to leave school and help his father by working on the family's farm. He was married at the age of 12. His intelligence was recognized by a Muslim and a Christian neighbor, who persuaded his father to allow Jyotirao to attend the local Scottish mission's high school, which he completed in 1847. The turning point in Phule's life was in 1848, when he was insulted by the family of his Brahmin friend, a bridegroom for participating in the marriage procession, an auspicious occasion. He suddenly faced the divide created by the caste system. Phule developed a keen sense of social justice. He argued that education of women and the 'lower castes' was a vital priority in addressing social inequalities.

Jyotiba Phule and his wife Savitribai were pioneers of women's education in India. After educating his wife, he started a school for girls in Pune in August 1848. He started widow-remarriage and established a home for upper caste widows in 1854, as well as a home for new-born infants to prevent female infanticide.

On 24 September 1873, Phule along with his followers formed the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. The main objectives of the organization were to liberate the Shudras (non- Brahmins) and Ati Shudras (Dalits) and to prevent their 'exploitation' by the upper caste like Brahmans. His hero was Chhatrapati Shivaji whom he called a "...*destroyer of the brahmins*". He started "Shiv Jayanti"(birth day of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj) first time in India.

He also discovered the "*samadhi*" of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj on Raigad fort which had disappeared in creepers and climbers.

But Phule had many Brahmin personal friends and he even adopted a Brahmin boy as his heir. Shahu Maharaj, the ruler of Kolhapur princely state, gave a lot of financial and moral support to Satya Shodhak Samaj.

Check your progress

- 1) What experiences in the name of caste became a turning point in the life of Mahatma Phule to understand the divide created by the caste system.

- 2) What is the main objective in the establishment of Satya Shodhak Samaj.

2.6.2 Methodology and Approach

The Aryan race theory, the dominant explanation of caste and the Indian society in his time provided the framework for his theory. By inverting the traditional Aryan theory Phule took his critique of Brahmanism and caste to the mass level. Phule's subaltern and anti-caste approach condemned the *chaturvarna* system (the caste system) and opposed idol worship. He advocated the spread of rational thinking and rejected the need for a Brahman priestly class as educational and religious leaders.

He termed as irrational and absurd the dependence on God, fate, astrology and other rituals. Phule attacked blind faith and what is given in religious books and the so-called god's words. He said, "If there is only one god, then why did he write the Vedas only in Sanskrit? What about those who don't understand this language?" he considered Vedas as a 'form of false consciousness'. What is striking in his works is his refusal to recognize Hinduism as a legitimate religion and considers it as superstition and weapon of domination.

He believed that the Brahmins were Indo-Europeans or outsiders to Hinduism. Influenced by Thomas Paine books *Rights of Man* (1791), and the European 'Aryan theory of race' Phule proposed that Dalits and the shudras were the original inhabitants conquered by the invading Aryans.

He criticized patriarchy in shudra and Brahmin families. Jyotirao and Savitribai Phule were closely associated with feminist radicals like Pandita Ramabai, a brahmin woman, Tarabai Shinde, a non-Brahmin fiery author and Muktabai, a fourteen-year-old student in Phule's school, who wrote a famous essay on the social oppression of the Mang and Mahar castes.

Phule believed in overthrowing the social system in which man has been deliberately made dependent on others with a view to exploiting him. Phule's argument that knowledge, education and science were weapons of advance for the exploited masses was in contrast to the elitist theory that linked western science and eastern models. For Phule, knowledge was a weapon for equality and human freedom as well as economic advance which was in direct contrast with the Brahminic, ritualistic shastra.

Check your progress

- 1) Highlight the main features of the anti-caste approach of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule.

- 2) Elaborate on Mahatma Phule's views on caste.

2.6.3 Works

- *Tritiya Ratna*, 1855
- *Brahmananche kasab*, 1869
- *Powada: Chatrapati Shivaji Raje Bhosle Yancha*: (Life of Shivaji in a song drama), June 1869
- *Gulamgiri* (slavery), 1873. Caste to him was slavery, as cruel and brutal as the enslavement of the Africans in the US.

- *Shetkarayacha Aasud* (cultivator's whipcord), July 1881, describes the oppression of peasants.
- *Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Poostak*, April 1889. Phule propagated the replacement of Hinduism with a more universalistic, equalitarian and rationalistic religion.
- *Sarvajanik Satya Dharmapustak* (a book of true religion for all) 1891, details the need for strong male-female equality.
- *Akhand Adi Kavya Rachna*
- *Asprashyanchi Kaifiat*

2.6.4. Critical Evaluation.

- Phule had a favorable opinion about the British rule in India and credited them for introducing modern ideas of justice and equality in Indian society. Phule admired British and never spoke of freedom and independence from British rule.
- Phule did not attack the class system that supported the oppressive caste system. Though he spoke of economic exploitation he didn't suggest the means to eradicate it.
- In his famous book *Gulamgiri* he compares caste oppression to racial discrimination in US. However even though both have common patterns of exploitation, they are different concepts and have their own separate history.

Check your progress

- 1) Critically evaluate the non-Brahmanical approach of Mahatma Phule.

2.6.5 Summary

Jyotiba Phule devoted his entire life for the liberation of untouchables from the exploitation of Brahmins. He revolted against the tyranny of the upper caste. Phule's movement was a source of inspiration to other movements of the untouchables and depressed Classes of Indian society. He occupies a unique position among the social reformers in Maharashtra in the 19th century. While many other reformers concentrated more on reforming the social institutions of family and marriages with special emphasis on the status and rights of women, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule revolted against the unjust caste system under which millions suffered injustice for centuries. His movement, unlike many others, gained ground in the rural areas. Today he is taken as the founding figure in Maharashtra by the farmers, women and rural based environmental movements.

2.7 LET US SUM UP

The study of Indian Society from a Marxist perspective has been conducted by scholars such as M N Dutta, S A Dange, D D Kosambi, A R Desai, D.P. Mukerji, P C Joshi, R S Sharma, Irfan Habib, D P Chattopadhyay and others. Among the early sociologists who emphasised the significance of the dialectical model were A.R. Desai and D.P. Mukerji. A.R. Desai applies historical materialism for understanding the transformation of the Indian society. He explains how the national consciousness emerged through qualitative changes in Indian society. He has analysed the emerging contradictions in the process of social transformation arguing that social unrest is rooted in the capitalist path of development. He studied different aspects of the Indian society namely national movement, peasant struggles, slums and urbanisation, state and society and democratic rights. D.P. Mukerji was deeply influenced by Marxian thought with his emphasis on economic factors in the process of cultural change. He looked at Marxism as a method of analysis rather than a political ideology. He studied different aspects of the Indian society namely the Indian tradition, tradition and modernity, personality, the role of the middle class and music. He showed that development of man or person is conditioned by social factors. National independence, economic development and the resolutions of class conflict within the society are necessary conditions for human development in India, though they may not be sufficient conditions. His greatest contribution is his theoretical formulations about the role of tradition in order to analyse social change.

A versatile scholar Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was Educated in Satara and Bombay (Mumbai) in Maharashtra and was the first Indian among untouchables who went abroad for higher education. He studied in Columbia (USA) and London (UK) with training in economics and law. He worked tirelessly for the amelioration of depressed classes. He argues that the depressed class had no honour in the Hindu religion which is reflected in his writings and actions too. He adopted the Buddha religion along with 5 lakh people in a historical congregation on 14 October, 1956 at Nagpur. He studied different aspects of the Indian Society namely the untouchables, states and minorities and Annihilation of caste system

Jyotiba Phule devoted his entire life for the liberation of untouchables from the exploitation of Brahmins revolting against the tyranny of the upper Caste. Phule's movement was a source of inspiration to other movements of the untouchables and depressed Classes of Indian society.

2.8 GLOSSARY

Dialectical Materialism

Subaltern studies

Annihilation of Caste

2.9. QUESTIONS

1. Write a biographical sketch on D. P. Mukerji.
2. Highlight the contribution made by D. P. Mukerji to Indian sociology.
3. Write a biographical sketch of A. R. Desai?
4. State the methods & Approaches used by A. R. Desai.
5. Discuss the contribution of A.R. Desai To Indian sociology.
6. Explain the dialectical Approach to Indian Sociology.
7. Elaborate on A R Desai's idea of the emergence of Nationalism in India.
8. Write a biography sketch of a Mahatma Jyotiba Phule?
9. Bring out the contributory work of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule to eradicate Caste system from society?
10. Elaborate on the views of Dr. Ambedkar on Caste inequality?
11. Elaborate in detail on the Dr Ambedkar school of thought with regards to the caste system in India.
12. Write a note on the Non Brahmanical approach as presented by Mahatma Jyotiba Phule.
13. Elaborate on the subaltern approach of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGISTS

- Sharmila Rege

Unit Structure:

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The Lavani of Eros and Sexual Economies
- 3.3 Powda of Valour and Politics of Identity
- 3.4 Emergence of 'Sangeet Barees'
- 3.5 The Political Appreciation of Tamasha
 - 3.5.1 New Dalit Feminism: Reorienting Women's Studies as Titiya Ratan
- 3.6 Writing Caste/ Writing Gender: Translating Testimonies/ Translating Standpoint
 - 3.6.1 Debating the Consumption of Dalit Autobiographies
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Questions
- 3.9 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- To contextualize Lavani and Powada in Maharashtra
- To understand the economic relationship of Lavani
- To evaluate the association between Politics of identity associated with Powada
- To Examine the issues of Dalit Feminism
- To analyse the issues of Dalit Autobiographies

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The key commentators of folk tradition of Maharashtra have argued that the Powada is the man and the Lavani is the woman. The Powada is the ballad of bravery and the Lavani is of devotional and erotic kind.

The earliest Lavani dates back to the 17th century whereas the 300 Powada's to the early Maratha period. The Powada became a major means of remembering the golden past of Maratha Warriors. Most of the Powadas celebrated the brave deeds of the Maratha heroes in the battle. The popular Marathi proverb held

Lavani and women responsible for the collapse of Peshwa's. The bodies of lower caste women were projected in Lavani as either arousing or satiating male desire.

During the reign of Bajirao, pauperisation and indebtedness of peasantry was at its peak. The famine of 1803 led to increased sale of women of the lower castes. A major part of revenue was raised through trade of female slaves.

3.2 THE LAVANI OF EROS AND SEXUAL ECONOMIES

The lower caste women enslaved by the Peshwa were employed in the court, "natakshala" (dancing house) and other departments of Peshwa states like homes, stables, stores, communication and construction work.

Some of these women slaves were also gifted to the officials in lieu of their salary. The women of the lower caste were made available to the men of the higher caste through the intervention of the state.

These slaves fall into two categories;

1. **Kubinis**- bought for domestic and agricultural labour.
2. **Bateeks**- bought for their sexual labour

The Lavani of the period was one of the important modes of constructing them as adulterous. Thus Lavani- a popular form of entertainment at the court of Bajirao II, was also an ideological justification for enslavement of lower caste women. The public performance of the Lavani caste was a part of the 'tamasha' or the folk theatre.

3.3 POWADA OF VALOUR AND POLITICS OF IDENTITY

The Powada is the male form of expression labelled as not emotional but of bravery; not soft but straight forward against Lavani.

The Powada as a vehicle of group identity was discovered in the second half of the 19th century and tried to revive the glorious history and culture of Marathas. There were over 150 Powadas in praise of 'brahmanical rules of the Peshwas.

Jyotiba Phule's Powada is composed in eight sections. Phule himself in his preface declared the aim of Powada to reach out to the Mang, Mahar, Mali and Kunbi i.e to all the Shudra and anti-Shudra castes.

In Phule's Powda, Shivaji emerges as the 'Kulwadi bhushan', the pride of Shudras. In other Powda he criticised the Brahmin policy of education. He critiques the Brahmin teacher who has no qualms in shaking hands with British but who condemns the Mahar student as polluting.

Eknath Annaji Joshi's Powda is a piece in the voice of Dadaji Kondadev-the Brahmin teacher of Shivaji, who called upon Shivaji to rescue Indian's from Muslims. The Powda thus represented the popular Shudra tradition in case of Phule's Powda and represented a pan- Indian-brahmanical Hindu tradition in case of Joshi's Powda. The second half of the 19th century saw not only the collection of Powadas but also a rise in the publications of Powda in literary and political journals.

Let us check our progress:

Q. Write a detailed account on Lavani and Powada in Maharashtra.

3.4 EMERGENCE OF 'SANGEET BAREES'

After Peshwa rule ended many troops moved to the princely state of Baroda. The first Marathi play was performed by Vishnudas Bhave at the court of Raja of Sangli. The Bombay Times claimed 'Bhave's' play of native origin. After 1860's several English and Sanskrit plays were translated to Marathi.

The dichotomy between 'nache / nartaki' (dancing girls, dancers), 'tamashagar / kalkar' (folk performer/artist) intensified as the lower castes were being displaced from their hereditary sphere of the performing arts by the emergence of the bourgeois theatre.

The history of Marathi theatre for this period records attempts by women of the lower castes to start theatre companies in which women enacted both male and female roles. These attempts were severely criticised.

Women of the Kolhati caste is referred to as 'ugadya mandichijat', literally meaning, the caste of those women who move around with their thighs bare. The women were known to be the breadwinners of the family and dancing and prostitution have been recorded as their caste based profession.

Men managed the dholki-phad tamasha-while the sangeet bares are planned, financed and organised mainly by the kolhati women. These women do not marry while the women of dholki-phad tamasha are most often married to troupe members. They are subject to patriarchal regulatory control. They look down upon the sangeet bears as 'immoral' not representative of true tamasha.

By the early 1890's tamasha theatres had been established in Mumbai and Pune. The theatres had been established in Mumbai and Pune. The theatres also organised 'baithak' accessible only to wealthy people.

It is apparent that there is a continuous struggle to disorganised and reorganise the Lavani. There are tension between the bourgeois theatre and tamasha.

From the 19th century working class districts had begun to emerge in Bombay. The tamasha had become the working class man's theatre. The same period however saw a ban on the tamasha group by the Bombay state in 1940's. It was argued that the lyrics were lewd and that the prostitution was practised in the name of art.

3.5 THE POLITICAL APPRECIATION OF TAMASHA

The 'Jalsa' took up issues of untouchability, oppression of women and the peasantry, blind faith and the oppression by the village Brahmins. The message of these debates was conveyed to the masses through a new genre of tamasha-the Jalsa. The people from 10 to 20 villages gathered to participate in the Jalsa. The key element of jalsa was to praise modern science and education and was built around the mockery of oppressive religious practices.

The Jalsa often took up issues of enforced widowhood, torture, prostitution and education.

Let us check our progress:

Q. Write notes on Sangeet Baree and Tamasha.

3.5.1 New Dalit Feminism: Reorienting Women's Studies as Tritiya Ratan

Since the 1980's caste and class identities have dominated politics. There have been broadly two paths to feminism:

1. Brahmani
2. Abrahmani/ bahunjan vaadi

They were also asserted (named) as Dalit / Dalitbahujan / abrahmani / Phule-Ambedkarite feminism.

By the 1990's several independent and autonomous women's organisations were formed. Many of these organisations have varying ideological positions. To understand dalit women we need to talk differently. It is necessary to bring out the internal and external factors that have bearing on the phenomenon . This signifies that the representation of dalit women's issue by non-dalit women is less valid and less authentic.

There were several apprehensions about the Dalit Mahila Sanghatana's likelihood of becoming predominantly a neo-Buddhist women's organisation. This raised the possibility of limiting the participation of women from middle castes. The Satyashodhak Kashtakari Mahila Sabha and Stree Mukti Sangharsh were holding the Marxist-Phule-Ambedkar feminism to review its theories, methodologies and praxis. They asked to review their 'difference' by clearly making these feminism as 'Brahmani feminism'

In the last decade there has been considerable rethinking and re-orientation of feminist analysis. After anti-Mandal agitation, feminists conceptualised brahmanical patriarchy to explain the link between caste and gender. Scholars also sought to map the lack of feminist engagement with the writings and works of Ambedkar. The feminism was mapped and conceptualized as feminism-Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical.

The various seminars on issue of dalit women opened up debates on Brahmanical norms in feminim and the reproduction of patriarchal norms within Dalit communities. The troubled relation between the dalit movement and women's movement came to be mapped. There were efforts to theorise Dalit women's approach. It highlighted the need to go beyond oppression.

The analysis of 'honour killing' brought forth the connection between caste, desire and patriarchy. In last few years the English newsletters and journals of English brought special issues on dalit feminism. Alternative histories and theories of feminism are emerging as important themes in the publication of the anti caste movement. Recently feminist scholars have critique both professional and intimate feminist. The dalit feminists are not seeking to fill blank space of academic feminism.

Tharu and Lal'itha in two volume on 'Women Writing in India' noted that they had little material by dalit and tribal writers and

hoped that the anthology would inspire future volumes with more literature.

Let us check your progress:

Q. Critically evaluate new Dalit Feminism.

Q. Write a note on Reorienting Women's Studies as Tritiya Ratan.

3.5.2 Dalit Feminism in Maharashtra:

The oral history of Ambedkar movement recovered the forgotten chronicles of dalit and women's movement. It is clear that we know very little from the 'silent years' of dalit feminism. Dalit interrogate this silence by remembering the history and critical memories of the period spanning the 1920's to the present.

3.6	WRITING	CASTE/	WRITING	GENDER:
TRANSLATING		TESTIMONIES/		TRANSLATING
STANDPOINT				

3.6.1 Debating the Consumption of Dalit Autobiographies:

Recently there has been spurt of interest in dalit life narratives by mainstream English publishers. Scholars have argued about thriving dalit creativity in various Indian languages. While it is a positive development, the question about the politics of translation and publication cannot be bypassed. While Dalit voices have become accessible and casteism is exposed, it is important to remember that there is a politics of selection of work in terms of what is translated and by whom. We also need to remember that a new area is always dangerous and fascinating and the role of Dalit writing in sensitising the young shouldn't be underestimated. Several scholars have also tried to link it to the globalizing economy and neo-liberal market.

Most of the recently published Dalit writings are autobiographical in nature. Some scholars argued whether reading and teaching of dalit autobiographies can radicalise the perception of readers whereas others argued that these autobiographies are not 'sob stories' but stories of anger against injustice. Others like Anand Teltumbde finds the autobiographical narratives too individualistic, often glorifying the author, romanticizing dalit background and failing to represent collective pain.

Gail Omvedt highlighted the role played by Dalit writing in increasing the awareness about Brahmanical domination of upper castes in academics in India and scholars of South Asia in U.S.

It is not yet fashionable to do dalit studies. Dalit studies is not yet representing the 'universal themes' courses on Dalit writing continue to be optional.

Dr. Ambedkar coined the word 'Dalit' in 1928 and the concept of dalit literature came to be accepted by 1950's. In 1961 the literature was renamed as 'Buddhist'.

Several Dalit scholars argued against Dalit writing and autobiographies and compared it to 'digging out stench from hateful waste bins of the past' outlined the significance of the narratives for the community.

Some scholars traced the origins of the genre to the writing and speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Dr Ambedkar had meant to write his life narrative and three notebooks marked for the purpose had been found in the study. Dalit narrative s cannot be accused of bringing an undesired past into the present instead they are one of the most direct and accessible ways in which the silence and misrepresentation of dalit has been countered.

The Dalit autobiography violates the bourgeois boundaries and their life narratives became the testimonies that summoned the truth from the past, truth about the property and helplessness of the Ambedkarite era as also the resistance and progress of the Ambedkarite.

Constructing Dalit Feminist Pedagogies is a difficult process. Two models of including Dalit women in the curriculum are commonly practised.

1. Feminist-as-tourist
2. Feminist-as-explorer

The first model prescribes, 'add dalit women and stir' the other suggests 'add dalit women as separate and equal' The explorer model constructs separate courses on dalit women writings by largely falling into a framework of cultural relativism.

Oppositional Dalit feminists pedagogies, by contrast, are built on a complex relational understanding of social location, experience and history.

3.7 SUMMARY

The earliest Lavani dates back to the 17th century whereas the 300 Powada's to the early Maratha period. The Powada became a major means of remembering the golden past of Maratha Warriors. Most of the Powadas celebrated the brave deeds of the Maratha heroes in the battle. The popular Marathi proverb held Lavani and women responsible for the collapse of Peshwa's. The bodies of lower caste women were projected in Lavani as either arousing or satiating male desire.

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3.8 QUESTIONS

1. Show how popular culture has been critiqued by Sharmila Rege.
2. Examine the "Lavani" and "Powada" tradition of Maharashtra as explored by Sharmila Rege.
3. Explain how the history of Lavani and Powada highlights the exploitation of lower caste women with reference to Sharmila Rege's article on Popular Culture.
4. Critically evaluate the role of "Lavani" and "Powada" as an instrument in creating Dalit Feminist Identity.
5. Elaborate on how Dalit Autobiographies impact the upper caste literature?

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGISTS- LEELA DUBE & T.K OOMMEN (RELIGION)

Unit Structure :

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
 - 4.1.1 Inheritance of Property
 - 4.1.2 Residence
 - 4.1.3 Resident son-in-law
 - 4.1.4 South-East Asia
 - 4.1.4.1 Economic Roles
 - 4.1.5 Female Sexuality and Reproductive Power
 - 4.1.6 Women's Sexuality
 - 4.1.7 Conjugal Relations and the character of Marriage:
 - 4.1.8 Conclusion
- 4.2 T. K. Oommen
 - 4.2.1 Introduction
 - 4.2.2 Conditions for Formation of Nation
 - 4.2.3 Territorialization:
 - 4.2.3.1 Hindu Identity:
 - 4.2.3.2 Classification:
 - 4.2.3.3 Attitude towards Muslims:
 - 4.2.3.4 Attitude towards Christians:
 - 4.2.4 Communalization:
 - 4.2.4.1 Three Variants of Communalism
 - 4.2.5 Homogenisation:
 - 4.2.5.1 The Dilemma:
 - 4.2.5.2 Obstacle in Homogenisation:
 - 4.2.6 Relativization:
 - 4.2.7 Conclusion: Leela Dube- Kinship and Gender in South and South East Asia
- 4.3 Questions
- 4.4 References

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the pattern of Kinship in South and South East Asia
- To examine the pattern of inheritance and residence in South and Southeast Asia
- To evaluate the various contributions of women towards economy
- To describe the trajectories of nationalism in India
- To comprehend the concept of Territorialisation, Communalisation, Homogenisation and Relativization

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Asia is a harbor of a variety of kinship systems.

1. Patrilineal
2. Matrilineal
3. Bilateral

South Asia is predominantly patrilineal. There are only two important pockets of matriliney in the south-west and north-east. South and Southeast Asia compromise countries from Afghanistan in the west to the Philippines in the east.

Patrilineal: Under patriliney both boys and girls take their social identity from the father and are placed in his lineage, khandaan/kutumb and family. A son is a permanent member of these units, for a daughter, marriage implies loss of membership of her natal home, and in normal circumstances marriage is viewed as a must.

Matrilineal: In these communities, children of both sexes acquire permanent membership of the mother's descent group, which consists of relatives connected through female links. A child derives its social identity from its mother membership of a descent group. For.e.g Tarvad, Nayar, Kpoh.

Bilateral: In bilateral societies a child is reckoned to be the child equally of both its parents. There is no attempt at underplaying the importance of their parents, but the mother's biological role and close relationship with the child tend to make her more important and to establish her right over her children. Social identity is derived from both the parents and the ancestors of both in different directions are recognised as kin.

Let us check our progress:

What are different types of kinship systems prevalent in Asia?

4.1.1 Inheritance of Property:

In much of Hindu South Asia property is inherited by male heirs and transmitted through them. The daughters have only a right to maintenance and to marriage-including gifts and goods required for setting a household. Only sons have ancestral rights. Recently a law has been introduced to give land and property rights to daughters too.

In northern India, land is viewed as a male form of property. There is a general feeling that if a daughter demands her share she would risk the privilege of being invited to her natal home and receiving periodical gifts and also the brother's support.

The notion that what is given to married daughters goes into another family is very strong. Whereas in matrilineal Lakshadweep island, men's gifting of property to their children is considered as contributing to fragmentation.

Streedhan has different implications in different areas and is now being replaced by dowry.

4.1.2 Residence:

The ideal typical household in Hindu India and Nepal, is the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family. Recently diversity in occupation, migration and professional requirements have contributed to the breaking up of joint families.

Despite the absence of a joint family, close male patri-kin and their wives and children are viewed as belonging to one 'family'. Even the nuclear family is generally supplemented with a widowed mother or father of a man, his dependent brothers and sisters, all living together.

A girl is always socialized under the shadow of an imaginary mother-in-law. A bride enters her new home as an outsider who has to be incorporated into the family. She was looked upon as dangerous who needs to be contained and controlled. The main conflict is between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. It is the tussle of power which is understood by the culture.

An important implication of residence in patrilineal, patrilocal communities of South Asia is women's loss of rights in her natal home and acquisition of no rights over space as such. Her living in the new home is in a way conditional depending on her 'proper' behaviour, efficiency in household work, service to elders, husband's pleasure, the gift that she brings and perhaps her earnings. It is common for a woman to be driven out of the affinal homes for serious as well as trivial reasons.

4.1.3 Resident son-in-law

The terms used for him are very insulting: he is variously called a pariah dog, an ass or a lazy, good for nothing fellow. The parents of an only daughter find it difficult to persuade their son-in-law to live with them. However it is always looked down upon.

In Lakshadweep a man lives with his matrilineal kin while his wife lives with her matrilineal kin; he is a nightly visitor to his wife's home. Children belong to women, houses too belong to women.

Let us check our progress:

Which are the different forms of residence and property inheritance found in Asia?

4.1.4 South-East Asia

Bilateral Southeast Asia presents a contrast to patrilineal South Asia. There is no cultural compulsion for descent line or the continuity of a family. A couple may live with or near the wife's or the husband's parents. The parents look forward to being cared for by their daughter in old age in South East Asia. They prefer to live with their daughter's father in law.

There is a certain amount of openness of the household for the kin of both spouses. The couple tend to locate themselves according to where income and housing are available.

4.1.4.1 Economic Roles

In SouthEast Asia women, besides being wives and mothers, have always engaged in income earning activities. Their task has brought them economic independence and large measures of autonomy and power. It is true of Thai, Malaysian and Filipino women. In societies like Atjehnese, where men are always away from home for much time, women manage both agricultural and family affairs.

All over South East Asia women are known for their presence in trading. They trade surpluses and make and sell food, clothes and a variety of items. The embroidery and batik work of this region are famous. Women's presence in rural and urban markets is overwhelming. This role has in several places been carried over into the modern economy.

Throughout South East Asia women are thought to be 'good with money' and generally superior to men in financial management and business dealings. Many women are least assured of the regular income that is necessary to meet their 'families' needs.

In uxori-local residence a daughter's economic contribution is clearly recognized. She brings in adult male labour at marriage and creates still more labour through her reproductive ability.

Let us check our progress:

Q. Write a note on the economic role of women in south east Asia.

4.1.5 Female Sexuality and Reproductive Power

Virginity at first marriage is a value cherished in both Hinduism and Islam. The period between puberty and marriage is looked upon as a liminal one, when girls need protection from the opposite sex.

Women in South East Asia need to be guarded after marriage as well. Both Nikah and Hindu marriage are supposed to establish a man's control over women's body and being. The principle of protection is basic to the family. Brother's vigilance over the honour of their sisters is well known. The examples of brothers killing their sisters for love and marriages on their own are common. Male exercise power over the females in every facet of their lives and behaviour. Controls are imposed on physical movement and associations with males. The major mechanism for imposition of control is segregation, seclusion and restriction on movement with opposite sex.

Efforts are made to keep females occupied with feminine skills so that their minds do not stray.

4.1.6 Women's Sexuality:

Another kind of corporate control relates to rights of access to a woman's sexuality. The notion of common patrilineal blood

allows the brother to supplant the woman married to one brother accessible to the other brother. Khasa fraternal polyandry and the sharing of a woman among Jat brothers are good examples.

In another uncommon example the woman's sexuality is used by her husband for earning money. Doms of Uttarkhand are known to send their wives for prostitution in order to repay debt. The children born to these women belong to their husband.

In South east Asia female sexuality is not placed under such restrictions. In Malaysia, both sexes have the same code of conduct. Once married women are much more free. In the Philippines, despite the notion of ***machismo*** and ***feminism*** taken from Spanish culture, women are considered quite capable of looking after themselves.

Prostitution is common due to poverty. It is not approved of but is looked upon as means of making a living. There is an obligation on daughters to support their parents, but it is not impossible for these women to leave this profession to get married.

Parda amongst females is followed in Indian patrilineal society to avoid the chance of the covetous eyes of other male members, to sustain the authority and status of elders, and to protect women's sexuality from men.

Let us check our progress:

Give a detailed description on female sexuality and reproductive power in Asia.

4.1.7 Conjugal Relations and the character of Marriage:

Marriage in Hindu South Asia has sacred character. The ritual emphasizes the giving away of a bride to a worthy groom along with complementary dowry. A clear distinction is made between the first marriage, solemnized with full rituals and second marriages are of lower worth.

Both widows and divorces with children find it difficult to remarry. Customarily they are expected or allowed to remarry someone from the husband's family or lineage. In the case of an unrelated man, the family may not allow the woman to take away her children.

In respect of conjugal relations there is a sharp contrast between South Asian and South East Asian Muslims. Among the patrilineal Muslims of South Asia the relationship between spouses is of superiority and inferiority. Both wife and children belong to man. There is a clear transfer of authority at marriage. A woman's right to divorce is limited: but a man can divorce his wife without assigning any reason. There is no stigma attached to divorce and remarriage is common.

In **Matrilineal Societies**, the idea of women rendering personal services to their husband is almost non-existing. Divorce doesn't cause a serious disruption in the lives of the persons concerned.

Among Malaya too, divorce is simple and may be initiated by the wife. The marital bond in the first few years of marriage is weak. Malaya women also earn some income. It is also common practice to put conditions into a marriage contract the contravention of which automatically frees a woman from the marital bond. These conditions include physical violence, the husband's failure to provide for the conjugal family and interestingly keeping or taking the wife away from her kin.

Thai marriage has a specific character. Elopement can establish a marital tie without any ceremony.

In the Philippines a woman has a strong position in the financial affairs of the household. She takes both domestic and extra domestic decisions.

4.1.8 Conclusion:

Bilaterality seems to enshrine the principle of flexibility. Besides providing vital statistics of South and SouthEast Asia the article poses a few fundamental questions.

- Is stable marriage absolutely essential for the continuity of the family?
- At whose cost is this stability usually maintained?
- Is divorce always a disaster for the children of a marriage?
- Is the nuclear family, with rigid boundaries, good for human relationships?
- Is authority a prerequisite for men having a sense of responsibility towards wife and children?
- Can the protection of women and control over them, particularly in relation to their sexuality, be delinked?

Let us check our progress:

Q. Write a note on the conjugal role and character of marriage in Asia.

4.2 T. K. OOMMEN

4.2.1 Introduction

T. K. Oommen argues that religious nationalism and democratic polity cannot co-exist harmoniously, particularly in a society characterised by religious diversity.

4.2.2 Conditions for Formation of Nation

There are only two basic conditions for the formation of nations.

1. The first condition is a territory on which the inhabitants have a moral claim either because it is their original homeland or they come to identify with it as their homeland and migrants, colonizers or even conquerors. If people do not identify with the land they migrate to, they remain an ethnic.
2. The second condition for the formation of a nation is a common instrument of communication, a language. This language may not be a highly developed one but good enough to transact the business of everyday life. A nation that wants to modernize either should develop their own language or adopt another language. However this doesn't mean that the adopted language should necessarily displace the "national" one.

4.2.3 Territorialization:

Territorialization is the tendency on the part of religious groups to claim the specific territory as its exclusive household. This claim is untenable in case of Islam, Christianity and Buddhism (though they have sacred sites and cities). Through conquest and colonialism these religions have spread to vast territories far beyond the lands of their origin.

4.2.3.1 Hindu Identity:

It is important to understand that Hindu identity is neither entirely new nor completely old. There are a series of Hindu identities and not just one ideal type.

1. Firstly Hindus are the original inhabitants of Hindustan. Hindus have been in undisputed and undisturbed possession of land for over eight or even ten thousand years before foreign invasion.
2. Hindus are all those who pursue religions of Indian origin.
3. The conceptualization of Hindu is more restrictive and exclusive. It includes
 - a) Only twice born castes- Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishyas or at best clean Shudras.
 - b) Aryabhumi, i.e North India. It excludes Panchamas, ex-untouchables, Adivasis and Dravidians.

Hindu is thus defined in three different ways-territory, religion and language.

4.2.3.2 Classification:

83% of the Indian population is classified as Hindu. The undivided India had the largest Muslim population in the world. Even after partition, India remains the second largest Muslim country in the world. Similarly, 80% of the world's Zorastrians live in India.

The Zorastrians have been in India since the 8th century. The Muslims came to the Kerala coast in the 7th century. The Syrian Christian has claimed to convert since 52 A.D. A majority of Muslims and Christians have converted from Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes. Therefore if one takes the criteria of nativity seriously, a majority of Muslims and Christians have a better claim to India after only 3,500 years.

If all religions of Indian origin are considered as Hinduism then Sikh too claim to be viewed as the competing claims of two religious nationalisms.

Generally speaking, Hindu nationalists have an attitude of indifference and tolerance towards the "migrant" religions-Jews, Zoroastrians and Baha'is as they do not claim any part of the Indian territory as their homeland and have not indulged in proselytization. However they have a hostile attitude towards Christians and Muslims.

4.2.3.3 Attitude towards Muslims:

The negative attitude of Hindu nationalists towards Muslims is due to several reasons:

1. Population of Muslims in India is over hundred million and constitute the single most important vote bank.
2. The neighbouring states of Pakistan and Bangladesh make the relationship uneasy.
3. Hindu nationalists hold the Muslims for the vivid section of India.

4. Many Indian Muslims have not given up the claim to nationality even after partition. Urdu is the exclusive language of Muslims.
5. Finally, the war over Kashmir is also another major factor responsible for the tensions between the two,

4.2.3.4 Attitude towards Christians:

Due to hostility towards British Rule hostility also exists due to continuing missionary activity of proselytization.

Hindu nationalists project Sanskrit as the common ancient language of all Hindus and Hindi written in Devanagari script as the national language of India but there are several resistances in this context.

1. Sanskrit is not a living language and it's today spoken by only a handful of people.
2. It is not true that Sanskrit is the exclusive heritage of Hindus. Sanskrit is identified with Aryan Hinduism.

Several other Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali and Marathi are also equally developed like Hindi, Non-Hindi speaking communities do not accept Hindi as the exclusive "national language" relegating their own mother tongue. They refuse to abandon their languages in favour of Hindi to facilitate establishing a Hindu nation.

Let us check our progress:

Q. Write a note on territorialism in India.

4.2.4 Communalization:

Communalism has a positive as well as negative force. It may be defined as the tendency on the part of a religious collective to claim that it is a political community.

4.2.4.1 Three Variants of Communalism

1. **Secessionists Communalism:** A religious community defines itself as an autonomous political community i.e an entity to have its own state. This implies secession from the state to which they are attached to. It is designated as **secessionist Communalism**. The Muslim's demand for Pakistan and the Sikh's demand for Khalistan are examples of it.

2. **Separatist Communalism:** In this type there is proclivity on the part of the religious group to define itself as a nation i.e a cultural entity with a territorial base. In order to maintain the cultural identity they wish to have a separate political and administrative arrangement. The demand for a separate Sikh province within India as Punjab Suba is an example of it.
3. **Welfarist Communalism:** It is a demand by religious groups to be recognised as suffering from material deprivations, the eradication of which could be met through measures such as political representation, employment quotas, distribution of land, industrial licences and so on.

The nature and content of communalism is inextricably bound up with the religious collectivity's territorial base and spread. If secessionist communalism invariably invites state repression, welfarist communalism usually augments democratic culture. Separatist communalism may graduate into secessionist or may be scaled down into welfarist depending upon the manner in which the demands are framed and articulated and on the state response to them.

Let us check our progress:

Q. What are different variants of communalism?

4.2.5 Homogenisation:

The claim to nationhood on the basis of religion means the process of homogenisation. That means there is a belief and imposition of common lifestyle.

The claim to nationhood or nationality by a religious collectivity willy nilly implies the process of cultural homogenisation i.e, evolving and imposing a common life-style. In independent India this has been articulated in different contexts and forms.

Hindus and Sikhs were and to a certain extent even today are sharing a common life-style; yet every effort is made to overemphasize the specificities while ignoring the commonalities.

In the 1960's and 1970's the preferred phase for homogenisation was "indianization" which is now 'Hindutva'. They propagate a common life-style common to people of India as a whole. Thus a Hindu is one who follows this lifestyle.

If lifestyle includes matters of dress, food, worship styles, art forms, marriage and family pattern, then there is very little common even to Hindus of different regions and linguistic areas. However we do not even deny the civilizational unity of India. For e.g. Brahmin constitute the only pan-Indian Varna (caste), they too differ vastly in their food habits. Thus though Brahmins are vegetarian, the Bengali Brahmin was a fish eater and the Kashmiri Pandit a meat eater. Thus vegetarianism is not common to all Hindus and Brahmins. But beef is a taboo for believing Hindus and they do not consume it.

It is important to recall that there have been several mobilizations against cow slaughter emphasizing the fact that cows are a sacred animal for Hindus. But beef is not a taboo for Muslims, Christians and lower castes.

The Indian homogenization also surfaces in the context of Uniform Civil Code. The common civil code for Indian citizens is constitutional. But when it is advocated by Hindu nationalists the conservative minority perceive it as a threat to their cultural and religious identity.

In western society the notion of loyalty is understood as political loyalty. For e.g. in matters of religion, Catholics who are distributed into numerous state societies may have their terminal loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church and order headed by the Pope and not to the secular authority of the state of which they are citizens.

4.2.5.1 The Dilemma:

The Hindu nationalist project of homogenization is caught in internal contradictions. Homogenisation implies not only uniformity but also equality. The constituency of the Hindutva ideology is largely confined to the twice born caste of the Hindu belt. It has failed to gain the confidence of the Dravidian Hindus apart from Sc, ST and OBCs who constitute the majority of Indian population.

4.2.5.2 Obstacle in Homogenisation:

Indian society is a democratic and culturally plural society.

1. Homogenisation invariably means to establish hegemony of the dominant group annihilating the weak minority groups to assimilate into the mainstream culture leading to eclipsing of their identity.
2. Most of the states draw their population from diverse sources. Thus assimilation and annihilation endangers diversity and blocks the task of developing pluralism and democracy.
3. Contemporary societies are constantly exposed to external influence through the process of globalization. In such a

situation it is necessary that one should celebrate diversity and foster pluralism, nature intergroup equality and re-in force democratic trends.

Let us check our progress:

Q. What is meant by homogenisation? Discuss factors affecting homogenisation in Indian society.

4.2.6 Relativization:

Cultural relativism is a necessary corollary (result) of homogenisation. Relativization is the tendency to all kinds of inhuman and disparaging practices, be it Sati, untouchability, maintenance of particular diets, dress patterns and so on all of which are justified in the name of religion.

Cultural relativism in the context of religion has two dimensions. First it advocates human and irrational practices in contemporary context. Secondly it insists on practices that are incongruous and anomalous in modern society.

The Hindu conservative elements often justify and legitimize practices such as Sati and untouchability in the name of traditions.

The Sikh adheres to the keeping of tradition and values of pristine Hinduism. The Sikh adherence to the keeping of the five K's-

- ☐ **Kesh** (unshorn hair and beard)
- ☐ **Kanga** (comb)
- ☐ **Kachh** (knee-length pair of breeches)
- ☐ **Karah** (steel bracelet)
- ☐ **Kirpan** (sword)

Are also smack of religious relativism.

4.2.7 Conclusion:

The ideology of homogenization is not only meant to standardize the values, norms and practices but it also implies.

- a) Revival of obsolescent traditional values and norms and practices which are not relevant to the present.
- b) The imposition of those values on others like co-religionists and religious minorities.

4.3 QUESTIONS

1. Examine in detail the kinship and gender relations in South Asia and SouthEast Asia with reference to residence and Inheritance of property.
2. Discuss Leela Dube's ideas about kinship in south and south east Asia with reference to female sexuality and conjugal relations.
3. Examine in detail the kinship and gender relations in South Asia and SouthEast Asia with reference to economic roles and female sexuality.
4. Elaborate on the ways in which female sexuality and conjugal relations are constructed in South and South East Asia.
5. Discuss how Territorialization and Communalization are explained by T. K. Oommen in Indian context.
6. Elaborate on trajectories of religious nationalism in India with reference to territorialism and Relativization.
7. Comment on significance of Homogenization and Relativization in the Indian context by T. K Oommen.

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CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES IN INDIAN SOCIETY STRATEGIES OF CASTE MOBILIZATIONS

Unit Structure :

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Chapter Division
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Contemporary Challenges in Indian society
 - 5.3.1 Unemployment
 - 5.3.2 Fake news-
 - 5.3.3. Lifestyle diseases¹
 - 5.3.4 Collapse of Financial institutions
 - 5.3.5 Misuse of technology
 - 5.3.6 The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019
 - 5.3.7 Migrant Crisis
 - 5.3.8 Privatization of Education
- 5.4 Strategies of Caste mobilization
 - 5.4.1 Dalit mobilization
 - 5.4.2 Case study of two caste based movements
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 Questions
- 5.7 References

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce you to the concept of Human Development Index
- To develop an understanding about the indicators of HDI
- To analyse the situations which result in Low HDI
- To suggest measures to improve the HDI ranking of a nation

5.1 CHAPTER DIVISION

The present chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the present challenges in the Indian society. The

second section of the chapter focuses mainly on different castes mobilizing two movements in our country.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

India is a unique country with one of oldest civilizations in the world. Several groups from different parts of the world have migrated, invaded our country. This creates diversity in the country. With industrialization coming into the picture a new class emerged in the cities – working class. After industrialization came the service industry. Post 1991 with the introduction of liberalization brought about massive revolution like Foreign direct investments, jobs in the service industry like IT. We live in a dual world like where we have sent Chandrayaan 2 a spacecraft to the moon. On the other hand, we have a population below the poverty line 22 per cent as of 2011. So, on hand we have a food crisis and at the same time as a society we have the latest technological advancement. **Let us look into some of the challenges at the present times –**

5.3 CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES IN INDIAN SOCIETY

5.3.1 Unemployment

The unemployment rate in India in December, 2019 was 7.60% while in the month of April 2020; it is 23.52% according to the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy report (CMIE)². CMIE also points out that **27 million youth in the age group of 20-30** years have **lost their jobs** in the month of April 2020. The world now has moved from globalization to the anti-globalization **movement**. With developed countries even becoming more protective about their own economy and restricting imports. This process is called protectionist **policy**. Countries like India in which the IT sector boomed due to globalization would be collapsing massively. The slogan now is globalization to localization in several countries like America. Even Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi has insisted on this idea with the slogan '**vocal about local**' and using local products. Every country would now try to be self-sufficient instead of depending on export trade or even outsourcing their work which in a way would create job losses at least massively in the short run.

5.3.2 Fake news-

Forward mat karo campaign and advertisements are made to stop the forwards in whatsapp by film actors. Fake news has been a major problem during pandemics like cov-19. For e.g. On Rainpada, Maharashtra on July 1, 2018 five men were killed by the villagers on the basis of the **fake news** circulated in the **whatsapp** as men are coming to kidnap childrens in the village. Infact, these men had come to the village to attend the market. During elections,

pandemic fake news has created a lot of mess. The problem has been that the government had to create laws like in the lockdown period spreading fake news, rumours can lead to an individual being jailed under the Section 54 of Disaster Management Act, 2005.

5.3.3. Lifestyle diseases–

In 2017, India witnessed **61.8 per cent deaths** due to non-communicable diseases. NCDs majorly refers to cancers, diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular diseases, mental health and others. These diseases are together created by a cluster of risk factors and their determinants, like tobacco and alcohol use, unhealthy diet, lack of physical activity, regular exercise, overweight & obesity, pollution (air, water and soil) and stress. **These diseases are human behaviour-driven** and can be **prevented at individual, family and societal levels**. Lifestyle diseases have emerged from industrialization and globalization of American, Chinese food (Mathur, & Macarena's, 2019).

Check Your Progress

1. Do you think fake news is problematic to explain. How?

2. State why lifestyle diseases have increased in the present times?

5.3.4 Collapse of Financial institutions –

Financial institutions play a very important role in running the country. It also provides a sense of security as people put their hard earned savings in them. The collapse of financial institutions like **Yes Bank**, Mutual Funds companies like **Franklin Templeton** created an atmosphere of instability in the country. It makes people distrust or causes anxiety among people to invest in banks in general. Prominent Airlines like Jet Airways, Kingfisher running into bankruptcy affects both families dependent on the companies as well as becoming defaulter in paying loans.

5.3.5 Misuse of technology –

Cheap internet and affordable smartphones has given rise to a new set of problems like hate speech, TikTok addicts, craze for likes. One can see the desire for likes among internet users with lines like **ek like to banta hai**, today is my birthday like my comment. **Hate speech** here refers to the comments which people write on youtube videos, twitter or Facebook. Even for silly reasons people are expressing opinions and cursing each other. If one observes these speeches it's clearly evident the conservative views of individuals. It also shows how people have started taking things very personally and spend valuable time in social media and how capitalist technologies have captured the minds of individuals. It also shows the peer pressure among internet users to appear cool.

5.3.6 The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 -

The 2019 Act amends the Citizenship Act, 1955, and seeks to make foreign illegal migrants of Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians coming from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan eligible for Indian citizenship. These are persons belonging to the six specified religious communities, from the three specified countries, who entered India on or before December 31, 2014. The implementation of CAA is problematic in a country like India and several movements at grassroots to the National Capital emerged for months opposing it.

5.3.7 Migrant Crisis

Due to the lopsided development in which cities have been more developed than villages, lakhs migrate to the city in search of jobs. During the recent Cov-19 crisis the migrants were affected psychologically, economically to a large extent as these people are often living on daily wages. It was witnessed where lakhs of people tried to hitchhike, went on foot, cycled back home. Some females even delivered babies in trains, roads, auto rickshaws, some died due to accidents on the roads. Ramachandra Guha stated that the migrant crisis has been one of the greatest man made tragedy in India after Partition.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss the hate speech in Social media

2. What do you understand by CAA?

3. Give some examples of collapsed financial institutions.

5.3.8 Privatization of Education –

As on 1st Feb, 2020 the UGC website points out that there are 935 Universities in India according to the UGC there are at present **349 private universities** alone. As one is aware the private universities charge higher fees compared to state and central universities this makes education access to only those who have money. The diversified educational system in the country whereby having International schools and on the other side where local languages schools are being shut down creates a big gap in the society.

5.4 STRATEGIES OF CASTE MOBILIZATION

Mobilization takes place when there are certain common goals. These goals could be actually put into practice or remain as dreams which are shown to people for votes. According to Kumar, caste mobilization can be easily observed at two levels in Uttar Pradesh: one at the level of caste connections organized by different socio-political organizations like with education, religion, political. For e.g.: A political party organized for all marginalized castes. Second in the form of formation of single caste based politics. A political party working for a specific caste within a marginalized caste. Guru (2016) points out that there exists a huge difficulty in categorizing the caste itself as there doesn't exist a common shared experience like with class. Every caste would experience differently and it can even vary from one to another.

5.4.1 Dalit mobilization

According to Kamal, Dalits struggle for their human rights started alongside with the Indian struggle for freedom. It was a movement where the Dalits Started To represent, insist on their rights themselves rather than being represented by somebody else.

Dr. Ambedkar sought after political rights for Dalits from the British directly and insisted on independent and exclusive rights. Otherwise, Dalits would have remained stuck in the web of political 'co option.e. Lost in the merging political groups (Kamal, 2015).

5.4.2 Case study of two caste based movements

1. Maratha movement –

The Marathas have traditionally been against reservations. In 1982, the Maratha Mahasangh led by Annasaheb Patil had opposed caste-based reservations. Patil also sought a quota system based on economic criteria only to later demand that all Marathas be classified as backward (Kale 2006). Infact, many those who demand reservation opposed the Mandal commission recommendations i.e. reservation for OBC. Kumar points out that the Marathas, have traditionally seen themselves as warrior agriculturist caste, who have a stranglehold on Maharashtra's political leadership. However, with the declining returns from agriculture, the desire to take advantage of the post globalization boom in the services and knowledge-based sector and apprehension at the perceived rise of the other backward castes on the political ladder led the community to demand inclusion in the Other Backward Classes category. The Maratha movement started slow but it took its peak on 13th July, 2016 when a 14-year-old schoolgirl belonging to the Maratha caste was brutally gang-raped and murdered by allegedly four drunkards at Ahmednagar and they demanded justice. Girls headed the movement. The peculiarity of the movement was there was no single leader and marches were without any slogan and disburse without any speeches being made, the placards and saffron flags they carry have no less of a menacing message. They reiterate their demand for reservations, initially the Maratha reservation was 16% however, at present it is 12 % in education and 13% in government jobs as on 2019.

2. Caste and politics in UP

During the 1950s the lower and backward castes were not politically mobilized and were badly dominated by the upper castes in all walks of life. There is no history of any anti-Brahmin movement in north India during the colonial period. But 1960s observed lower and backward castes as newly emerged important political forces, opposing and giving stiff resistance to Higher castes having domination over political power in India With the fall of Congress government other political parties entered UP prominently like BJP, SP and BSP. Post Mandal politics in U.P. witnessed clashes between upper castes and OBCs on the one hand and lower castes opposition to OBCs on the other. The important point to observe is from mere passive public the political behavior changed among Dalits when one of the Dalit leader came into picture, specially a women as the Chief Minister.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss the Dalit struggle in few lines

2. State any one social movement based on Caste

5.5 SUMMARY

The first section of the chapter discussed the challenges ahead for India like rising unemployment, over consumption of internet, misuse of technology, fake news forwards, rising lifestyle diseases, collapse of financial institutions, privatization of education. The second section discusses how caste mobilization can change the political picture of the country and it can be a problem in the longer run whereby ethnocentrism behavior could be developed.

5.6 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss any five challenges in the Indian society in the present times.
2. Write a note on two caste mobilized movement
3. Explain in brief the connection of caste and politics with examples.



RESURGENCE OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES, GENDER AND MARGINALIZATION

Unit Structure :

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 The concept
 - 6.2.1 Ethnic and ethnic group
 - 6.2.2 Ethnic identity and Ethnicity
- 6.3 Types of Ethnic based movements in India
 - 6.3.1 Linguistic Ethnicity
 - 6.3.2 Religious Assertions and Communalism
 - 6.3.3 Tribal Movements
 - 6.3.4 Ethno-Nationalism
 - 6.3.5 Regionalism
- 6.4 Case study of North East
- 6.5 Gender and Marginalisation
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 References

6.0 OBJECTIVES

- To learn about the different concepts related to ethnic identities.
- To develop an understanding of different social movements based on ethnic groups.
- To get a glimpse of movements in North East India.
- To get a conceptual clarity about Gender.
- To understand about the relationship between gender and marginalization.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As a member of society we play different roles. Our identities keep on changing. The identities are attached to a number of factors like family, education, surrounding and neighbours. In this chapter we are basically trying to understand two topics. The first is

focussed on ethnic identities and its resurgence (growth, development) and the second section focuses on understanding the gender marginalization process in our society.

6.2 THE CONCEPT

Understanding the meanings of the terms gives a clear view of the background of the study. Hence it becomes necessary to understand the different concepts. The following concepts are used in the study -

6.2.1 Ethnic and ethnic group

The term ethnic has its roots to the Greek word *ethnos*, which describes a community of a common descent⁽¹⁾ and *ethno* in itself means nation. T.K. Oommen Notes that in contemporary social science an ethnic group is characterized in terms of a multiplicity of attributes - religion, sect, caste, region, language, nationality, descent, race, colour and culture. These attributes singly or in different combinations are used to define ethnic groups and ethnicity⁽²⁾. Max Weber used the term ethnic group to connote those human collectivities which 'entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration' (Weber, 1968: 389)⁽³⁾.

Ethnic group can be categorized into two major types i.e. Primary and Secondary. Primary ethnic groups are those which exist in the same place in which historically they have been formed. They are indigenous groups. Examples are the French in France, Germans in Germany, and also Native Indians in the Americas, Andalusia's in Spain, etc. Secondary ethnic groups are those which have their origin in society different from the one in which they currently exist, as for example, the Italians, Germans, etc. in Canada or the United States⁽⁴⁾.

6.2.2 Ethnic identity and Ethnicity

Ethnic identity is formed by both tangible and intangible characteristics. Tangible characteristics are like shared culture or common visible physical traits. Intangible factors are what people believe, or are made to believe, to create a sense of solidarity among members of a particular ethnic group and to exclude those who are not members⁽¹⁾. Brass (1991:247) identifies three processes for ethnic identity formation and conflicts. 1. Intra-group fight for control over material resources. 2. Inter-group fight for rights, privileges and resources. 3. Conflict between the state and the dominant group on the one hand, and the group that inhabits its territory on the other hand⁽⁵⁾. Ethnicity is a social-psychological process which gives an individual a sense of belonging and identity⁽⁴⁾.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Ethnic and Ethnic group

2. Discuss Ethnic identity

6.3 TYPES OF ETHNIC MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Ethnic identity is fluid in nature and it evolves constantly. For example – When you are in India you would call yourself a Mumbaikar if you are born in Mumbai. When you go to America you will be called an Asian. Priya (2016) discusses five types of ethnic identity based movements in India like -

6.3.1 Linguistic Ethnicity

Language is an important component for ethnic identity in India. Two examples of ethnic movements on the basis of language are – For example in Tamil Nadu a DravidaKazhagam (Dravidian Organization) movement in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in 1940s and 1950s was started. These groups protested the adoption of Hindi as the national language by the government of India. The movement gave the call for the separation of Tamil Nadu from the union of India on the basis of identity centered on Tamil language. Because of intense linguistic feelings, many states were carved out based on languages by the State Reorganization Act of 1956.

Linguistic identity movements have also been seen in Maharashtra through the son of the soil movement where the locals have been demanding job losses and preference. Violence has also erupted at times on people from other states of North India on this basis.

6.3.2 Religious Assertions and Communalism

The rise of Hindu Muslim conflicts started with the Britishers policy of divide and rule continues even today. The recent rise of Hindu Nationalism is also an expression of religious assertion of ethnic identity.

6.3.3 Tribal Movements

Tribals have been exploited through construction of dams whereby they are uprooted from their own land. They have been harmed through preservation of forest acts. The displacement led to loss of culture, heritage and lives and have created several social movements like Naxalism. Tribes are at times engaged in armed rebellion against the state. It is a direct consequence of their oppression, displacement, poverty and anger against their cultural erosion under the onslaught of the dominant mainstream culture.

6.3.4 Ethno-Nationalism

This entails the transformation of ethnic groups into nationalities and their demand for autonomous governance or even secession as sovereign nation states. For e.g. the secessionist movement in Kashmir, the Khalistan movement by Sikhs in Punjab in 1970s and 1980s for a separate homeland and the Naga movement in North-East India.

While commenting on ethno-nationalism in Punjab, Gupta (1990: 521-38) Gupta says that the Punjab agitation began with very secular demands like demands for the city of Chandigarh, water distribution and territorial demarcation, but it was soon ethnicized by the political masters and given a communal color as if they were fighting to safeguard the religious and regional identity of Sikhs in Punjab. Ethno-nationalism in Kashmir, Varshney (2010) says that Kashmir presents a very complex situation. The ethno-nationalism that stimulates the Kashmiri aspirations for independence has many internal contradictions – it appeals only to the Muslims in the Kashmir valley, but not to the Hindus in the city of Jammu or Buddhist in the region of Ladakh.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Linguistic Ethnicity

2. Discuss Ethno nationalism

6.3.5 Regionalism

This kind of movements centers around three main factors: i) fear of being assimilated into the dominant culture and, hence, to preserve one's language and culture by demanding an autonomous state, ii) the lopsided economic development of India where certain groups feel that they have been left behind despite being rich in resources in their regions and iii) nativistic tendencies –sons of the soil concept in which regional identity becomes the source of ethnic conflict. Examples include the Jharkhand movement in the state of Bihar and Telangana movement in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the attack on South Indians in Mumbai in 1960s (6)

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss Tribal movements

2. Explain Regionalism

6.4 CASE STUDY OF NORTH EAST

Northeast India (NEI) consists of eight states with people of varied cultures, traditions, rituals, languages, and habits. They belong to more than 300 tribes and subtribes. The state of Arunachal Pradesh alone has 111 tribes. The region is precariously situated as it shares almost 98% of its boundary with neighbouring countries and only 2% with Indian Union. The region shares its boundary with Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, China and Nepal. With just a few exceptions, most of them live in the hills. NEI is associated with ethnic conflicts that have resulted in insurgency and militancy. According to Sahni, (2001:4) conflicts in Northeast are of three categories: Tribal group vs the state, Tribal vs Tribal, and Tribal vs non-tribal.

In comparison with the other regions, the Northeast lagged behind in education, health, technology, transport and communication. Frustrations arose from within, when the region couldn't match up with the development pace of the other parts of

the country. Plus, having to face innumerable everyday local hazards built up a sense of dissatisfaction among its people, which then forced them to turn to violence in the name of 'survival'. Borgohain and Singha, (2014) points out that over the years, the region has experienced various kinds of conflicts and movements, ranging from mass civil-disobedience against Indian state, ethnic and communal riots to armed militancy, to secede from India and even genocide.

Check Your Progress

1. Introduce the North East ethnic identity movements

Military high handedness is the introduction of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) that gives additional power to the armed forces, in order to control any violent situation. This has paved the way for a lot of human rights violations, especially in the state of Manipur. Irom Sharmila a 28 year old woman, was on strike for 16 years against the AFSPA.

Naga insurgency started in the 1950s and is known as the mother of all insurgencies and considered to be one of the oldest unresolved armed conflicts, not only in India but all over the world (Prakash, (2011). Nagaland movements still continue with its demand for a separate flag and constitution.

Manipur tops the list with forty such organisations, six of which are banned, and in addition there are nine active and twenty-five inactive rebel groups. Assam is next on the list with thirty four rebel groups: two of which are banned, with six active and twenty-six inactive armed groups. Meghalaya has four armed rebel groups, of which three are active and one inactive. Mizoram has two rebel organisations and both are listed as active. Nagaland has two active and two inactive groups of rebels. Tripura has two rebel groups that are banned, in addition to one active and twenty-two inactive groups. Only Arunachal, according to this count, has no armed rebel organisation (Mahanta, 2013).

It is a common practice that when a demand of an ethnic community is not fulfilled by the government, they make movements demanding a separate state for their own ethnic community. The communities that are demanding separate statehood include Khasis, Bodos, Garos, and Kharbis (Deka and Bhattacharya, 2012).

The Assam Movement was led by students unions whose main strategy was to refrain from elections. This strategy became the model for other ethnic movements that cropped up throughout Assam in the post 1985 period. Among these, the most significant and enduring was the Bodo land movement, which indeed finds many parallels with the Assam Movement in its strategies of collective mobilisation and political bargaining (Sharma, 2006). One of the major reasons for the Assam Movement was the issue of language. The two successive language movements in the state witnessed violent conflicts between ethnic Assamese and Hindu Bengalis (Borah, 2012) (7)

Kothari (1988) stresses that ethnic upsurges and assertions of cultures in India are the consequences of excesses of modernization and the homogenizing trend of modern states and of their technological/educational imperatives (6). In his words, ethnicity, is a response-including reaction – to the excesses. Xaxa points out there are factors like hierarchy, discrimination and lack of development which leads to rise of ethnic movement (8). Sometimes it is also due to fear of domination of the majority culture over the minority culture which leads to the rise of the ethnic movements. Priya (2016) notes that intense feeling of alienation among the tribes of India because of faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and forest, reducing them to abject poverty and destitute (6).

Check Your Progress

1. Explain the Assam movement

2. Discuss in brief about the Naga movement

3. Write a note on the causes for ethnic movements in North east.

Ethnic movements could be minimised through proper development which could be through government or civil societies. For e.g. Former Director General of Police, Maharashtra, Mr. D. Sivandhan, who was involved in bringing peace to the city by handling several underground crimes realised that people getting into crime due to hunger. He thereafter started his own NGO called Roti Bank. The goal of the NGO is to eliminate hunger, malnutrition, and food wastage. The process involves the excess food from weddings, events, hotels, cafeterias, housing societies are given to people who are in need like slums, foot paths. In addition, everyday freshly cooked food is offered to several groups and children as they have to eat healthy food. The NGO has a helpline through which it picks food through a van and redistributes it. At present the NGO works in Mumbai (8).

Check Your Progress

1. Write a note on Roti Bank Ngo

2. According to you, how ethnic identities based movements could be minimised in the Indian society?

6.5 GENDER AND MARGINALIZATION

Gender is a socio-cultural and it is a construction of human beings. Gender refers to the qualities, behaviour, patterns, roles and responsibilities assigned to a human being on the basis of sex. It is important to understand the connections between gender and

other hierarchies of class, caste, race, first world and third world etc.

Space is also gendered for e.g. Men standing in the markets, tea shops whereas if a woman does it won't be considered as respectable. Even the use of language shows the gendered nature. For example – Several curses if one observes have derogatory marks addressed towards women (Bhasin, 2014).

Anupama Rao (2003) points out that a woman from a marginalized caste gets affected three times more. For example – Being Dalit women she suffers from caste injustice. She is a victim as a woman herself and does double work like working at construction site as a labour and working at home too. Apart from that she has to bear with her husband if he turns out to be an alcoholic or someone then the problem worsens. In addition, to class and being a woman she is more vulnerable from other men of higher castes.

National commission Human rights report (Sarojini, 2006) points out that the Rural women suffer more than that of the urban women. This is due to the medical facilities available in the cities, transportation facilities, educational facilities available in the cities.

Even in the 21st century crimes have been continuing on women like the Nirbhaya case. It is the woman who gets affected more during any kind of crisis. For example – During the Cov-19 lockdown women have walked even if they were pregnant to reach their home. Some gave birth on the road and walked for 150 km the next day. There are women who gave birth in Auto Rickshaw as they were refused by several hospitals as hospitals have been converted to Cov-19 centres. There are times when women were refused just because they belonged to certain religious groups and the hospital staff had their own religious prejudices.

Though we have examples of several states in India who are doing better in terms of dealing with gender aspects like North east, Kerala. Everyone knows the problem faced by the different marginalized groups. The question lies in how to solve the problem. The first change has to start from home where stereotypical gender habits are not cultivated in the child like girls are supposed to like pink, play with dolls or boys with cars. Secondly, the child has to be taught to respect everyone irrespective of their gender. Scientific temper, curiosity should be cultivated among children. Discussion, debate needs to take place at home, school where the child is taught to question the existing norms. His/her thoughts need to be allowed to express. Mother has to be part of the decision at home. As mother and father act as a model in becoming a template for the children as an adult.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Gender as a socio-cultural construct

2. According to you, how could the gender discrimination be reduced in the society?

6.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter we saw the meaning of ethnicity as a social-psychological process which gives an individual a sense of belonging and identity. It emerges often due to migration, colonization, displacement etc. In addition, we saw the different types of ethnic movements in our country like linguistic, regional, religion based etc. Different examples have also been shared like that of Punjab, Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra. The second section of the chapter discusses gender and its marginalization in society.

6.7 QUESTIONS

1. Explain Ethnic movements in India ?
2. Explain Gender as a victim of marginalization .

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SOCIO-CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF MAHARASHTRA: REGIONAL DIVERSITY AND COMMUNITIES

Unit Structure :

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MAHARASHTRA
 - 7.1.1 Etymology
 - 7.1.2 Historical Background
 - 7.1.3 The Social Reform Movement and Nationalist Movement
 - 7.1.4 Regional diversity: Geographical features of Maharashtra
 - 7.1.5 Religious diversity of Maharashtra
- 7.2 CULTURE OF MAHARASHTRA
 - 7.2.1 Festivals of Maharashtra
 - 7.2.2 Folk Music and Dance
 - 7.2.3 Folk Art Forms
- 7.3 Conclusion
- 7.4 Summary
- 7.5 Questions
- 7.6 References

7.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the historical background of Maharashtra
- To examine the socio-cultural elements of Maharashtra

7.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MAHARASHTRA

7.1.1 Etymology

The name Maharashtra is also the land of the Marathi speaking people, and is derived from the Sanskrit words *Maha* meaning 'Great' and *Rashtra* meaning 'Nation'. Put together, it means a great nation. Several scholars trace the origin of the name Maharashtra to varied sources. Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar observes that the name Maharashtra refers to a community of people known by the name *Rashtrika* or *Rathika*. Whereas Dr. S.V.

Ketkar argues that the name Maharashtra arose out of the combination of two names, viz., '*Mahar*' who were the first inhabitants and *Ratta*. Maharashtra and Marathi language are closely related. The widely accepted understanding is that Maharashtra is a land of people who speak the Marathi language. It is believed that the Marathi language originated in *Maharashtra* as a *Prakrit* language somewhere around the 10th or 11th century AD.

7.1.2 Historical Background

Reference to Maharashtra is seen in recorded history in the 2nd century BC, with the construction of its first Buddhist caves. Huan Tsang, the contemporary Chinese traveler wrote an account of Maharashtra in the 7th century and called it Mo-ho-lo-cha (Mohollesh). He discussed the features of the region as being rich and fertile and highly productive, while its people were fond of learning and strong of character. The Chinese traveler was impressed by the prosperity of the region, the efficiency of the administration and character of the people. According to recorded history, the first Hindu King ruled the state during the 6th century, based in Badami. This is also considered as the beginning of the historical past of Maharashtra. Over a period of time, the term Maharashtra came to be used to describe a region which consisted of Aparanta (Northern Konkan), Vidarbha, Mulak, etc. Tribal communities such as the Nags, Munds, and Bhills inhabited this area. Maharashtra in its present form and boundaries emerged in 12th to 13th century A.D. During this period Maharashtra was able to carve a distinct regional identity for itself. The Marathi language as we know it today is the result of efforts of saints like Dnyaneshwar, Chakradhara Swami, and others.

Maharashtra was under siege from various ruling dynasties from the ancient times. The Satavahanas, the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas and the Yadavas ruled Maharashtra at different times. Around the 13th century, a new era began in the history of Maharashtra with the Muslim conquests. For more than 300 years, Maharashtra remained under the rule of Muslims Sultans like Tuglaq, until the rise of Marathas under Chhatrapati Shivaji, from the middle of the 17th century to early 19th century. This period was considered as the most significant chapter in the history of Maharashtra. Shivaji Bhosle, the Maratha warrior King, was the founder of the Maratha Empire who fought against the Mughals.

References to the glorious Maratha empire can be found in the travelogue accounts of Arab Geographer, Al-Biruni, Friar Jordanus, and Ibn-Batuta, the African traveler. The Marathas came into political prominence only in the 17th century under the leadership of Shivaji, who transformed the land into pan-Indian power in the 18th century under the Peshwas. By 1680, the year of

Shivaji's death, nearly the whole of Deccan belonged to the Maratha empire. Shivaji was a mighty warrior and one of the finest rulers of India holds a proud position in Maratha history.

The British entered India as merchants and traders and gradually took administrative control of the region. In the 17th century, they struggled to establish dominance over the West Coast and regarded the growing influence of Shivaji as a potential threat. In the midst of this adversity, the Marathas showed courage to challenge the British rule in the nation. It also reflected how the Marathas strived to preserve and maintain their empire, nationality, religion, honour and their beautiful language.

7.1.3 The Social Reform Movement and Nationalist Movement

The elite of Mumbai and Pune were influenced by Western Education and Philosophy paving the way for the Social Reform Movement of the 19th century Maharashtra. Social evils such as untouchability, sati, female infanticide, restriction on widow remarriage were severely criticized and attempts were made to tackle these. Prominent social reforms were Balshashtri Jambhekar, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Jyotiba Phule, Savitribai Phule, Justice Ranade and Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar established the Prarthana Samaj, an organization for general social and religious reforms.

Apart from socio-religious reforms, Maharashtra also contributed to the freedom movement of India. Prominent revolutionaries such as Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak were involved in the movement. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution also created social and political awareness among the Scheduled Castes of India.

After independence, The Indian National Congress pledged to create a State on linguistic consideration. Thus a bilingual State with Maharashtra-Gujarat with Bombay as its Capital came into existence February, 1956. After much agitation Maharashtra was conferred statehood on 1st May, 1960 without the inclusion of Belgaum, which later triggered the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement. The State of Maharashtra was formed with Bombay (then) as the capital, when the Marathi and Gujarati linguistic areas of the former Bombay Presidency were separated. Maharashtra became the main channel of cultural exchange between southern and northern India.

Thus the efforts of saint poets, the social reformers, and social constructive workers have carved Maharashtra into a progressive State.

7.1.4 Regional diversity: Geographical features of Maharashtra

Maharashtra occupies a key position in western India, constituting a major portion of the Indian Peninsula. It is the only region in the south of the Vindhyas with Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language. Maharashtra is bordered by the Arabian Sea and Gujarat in the West, Madhya Pradesh in the east, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in the South. It has an impressive coastline of about 720 kms.

The annual climatic pattern of the State typically consists of four well-marked seasons. The cold, summer, monsoon and winter seasons define the socio-cultural aspects of the State. The Western Ghats region attracts rainfall and is a biodiversity hotspot and is also listed on the UNESCO Heritage List.

The State has three broad physical divisions, viz., a) The Konkan Coastlands b) Western Ghats or Sahyadris and other hill ranges, c) Plateau region.

Apart from the geological or physical divisions, the State of Maharashtra has been divided into five main regions according to the historical and political sentiments. They are;

- a) Vidarbha Region - (Nagpur and Amravati Division), Central Provinces and Old Berar Region.
- b) Marathwada Region – (Aurangabad Division)
- c) Khandesh or Northern Maharashtra Region – (Nashik Division)
- d) Desh or Western Maharashtra Region – Pune Division)
- e) Konkan Region - (Konkar Division including Mumbai City and Mumbai suburban areas).

For administrative purposes the State is divided into 6 revenue divisions, which are further divided into 35 districts, the 35 districts are further divided into 355 talukas.

Check Your Progress

1. Can you name some prominent leaders of Maharashtra?

2. Mention the physical divisions of Maharashtra.

7.1.5 Religious diversity of Maharashtra

The hallmark of Maharashtra is that it is a multi-religious, multilingual and multi-ethnic society. The process of Modernization is an important factor in this diversity as also the rich historical heritage.

Hinduism: Hinduism is the religion of the majority of Marathi people. Krishna in the form of Vithal is the most popular deity amongst Marathi Hindus; they also worship the Shiva family deities, such as Shankar, Parvati and Ganesh. Maharashtra has the rich tradition of the Varkari sect. Saints within the Bhakti movement emerged from all castes - such as Dnyaneshwar (Brahmin) , Savata Mali (Mali), Tukaram (Kunbi) , Namdev (Shimpi-artisan) and Chokhamela (Mahar).

Jainism: Maharashtra has a considerable number of people belonging to the Jain tradition. The imprints of Jainism in Maharashtra are as old as 5,000 years and are reflected in some ancient temples of the State. This religion does not accept the authority of the Vedas and therefore, got separated from orthodox Vedic tradition and has since maintained a distinct identity. Rishabhdeo or Adinath was the first Tirthankar or prophet of Jainism, while Vardhman Mahavir was the 24th Tirthankar. Tirthankaras are revered persons, since Jainism does not believe in the existence of God. The foundation of Jainism is adherence to non-violence and moral conduct. Qualities such as forgiveness, tenderness, politeness, purity, truth, restraint, penance, non-attachment and celibacy are quintessential features of the faith.

Christianity: The Christian community is spread across the length and breadth of Maharashtra. Most Christians are Catholics, while some adhere to Protestantism. There are a significant number of Goans, Mangloreans, East Indians, Anglo-Indians, Malyali and Tamil Christians in the urban pockets of Mumbai and Pune. Mass prayer followed by sermon takes place in the church every Sunday. Though, traditionally the church service was conducted in English, of recent Marathi is used to reach a wider category of faithfuls. Serving humanity is the key principle of this religion. As a result, in Maharashtra, we find hospitals, educational institutions, orphanages run by the Church.

Buddhism: Buddhism accounts for nearly 6 percent in Maharashtra's total population. Almost all Marathi Buddhists belong to the Navayana tradition, a 20th century Buddhist revival movement in India. This movement received its biggest impetus from Dr. Ambedkar who called for the conversion of Dalits to Buddhism in a bid to escape the unspeakable atrocities of a caste-based society. Most Marathi Buddhists in Maharashtra are followers of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Islam: Muslims belonging to the Sunni sect are in the majority in the State, while those belonging to the Shia sect are mainly found in the urban areas. Idol worship is forbidden in Islam. The faithful worship the Darga and Pir. There is no Mosque or Darga of regional importance in Maharashtra. However, at local level some Dargas have attracted the faithful and attained prominence. Among them are the Dargas at Mumbai, Miraj and Nagpur.

Zoroastrianism: Zoroastrians are also referred to as Parsis and are mainly residents of Mumbai. According to tradition, the present-day Parsis are descendents of Iranian Zoroastrians who immigrated to Western India during the 10th century AD for fear of being persecuted by Muslims in Iran. The Parsis landed in Gujarat and have incorporated various cultural aspects from their adoptive State. Amongst the most educated communities in India, the Parsis have contributed to the economic development of the State as well as the country.

7.2 CULTURE OF MAHARASHTRA

Maharashtra is a melting pot of myriad cultures, and a perfect blend of tradition and modernity. Maharashtra is a land of culture and traditions, arts and crafts, religions and festivals, which are occasions for social contacts and entertainment. The arts and crafts in Maharashtra reflect the varied influences through culture contact and diffusion of culture. Despite economic progress and social change, the state's people have fiercely guarded and preserved their rich heritage of splendid heritage, art and craft, folk music, dance and religious practices. Maharashtra was guided by social and political reformers and leaders who left an indelible mark on its psyche, which is a combination of largeheartedness, empathy, compassion, pride, cooperation and creativity, all of which are reflected in its people. Maharashtra is rich in diversity, visual art, natya sangeet, folk theatre, folk art, language and literature, films and theatre, food and culinary delights, art and architecture, natural and cultural heritage and drapes and clothing. However, in this section the student will be introduced to a few of these: Religions, Festivals, Folk Music and Dance and Folk Art.

7.2.1 Festivals of Maharashtra: Festivals and lavish celebrations are regular among the people of Maharashtra, which showcase the vibrant culture of the state. Some of the most popular festivals of the state are as follows:

Ganesh Utsav: Ganesh Utsav is the main festival of Maharashtra. It was launched by Lokmanya Tilak as a means of public arising, marking the worship of Lord Ganesh, the deity of wisdom and knowledge. This festival is celebrated not only among Maharashtrians, but also other communities. It is said to be the largest public festival in the world. Ganesh Chaturthi brings together millions of faithful over a period of ten-day events.

Gudi Padwa: Gudi Padwa is celebrated on the first day of Chaitra (month), welcoming the arrival of spring, joy and colour. It is celebrated all over India in various forms and under different names. In Maharashtra, it is hailed as the New Year Day of the Hindu calendar. This day is devoted to Lord Brahma, the creator of the universe. Many legends associate this day with the victory of Lord Rama over demon Vali. Gudi padwa is an auspicious day for a new beginning or a new venture. It also means riding over negativities of the previous year. On this day households are decked with Gudi, the holy symbol.

Holi: Holi is celebrated throughout the country as also Maharashtra, which is the burning of the symbolic Holi (fire) the previous night to get rid of their sins and embark on a joyful future. This is followed by Rang Panchami, a celebration of colour and life.

Gokul Ashtami: Also known as Janmashtami, this festival is celebrated around August according to the Hindu calendar. It is called Dahi Handi in local lingo, wherein young boys called Govindas, regarded as companions of Lord Krishna, make human pyramids and break the handis (earthen pitchers) that are filled with cash and other prizes. Nowadays, girls also participate in making pyramids. Due to several mishaps, the court has intervened in terms of regulating the age of participants and the height of handis.

Diwali, Dasara and Navratri are other celebrations with their own significance. There are some local or regional festivals such as Bail Pola. In an agrarian society, bullocks are considered as an important tool of production. In a true spirit of man-nature relationship, Bail Pola (a day to feed bullocks), is marked to worship the bullocks used for agricultural production.

A major festival in Vidarbha, it is not celebrated on such a grand scale elsewhere in the State. On this day, every farmer gives a holiday to the animals, bathes and decorates them, feeds them with sweets and takes them around proudly.

There are festivals important for each community. The complete symbiosis of Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Muslim, Christian, Parsee and Jewish religions and celebrations is an integral part of Maharashtra's culture.

7.2.2 Folk Music and Dance: Various dance traditions and folk music provide an interesting insight into the state's rich past. Folk music forms like Gondhal, Lavani, Bharud and Powada represent a slice of the culture of a particular region. Some dances like the Dindi have a religious base. Dindi is performed with great devotion on Ekadashi while worshipping Lord Vitthal. The believers reach such a collective frenzy that it looks like a mass of devotees moving like a single soul.

Tamasha is a traditional form of Marathi theatre, often with singing and dancing. It is performed by travelling theatre groups. The songs sung in the plays are Laavnis. Performed by the Kolhati community, Tamasha essentially has two types- Dholki Bhaari and Sangeet Bhaari. The latter contains more dance and music than drama.

Powada: is a genre of Marathi poetry that emerged during the late 17th century in India. Also known as 'Indian Ballad', it is written in a crisp narrative style. Historical events are usually narrated with the underlying object to inspire and motivate the audience. Powadas are composed and rendered by Shahirs. Powadas in the early ages were composed by those who witnessed inspiring events.

Bharud is a popular folk art in rural areas. It forms an integral part of village fairs. It comprises recitations of Saint Dyaneshwar and his interpretation of Bhagavad Gita. Bharud is known to have originated with Saint Eknath. Over centuries, it has become an important medium to promote spirituality through elocution, music and drama.

Gondhal: Devotees who perform the Gondhal are called Gondhalis. The Gondhalis regard Parshuram, an avatar of Lord Vishnu, as their patriarch. An ancient South Indian dance, Gondhal was a progressive evolution of revered deities of the rural folk and their devotional messages. Gondhal is in the narrative form of the Ramayana and Mahabharata to the accompaniment of instruments such as sambal and tuntuna.

7.2.3 Folk Art Forms: It is an expression of the intangible aspects of life of its people. Its legacy transcends generations and lives through its artistes. The State has a rich tradition of folk art that is centuries old. The various tribal communities of Maharashtra such as the Adivasis of the Sahyadri ranges, the Matherans of Gadvard in Pali or the Thakkars of Pinguli, all have given life to many art forms.

Warli art : Warli art is a wall painting of the tribals who inhabit the north Sahyadri ranges. The art originated in Maharashtra and is popular among tribes of Dahanu, Talasari, Jawhar, Palghar, Mokhada and Vikhramgad, all located in Thane district. The art uses mostly geometrical patterns such as a circle, a triangle and a square – depicting nature and day to day activities of the tribals. The circle represents the sun and the moon. The triangle is taken from the mountains and pointed trees. The square indicates a sacred space or a piece of land. Daily activities of hunting, fishing, farming, festivals and dances are reflected in the paintings.

Pinguli Chitrakathi: The Thakkar tribe of Pinguli village near Kudal in Sindhudurg have been practicing Pinguli Chitrakathi since the 17th century. It follows a unique sequence and is based on the stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana. The collection of pictures is used to tell the story in the form of songs supported by traditional music using indigenous instruments such as veena, taal and huduk. This art form is almost extinct today as storytellers have migrated to all over Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

Bhitti Chitra: Bhitti Chitra is a traditional wall painting that depicts religious themes on the walls of houses or temples. The Matheran or Mahatma communities, who are traditional Bhitti Chitra artistes, are well known for their mineral-painted depictions. Gold and silver embossing technique is used to enhance the effect of the paintings. Frescoed walls and delicate and intricate patterns in the ceilings reveal the religious context of the work. In Maharashtra, the Matherans live in Govard near Pali and are well recognized for their paintings of the Gangaur idols.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The State of Maharashtra is found to be one of the most developed states in terms of economic, education and health sectors. The performance of this State is remarkably higher as compared to other states. Maharashtra has a rich geographical diversity which reflects in various facets of the social, religious, economic and cultural life. Despite challenges and obstacles, Maharashtra has emerged strong in all aspects living upto its name and rich legacy.

7.4 SUMMARY

The name Maharashtra is the land of the Marathi speaking people, and is derived from the Sanskrit words *Maha* meaning 'Great' and *Rashtra* meaning 'Nation'.

Maharashtra was under siege from various ruling dynasties from the ancient times. The Satavahanas, the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas and the Yadavas ruled Maharashtra at different times.

Shivaji Bhosle, the Maratha warrior King, was the founder of the Maratha Empire who fought against the Mughals.

The British entered India as merchants and traders and gradually took administrative control of the region. However, the Marathas showed courage to challenge the British rule in the nation.

Western Education and Philosophy paved the way for the Social Reform Movement of the 19th century Maharashtra in a bid to tackle social problems such as untouchability and sati.

Maharashtra occupies a key position in western India, constituting a major portion of the Indian Peninsula with abundant diversity.

The hallmark of Maharashtra is that it is a multi-religious, multilingual and multi-ethnic society.

Maharashtra is a melting pot of myriad cultures, and a perfect blend of tradition and modernity. Maharashtra is a land of culture and traditions, arts and crafts, religions and festivals.

Festivals and lavish celebrations are regular among the people of Maharashtra, which showcase the vibrant culture of the state.

Various dance traditions and folk music provide an interesting insight into the state's rich past. Folk music forms like Gondhal, Lavani, Bharud and Powada represent a slice of the culture of a particular region.

The State has a rich tradition of folk art that is centuries old. The various tribal communities of Maharashtra such as the Adivasis of the Sahyadri ranges, the Matherans of Gadvard in Pali or the Thakkars of Pinguli, all have given life to many art forms.

7.5 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the historical background of the State of Maharashtra.
2. 'Regional diversity of Maharashtra lends the State a distinct flavour'. Discuss.
3. Examine the culture of Maharashtra with reference to Folk Art forms, festivals, dances, and religions.

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TOURISM IN MAHARASHTRA – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, FOOD CULTURE

Unit Structure :

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 TOURISM IN MAHARASHTRA
 - 8.1.1 Benefits of Tourism
 - 8.1.2 Maharashtra Tourism Policy 2016
 - 8.1.3 Tourism Potential in Maharashtra
 - 8.1.4 Creation of Special Tourism Zones
 - 8.1.5 Future Tourism Development
- 8.2 ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF MAHARASHTRA
- 8.3 FOOD CULTURE OF MAHARASHTRA
 - 8.3.1 Region wise Food Specialties
- 8.4 Conclusion
- 8.5 Summary
- 8.6 Questions
- 8.7 References

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- To examine the potential for tourism in Maharashtra
- To provide insight into the economy, society and culinary culture of Maharashtra

8.1 TOURISM IN MAHARASHTRA

Travel and tourism has been one of the most dynamic, economic and social growth activities over the past few decades. While witnessing phenomenal growth in the twentieth century, tourism has become the largest industry in the world today. Tourism related activities are a central pillar of the service economy offering sustenance to millions of people and contributing to national income. It is also considered as an engine of growth and a symbol of modernization. Tourism is projected as a 'smokeless industry' and believed to offer an alternative to potentially damaging forms of development such as mining, logging, industry or

exploitative use of wildlife. It is estimated that 650 million people will be traveling internationally at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The number is expected to be over 1600 million by the year 2020.

The overall development of tourism infrastructure coupled with efforts by the government to promote tourism such as appropriately positioning India on the global tourism map through the 'Incredible India' campaign has begun to bear results. The tourism trends have been encouraging. The growth of tourism in India has been rapid in the last five years despite a late start. This can be attributed to the ever increasing middle class, increase in disposable income, improved facilities, stress on urban families and improved connectivity to tourist destinations. Tourist arrivals have gone up by more than 25% and foreign exchange earnings have jumped by 40%. The World Travel and Tourism Council has rated India as one of the five fastest growing tourism economies in the world.

8.1.1 Benefits of Tourism: The economic and multiplier impacts of tourism are as follows:

1. Generation of foreign exchange
2. Creation of job and employment opportunities
3. Stimulation of trade and commerce and entrepreneurship
4. Provision of tourism and non-tourism related infrastructure
5. Improve regional development, especially in remote locations
6. Increase in tax revenues, leading to greater government spending
7. Cascading of new money through a multiplier effect.

Considering the beneficial implications of tourism, the Government of Maharashtra has identified Tourism as a priority sector. The Government of Maharashtra proposed to launch the new Maharashtra Tourism Policy, 2016 as a strategy to attract private sector investments into the tourism sector. This policy aims to create a pro-growth, pro-environment and pro-jobs eco-system in the state of Maharashtra.

8.1.2 Maharashtra Tourism Policy 2016 – Features and Highlights

The Government of Maharashtra proposed the New Maharashtra Tourism Policy (2016) which has replaced the earlier Tourism Policy of Maharashtra released in 2006. The highlights of the policy are as follows:

1. Recognise Tourism as a priority sector since it holds immense potential to usher economic development
2. Achieve sector growth of 10% per annum and share of 15% in GDP through tourism and allied activities.
3. Generate fresh investments in the tourism sector to the tune of INR 30,000 crore by 2025.
4. Incentivize tourism units in the State by linking it to the Package Scheme of Incentives, 2013 of Industries, Energy and Labour Department or any modifications thereafter.
5. Key strategic interventions are identified and special incentives for respective intervention have been laid out.
6. Strengthening of tourism infrastructure especially in the form of PPP (Public-Private Partnership) model, special tourism infrastructure, Tourism Infrastructure Development Fund, CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility), etc are defined in this policy.

8.1.3 Tourism Potential in Maharashtra

Maharashtra, one of India's premier commercial and industrial states, has recognized tourism to be a major thrust for economic growth in the state. The Budget 2002-03 for Tourism and Investment Incentive Package 1999 gives clear indications that the Government of Maharashtra realizes the potential of tourism for wealth creation and employment generation. The state has good physical, social and financial infrastructure and a relative abundance of entrepreneurs. It is the most industrialized, second most urbanized, and judged by the per capita income, the third richest state in India.

In terms of population and area, Maharashtra is the third largest state of India. It is located on the West Coast of India with a distance of 720 km. long coastline along the lush green Konkan region. Nestled in the Western Ghats and the Sahyadri mountain range are several hill stations and water reservoirs with semi-evergreen and deciduous forests. The Vidarbha region with its dense forests is home to several wildlife sanctuaries and nature parks. Thus all the three regions of Maharashtra offer considerable tourism potential. Maharashtra abounds in numerous tourist attractions ranging from ancient cave temples, unspoiled beaches, ancient forts and monuments, unique hill stations, pilgrimage centers, and rich traditions of festivals, art and culture. It is evident that to the avid traveler Maharashtra has everything to offer except the snow-capped mountains, which befits its tourism slogan, "Maharashtra Unlimited".

- The saying 'India lives in its villages' is relevant even today, in the new millennium. Like India, Maharashtra too has a large

number of villages and a substantial proportion of its population living in rural areas. About 58% of the total population of the state lives in 43,722 villages. Rural Tourism and Agritourism could be promoted considering the state's potential.

- Maharashtra has a large number of forts which are valued not only for their historical significance but also for their architectural excellence. These forts will be conserved and developed by the Archaeological Survey of India and State Archaeology respectively.
- Application of Information Technology for Tourism thereby facilitating effective utilization of website/portal for tourism promotion as well as operationalisation of online bookings.
- Creation of awareness among the people about the importance of tourism, tourism planning as also safety and environmental awareness.
- Evaluation and outcome budgeting – From the financial year 2005-06, Government of Maharashtra has initiated the process of evaluating each department by the outcome of their schemes. The emphasis would be on the quality of actual utility and outcomes of funds spent rather than merely spending funds. Feasibility studies would preferably be undertaken before embarking on tourism projects where huge investment is required so that unfruitful expenditure can be avoided.

All these factors present a promising possibility of substantially increasing the tourist attractiveness in the State, both for the domestic as well as international traveler. To consolidate the efforts further, the Tourism Policy of Maharashtra, 2016 is aligned to the National Tourism Policy of 2015.

8.1.4 Creation of Special Tourism Zones

The new tourism policy has proposed to create new circuits and special tourism zones with the financial assistance under Central Financial Assistance (CFA) scheme under the Ministry of Tourism which are as follows:

Sustainable Tourism: The State aims to promote the practice of sustainable tourism; all tourism activities with whatever motivation – holidays, business, religion, adventure, conferences, ecotourism, etc – need to fit into the definition of sustainability.

Rural Tourism: The State offers a unique tourism insight through its rural landscapes. The aim of this strategy is to promote rural tourism as the primary tourism product. Its socio-economic benefits would percolate to the rural areas and surrounding regions. This will lead to a balanced and far reaching growth in the State.

Caravan Tourism: Caravan tourism has become popular in the last few years since it provides flexibility and freedom while holidaying in the midst of fixed schedules. The specially built vehicles for caravan tourism may include recreational vehicles, campervans, motor homes, etc.

Film Tourism: Mumbai is the film, entertainment and fashion capital of the country. It provides an ideal destination for this segment. Along with the existing infrastructure in the Mumbai Film City, film sets in other parts of the State will provide insights to the visitor.

Religious Tourism: Maharashtra is known for its pilgrimage centres like Ajanta and Ellora caves which are part of the acclaimed Buddhist circuit, Jyotirlinga, the AshtaVinayaka and other famous temples at Shirdi, Pandharpur, and Kolhapur. Special pilgrim circuits will be promoted through various marketing efforts and tour operators.

Heritage Tourism: All UNESCO world heritage sites will be promoted through dedicated marketing channels, which will include 'Road Shows' in select regions. All the monuments under the Archeological Survey of India, State Archeological Department, Heritage buildings of Mumbai will be a part of the heritage tourism circuit of the state.

Beach Tourism: The Department of Tourism (DoT) will prepare a comprehensive list of restricted and permitted activities for beaches along the Maharashtra coastline. The DoT will give special licenses to eco-friendly temporary construction on the beaches of Maharashtra. They need to be eco-friendly and CRZ (Coastal Regulatory Zone) compliant.

Culinary Tourism: The State has a wide range of delicacies from the regions of Vidarbha, Malvan, Konkan, Kolhapur, street food of Mumbai, etc. DoT will also promote special culinary events and festivals in the State. It will also promote wine tourism through this theme.

Adventure Tourism: Adventure tourism is the growing segment within tourism. The tourists in this segment often seek exceptional and authentic experience. The State has a number of destinations which can provide avenues for mountaineering trekking, river rafting as adventure activities.

Nature Tourism: DoT will create nature tourism zones and promote it to the target audience. Activities such as hitchhiking, jungle safari, nature trails, bird watching, balloon safari, etc. will be undertaken. Specific regions across the State such as Melghat,

Tadoba, and Pench wildlife sanctuaries will be earmarked for nature tourism.

8.1.5 Future Tourism Development

In Maharashtra, the primary government agency responsible for tourism growth and development is the Maharashtra Tourism Development Corporation (MTDC). MTDC has been from its year of inception working to boost the tourism industry in the state. With the main thrust, to market Maharashtra as a premier global tourism destination, thereby generating employment and enhancing productivity through tourism, the award-winning promotion campaign – ‘Maharashtra Unlimited’, has been created by MTDC. It aims to highlight the unlimited potential of the state. MTDC’s budget outlet for tourism has increased ten-fold as compared to its previous budget. Its present budget of Rs. 101 crores has been allocated for restoration of caves, initiating wildlife and ecotourism in the Vidarbha region and for publicity and promotion activities, a clear seven-fold increase over the previous years.

Check Your Progress

1. How does the Tourism industry benefit Maharashtra?

8.2 ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF MAHARASHTRA

Maharashtra is located in the western region of India. It is one of the most developed and wealthiest states with a booming economy supported by modern infrastructure. Maharashtra is the economic stronghold of India with the largest economy with a State Income or Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) of over 35.29 billion US Dollars in 2003-04; this has expanded at a (CAGR) Compound Annual Growth Rate of 11.1 percent amounting to 263.6 billion US Dollars in 2015-16. The State contributed over 2 percent of (GSDP) Gross State Domestic Product in 2014-15. The Foreign Direct Investment flow is also led by Maharashtra. Out of all the FDI received by the country, Maharashtra accounts for 46 percent in 2016. Major inflow is from the following sectors: real estate and infrastructure, computer hardware and software, telecom, services, motor vehicles and medicines.

The economic policies of the 1970s have given immense impetus to the economy and infrastructure of the state. This is supported by technology upgradation, identifying opportunities for

investment, industrialization in rural areas, joint ventures and tie-ups, etc. The state contributes to 35 percent of the country's automobile output. The capital of Maharashtra, Mumbai, has evolved into a financial hub with several global banking and financial institutions setting up bases in the city. Pune is known as an educational hub. IT and electronics and (BPOs) Business Process Outsourcing industries have flourished in recent years giving a boost to the economy. The Bombay Stock Exchange, India's largest and Asia's oldest stock exchange is located in Mumbai. Maharashtra is the second largest exporter of software, with software parks in Pune, Mumbai, Nashik, Aurangabad and Kolhapur.

Financial hub of the country: Mumbai is considered as the financial capital of the country. Mumbai has a concentration of industries like the chemical industry, the cotton industry, manufacturing, electricity, electrical machinery, transport equipment. Along with the large scale industries, there are certain small scale industries like the handloom, power loom, dyeing and printing, blacksmithing, carpentry, bricks and tile manufacturing.

Mumbai also houses a lot of film, television, and music studios and production houses. The FTII- Film and Television Institute of India (Pune) is a school teaching all genres of film making and appreciation. The film industry in India is the second oldest in the world and is one of the fastest growing industries, growing at the rate of 11.2 percent each year.

Agriculture: Agriculture is the predominant occupation of the state. More than 60 percent of the population of Maharashtra is involved in agriculture and other professions which are indirectly related to agriculture. The main food crops of the region are mangoes, grapes, bananas, oranges, wheat, rice, jowar, bajra, and pulses. Cash crops include groundnut, cotton, sugarcane, turmeric, and tobacco. The total irrigated area which has been used for crop cultivation is 33,500 sq kms. During 2015-16, Maharashtra became one of the leading producers of sugarcane and cotton in the country. As per the budget provisions of 2016-17, the state government aims to set up new textile units in the cotton growing areas of the state.

Industries: Maharashtra is the most industrialized state in India with a contribution of 23 percent to the national economy. Sugar industry in Maharashtra is a cooperative. The state has a long history in textiles. Poultry development, dairy development, chemical and allied products, electrical and non-electrical machinery, petroleum and allied products are the main industries in Maharashtra. Aurangabad and Pune are known for auto components. Chappals (footwear) in Kolhapur, cotton seeds in

Akola, Pharmaceuticals in Aurangabad, Power looms in Malegaon, Bhiwandi and Nagpur contribute to the industrialized state.

Infrastructure: The economic infrastructure of the state includes airports, roads, railways, power, telecom, and ports. Maharashtra boasts of four international and seven domestic airports, 2 major and 53 minor ports, a well developed power supply grid are all boosters to the economy of the state. The social infrastructure includes education and training, health services and tourism. The state is rich in historical, natural and cultural heritage, which gives Maharashtra a huge potential for tourism. Ancient caves at Ajanta, Ellora, Elephanta, numerous forts, hill stations, religious tourism, beaches as well as adventure tourism fetch a substantial economic turnover for the state.

8.3 FOOD CULTURE OF MAHARASHTRA

The State of Maharashtra is blessed with natural resources and nature's bounties. It has a diverse geographical climate with tropical forests, rugged mountains, plains and plateaus with rich black alluvial soil, rivers and also some arid areas. This ecological diversity supports a variety of crops, fruits and vegetables in the state. The food of Maharashtra is conservative at the same time it is replete with aroma, flavor and colour. The diverse geography provides a wide array of vegetarian and non-vegetarian food in all forms. Maharashtra comprises five regions which provide the requisite flavor to the foods, viz; Konkan, Paschim Maharashtra, Khandesh, Vidarbha and Marathwada. The predominant agricultural produce of the region determines the cuisine of each region. There are some localized varieties like the Malvali cuisine from the coastal Sindhudurg district and Saoji cuisine from Nagpur district.

8.3.1 Region wise Food Specialties

a) Konkan: Mumbai, the capital of Maharashtra along with five coastal districts of Thane, Palghar, Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg, together comprising the Konkan region. The region's produce is varied such as rice especially of the ambemohar variety, vegetables, lentils, millets and seasonal fruits like Chikoo, Mango, Jackfruit, Cashewnut, Betel Nut and Coconut. Fishing is an important means of earning a livelihood along the entire Konkan coast. Rice is the staple food of people from the coastal Konkan region. With an abundance of coconut trees, wet coconut and coconut milk are used in many dishes. Local varieties of rice include the fragrant ambemohar in western Maharashtra. For the vegetarians it is served as Varan Bhaat, (steamed rice with plain dal and served with lemon juice, salt and ghee) For special occasions, Masalebhat (spiced mix of rice and vegetables) is served. Kokam is used as a souring agent instead of lime, vinegar

or tamarind. Vegetarian dishes such as Ukdiche Modak (steamed rice dumplings with a filling of coconut and jaggery, flavoured cardamom powder), Valachi Usal (broad beads in thick gravy), Bharleli Vangi (stuffed brinjal), Kajuchi Usal (tender cashew nuts in thick gravy), Puran Poli, Ghavne (dosa variant) are from the Konkan region.

Popular non-vegetarian dishes are Kalvan (fish curry), fried fish, Kolambi Masala (Prawns Masala), Khekda (Crab Masala), and sundried fish dishes like sukat, sode and javla. Indigenous communities of Maharashtra such as the Agri, Kolis have their own distinct cuisine. In south Konkan, near Malvan, there is Malvani cuisine which comprises predominantly non-vegetarian fare, such as Tikhla (spiced fish gray), Kombdi Vade (deep fried puris made from mixed millets) and eaten with Chicken curry. The non-vegetarian fare is washed down with Solkadi (a popular after meal cooler) in the Konkan region.

b) Paschim Maharashtra (Deccan Plateau)

The Deccan Plateau region comprises districts of Pune, Ahmednagar, Satara, Sangli, Solapur and Kolhapur. The region consists of plains rich with black alluvial soil. The staple grains of the Deccan Plateau have been millets, jowar and bajra. These crops grow well in dry and drought-prone regions. There is abundant milk production along with sugarcane, fruits and vegetables, onions and potatoes. The traditional staple on the Deccan plateau (Desh) is usually bread known as bhakri (bread made of millets or rice), spiced cooked vegetables, dal and rice. Popular dishes like bhel, missal, kat vada, pithale bhakri and thalipeeth are from this region. The popular non-vegetarian fare is Kolhapuri Tambda (Red) and Pandhara (White) Mutton Rassa and is eaten with bhakri.

c) Marathwada region

Marathwada consists of seven districts of Aurangabad, Latur, Osmanabad, Jalna, Beed, Parbhani and Nanded. Prior to the rise of the Maratha empire, this region was largely under the Muslim rule and thus their cuisine reflects Moghlai influence. Marathwada is popular for its Biryani and Pulao. The cuisine of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, both bordering states, also have influenced food in Marathwada region.

d) Khandesh region

Khandesh consists of four districts of Nashik, Jalgaon, Dhule and Nandurbar. Grapes and bananas are the most popular products of this region, besides production of milk and sugarcane, groundnuts and brinjals. The popular vegetarian dishes of Khandesh are Shev Bhaji, Vangyache Bharit (smoked, spicy mashed brinjal), Khandesh Khichadi, Golyachi Bhaji and Gulachi

Puri (sweet puri). Popular non-vegetarian dishes are Khandeshi Kala (Black) Masala chicken or mutton curry.

e) Vidarbha region

Thirteen districts of Buldana, Washim, Hingoli, Akola, Amravati, Nagpur, Yavatmal, Wardha, Bhandara, Gondia and Gadchiroli form the Vidarbha region. The cuisine of this region is referred to as the Varhadi cuisine. It uses spices, dry coconut and besan as key ingredients. The most popular Saoji dish is the Varhadi Rassa which is spice chicken or mutton in thick gravy (rassa). Patodi Rassa Bhaji, Kalnyachi bhakri, Vada Bhaat and Varhadi Thecha constitute the staple diet of this region. In the Vidarbha region, little coconut is used in daily preparations but dry coconut and peanuts are used in dishes.

Check Your Progress

1. Name a few maharashtrian delicacies.

2. Maharashtra is the financial hub. Do you agree with the statement?

8.4 CONCLUSION

Maharashtra has embodied the word 'Maha' or great with perfection and elegance in diverse spheres of human development and human imagination. It has proved its prowess in several creative fields, from cinema, art music to theatre. The commercial capital of India, Mumbai, has its own flavor and contribution to the economy. The cultural richness of the state along with its economy, society, food culture and folk art, all contribute to tourism in the state.

8.5 SUMMARY

Maharashtra, one of India's premier commercial and industrial states, has recognized tourism to be a major thrust for economic growth in the state.

The award-winning promotion campaign – 'Maharashtra Unlimited', has been created by MTDC which aims to highlight the unlimited potential of the state.

Maharashtra is recognized as the economic capital of the country. Major inflow is from the following sectors: real estate and infrastructure, computer hardware and software, telecom, services, motor vehicles and medicines.

Maharashtra is a melting pot of myriad cultures, and a perfect blend of tradition and modernity.

Festivals and lavish celebrations are regular among the people of Maharashtra. Ganesh Chaturthi, Gudi Padwa are some of the celebrations that span across the length and breadth of the state.

Folk music forms like Gondhal, Lavani, Bharud and Powada represent a slide of the culture of a particular region.

Maharashtra has a rich tradition of folk art, which is centuries old and has lived through various stages of revival, such a Warli art. The ecological diversity of Maharashtra supports a variety of crops, fruits and vegetables in the state. The food is conservative at the same time it is replete with aroma, flavor and colour. Cuisines from various regions; Konkan, Deccan Plateau, Marathwads, Khandesh and Vidarbha are unique to its history and climate.

8.6 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the potential for tourism in Maharashtra with reference to the new Tourism Policy of Maharashtra.
2. Discuss the characteristics of special tourism zones of Maharashtra.
3. Examine the features of the economy and society of Maharashtra.
4. Elaborate on the culture of Maharashtra with respect to food, festivals and folk art.

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Question Paper Pattern

1. All Questions are Compulsory (100 Marks)
2. All Questions Carry Equal Marks
3. Figures to the right indicates marks to a sub-question

Q1. Attempt Any 2 of the following Questions (Module I) 20 Marks

- a.
- b.
- c.

Q2. Attempt Any 2 of the following Questions (Module II) 20 Marks

- a.
- b.
- c.

Q3. Attempt Any 2 of the following Questions (Module III) 20 Marks

- a.
- b.
- c.

Q4. Attempt Any 2 of the following Questions (Module IV) 20 Marks

- a.
- b.
- c.

Q5. Write Short Notes on Any 2 20 Marks

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

