



Sleepy Classes IAS

Awakening Toppers

SOCIOLOGY

PAPER 2



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Paper 2 Part - A1

Perspectives on the study of Indian society

- Indology (GS. Ghurye)
- Structural functionalism (M N Srinivas)
- Marxist sociology (A R Desai)

Field - Structural, functionalists, Marxian, Modernists

Book View -

- Indology- Classical, Modern
- Historical- Nationalist, Colonialist

Indology (GS. Ghurye)

Father of Modern Indology - Highlighting dynamism of Indian culture, that it's unique
Started as Orientology

Gradually, uniqueness of India realised: Indology

- Literally speaking Indology is the academic study of the history and cultures, languages, and literature of the Indian subcontinent.
- The Indological approach - assumption that historically, Indian society and culture are unique. Also, because assumption that Indian society is continuous and that this 'contextually' specificity of Indian social realities could be grasped better through the 'texts' rather through western ways of studying it. Therefore, Indologists use ancient history, epics, religious manuscripts and texts etc. in the study of Indian social institutions.
- seen in the works of S.V. Ketkar, B.N. Seal and B.K. Sarkar. G.S. Ghurye, Louis Dumont, K.M. Kapadia, P.H. Prabhu and Irawati Karve.
- Initially, Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1787 and also introduced the study of Sanskrit and Indology.
- Emphasis is on understanding the society, rather than reforming.

GS Ghurye

- G.S. Ghurye called "doyen of Indian sociology"
- "Nothing disguises the fact that Ghurye was a giant" - MN Srinivas.
- **3 aspects** worth inquiring into
 - His own role in promoting sociology as a subject- wrote 32 books, provided new theoretical perspectives, new researches on diverse topics, was a nationalist.
 - Institution builder- Bombay university Sociology dept., Indian Sociological Society 1952, its mouthpiece "Sociological bulletin"

- Batch of sociologists he mentored- MN Srinivas, Irawati Karve, AR Desai, K.M Kapadia, IP Desai, MSA Rao.
- Completed his doctoral thesis under WHR Rivers - topic- "Caste and race in India" (not religion)
- Indian society presents a vast melting pot of many cultures, religions, values- Ghurye wanted to explore the long unification and synthesising process through which the society passed and has come to this level. Exploration of the process of cultural unity through ages, is the main thrust of Ghurye's writings.
- G.S. Ghurye's approach distinctive from other Indological approaches for the following reasons
 - **Sanskrit + Vernacular** - Ghurye uses Sanskrit text exclusively to explain Indian society and culture. Extensively quoted from Vedas, Shastras, epics, poetry of Kalidas. Also made use of vernacular literature- used Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's literature and other Marathi works.
 - **Diffusionist method** - Being a student of Prof Rivers he uses the method of diffusion to understand evolution of caste in India and cultural synthesis of Indian society. 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.
 - Methodological pluralism
 - In the application of theories to empirical exercises or in the use of methodologies for data collection he was not dogmatic.
 - He seems to have believed in practicing and **encouraging** disciplined eclecticism (jo bhi theek lagta ho, according to the situation) in theory and methodology.
 - Examples:
 - ❖ Field survey- "Sex habits of the middle-class people in Bombay" and "Mahadev Kolis"
 - ❖ Also used historical and comparative methods in his studies which have been used by his students also.
 - **Theoretical pluralism** (Inductive + Deductive)
 - Basically, interested in inductive empirical exercises---> his theoretical position bordered on laissez-faire.
 - Ghurye's flexible approach was born of his faith in intellectual freedom which is reflected in the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches.
 - Example:
 - ❖ Even when he conducted survey type research he ventured into generalisations on the basis of scanty information and unrepresentative evidence—e.g., in "Social tensions in India" Whole range of his works can be classified into 6 broad area.

Whole range of his works can be classified into 6 broad area

1. Caste

Attributional Approach (have attributes)

- Book - "Caste and Race in India" combined historical, anthropological and sociological perspective to understand caste and kinship in India caste tribes, kinship, family, Marriage, culture, civilisation, cities, religion, conflict & integration.
- Tried to understand caste from historical texts, combining it with field work and cultural perspective.
- He studied caste system from a historical, comparative, and integrative perspective.
- Emphasizes two important points:
 - The kin and caste networks in India had parallels in some other societies also.
 - The kinship and caste in India served in the past as integrative frameworks.
- Six **structural features** of caste system as follows
 - Segmental division
 - Hierarchy
 - Lack of choice of occupation
 - Privileges of Prohibitions
 - Commensality - Food hierarchies in caste - Kacha food, Pakka food, raw food)
 - Restrictions on marriage

Besides the above characteristics, Ghurye laid particular stress on endogamy as the most important feature of the caste system. Caste hierarchy maintained through endogamy.

2. Tribe

- Works on the tribes were general as well as specific. - "Mahadev Kolis" and "general book on St, s in India.
- At that time - majority of the established anthropologists and administrators were of the opinion that the Isolation Approach separate identity of the tribes is to be maintained at any cost.
- Isolation not possible, tribes already Hinduised. Ghurye, on the other hand, believed that separate identity cannot be made as already most of the tribes have been Hinduized after a long period of contact with Hindus.
- It is futile to search for the separate identity of the tribes. They are nothing but the 'backward caste Hindus'. Their backwardness was due to their imperfect integration into Hindu society. The Santhals, Bhils, Gonds, etc., who live in South- Central India are its examples.
- Led to a fierce debate between G.S. Ghurye and Verrier Elwin. Elwin in his book Loss of Nerve said that tribals should be allowed to live in isolation, whereas Ghurye argued that tribals should be assimilated into Hindu castes.
- Ghurye also highlighted the positives of assimilation- Under Hindu influence, the tribes gave up liquor drinking, received education and improved their tribes and improved their agriculture.

- In his later works of north-eastern tribes, Ghurye documented secessionist trends. He felt that unless these were held in check, the political unity of the country would be damaged.

3. Kinship, Family and Marriage

- The relationship between caste and kinship is very close because exogamy/endogamy is largely based on kinship, either real or imaginary, and (ii) the effective unit of caste, sub-caste is largely constituted of kinsmen.
- To Ghurye, there are 3 types of marriage restrictions in our society, which shape the relationship between caste and kinship.
- These are endogamy, exogamy and hypergamy.
- Exogamy can be divided into two parts:
 - spinda or prohibited degrees of kin,
 - sept or gotra exogamy.

4. Culture, Civilisation and Historical role of cities

- Idea of urbanization (rural + urbanisation) securing the advantages of urban life simultaneously with nature's greenery.
- During colonial times, the growth of metropolitan centres altered the Indian life. Colonilers inverted the previous pattern.
- The towns and cities were no longer the outlets for agricultural produce and handicrafts but they became the major manufacturing centres.
- These centres used rural areas for producing raw materials and turned into a market for selling industrial products.

Thus, the metropolitan economy emerged to dominate the village economy. Therefore, the urbanization started making inroads into the rural hinterland in contrast to previous pattern.

5. Civilisation and Culture

There are two conflicting views about the growth and accumulation pattern of culture

- 1st view - Independent Growth of Culture
 - Any community culture grows quite independently of similar events happening elsewhere or predominantly with reference to local needs and local situation.
- 2nd View - By Diffusion
 - Culture grows by diffusion. A single invention or discovery is made at one place and ultimately this cultural trait diffuses throughout the world.
 - Ghurye had a strong faith in the power of man to preserve the best of his old culture, while creating from his own spirit of new culture. (Ghurye - Man preserves best of old culture while creating new. Acculturation Best of own + best of others.
 - Concerned with the process of evolution of Hindu civilization, which has been termed as a 'complex civilization'.
 - He said, the process of acculturation is more relevant than the process of diffusion.

- He thinks that the challenging task for a sociologist is to analyse this complex acculturation process in India. (Caste – started by Brahmins Spread to others.
- In his analysis of caste, Ghurye refers to how caste system was developed by the Brahmins and how it spread to other sections of the population.

6. Religion (Centre of Culture Heritage)

- Ghurye thinks that religion is at the centre of the total cultural heritage of man.
- It moulds and directs the behaviour of man in society.
- He wrote six books to bring out the role of religion in society.
- These are - Indian Sadhus (1953), Gods and Men (1962), Religious Consciousness (1965), Indian Accumulation (1977), Vedic India (1979), and The Legacy of Ramayana (1979).

Indian Sadhus

- Indian Sadhus (1953 and 1964) --> sociography of the various sects and religious centres established by the great Vedantic philosopher Shankaracharya and other notable religious figures.
- Highlights the paradoxical nature of renunciation in India.
- A sadhu or sannyasin is supposed to be detached from all castes, norms and social conventions, etc. yet strikingly enough, since the time of Shankaracharya, the Hindu society has more or less been guided by the sadhus.
- Most of them belonged to monastic orders, which have distinctive traditions.
- The monastic organization in India was a product of Hinduism and Buddhism. The rise of Buddhism and Jainism marked the decline of individual ascetics like Viswamitra.
- Indian sadhus have acted as the arbiters of religious disputes, patronized learning of scriptures and the sacred lore and even defended religion against external attacks.
- Sociology of conflict and integration Three books of Ghurye, known as his 'trilogy' in this field, which are relevant in this connection. These are Social Tensions in India (1968), Whither India (1974) and India Recreates Democracy (1978).

Five sources of danger for national unity

- The Scheduled Castes
- The Scheduled Tribes
- The Backward Classes
- The Muslims as religious minority groups
- The linguistic minorities

How cultural unity is there in India.

- Indirectly a result of Brahmanical endeavours.

- He thinks that it is largely as a result of Brahminical endeavour that cultural unity in India has been built up. All the major institutions of Hindu society originated among the Brahmins and gradually they were accepted by other sections of the community. Though Ghurye calls it process of acculturation, it was basically a one-way flow, in which the Brahminical ideas and institutions infiltrated among the non-Brahmins. It is the background of such an approach that Ghurye analyses the problems and prospects of Indian unity in contemporary India.

Criticism of Ghurye | Indology

- Caste - Brahminical P.O.V.
- Tribe - Integration | Assimilation is a value loaded concept.
- Armed chair theorism - SC|ST|OBC| Muslims as a threat is not acceptable as they widely participated in INM.
- Indology does not take into account present contemporary changes highlighted by Field Studies. (e.g., Dominant caste, Sanskritization)
- Different Indologists give contradictory explanation (e.g., Colonial VS Nationalist Indologists)
- Religious texts presented a value, while reality was different. (Fact vs Value)
- Mainly considered Hindu Culture as culture of India.

Indology

- Academic study of the history and cultures, languages and literature of the Indian Subcontinent.
- Indian Society and culture are unique.
- Indian social realities could be grasped better through texts rather through western ways of studying it.

Indology in Contemporary Times

Wendy Doniger

- American Indologist
- Book - The Hindus - An Alternative History

DP Mukherjee

- Marxian Perspective on Indology (Marxology)
- Dialects of Indian History

Johannes Bronkhorst

- Concentrated on the history of Indian thought and published on a wide range of topics, including
- Indigenous grammar and linguistics.
- The interaction between Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism and their philosophical schools and religious practices.
- **Important Book** - Greater Magadha (2007)

William Dalrymple Award

- winning histories of the interaction between the British and the Mughals between the eighteenth and mid nineteenth century.

Arthur Llewellyn Basham

- Basham was one of the first western historians to critically gauge the impact of Swami Vivekananda from a global perspective.
- His well - known comment about Vivekananda that “in centuries to come, he will be remembered as one of the main moulders of the modern world,” is quoted frequently in appreciations and tributes of Vivekananda.
- Most popular book is the wonder that was India - “most widely used introduction to Indian civilization”

Ram Sharan Sharma

- Focused on early Indian social structure, material and economic life, state formation and political ideas and the social context of religious ideologies.
- Laid stress on the elements of change and continuity.
- Methodology rests on a critical evaluation of sources and a correlation between literary texts with archaeology and ethnography.
- Unravel the process of class formation, and social implications of the material changes in the Vedic period and in the age of the Buddha on the basis of literary and archaeological sources.
- Sharma applied the tool of historical materialism not only to explain social differentiation and stages of economic development, but also to the realm of ideology.
- His investigations into the “feudal mind” and “economic and social basis of tantrism” are thought - provoking, opening up new lines of inquiry.

Content Analysis

- Apart from texts Official data, Histories, Mass Media also being analysed.
- (Eng. - Analysis of TV Serials - Presents Primacy or Traditional Roles, family)
- Texts from across the languages Monuments Script Deciphered.

Issues that can take help from Indology

- History of Caste System
- Joint family as a Value
- Caste - Race Parallel
- Ayodhya Issue
- Ram Setu

Criticism

- Brahminical Point of view in texts
- Ignores Sub – Altern
- Ignores Tribal History
- Different Indologist give contradictory explanations
- (e.g., colonial vs Nationalist Indologists)
- Religious Texts Represent a Value (Different from the fact)
- Mainly considers Hindu Culture as Culture of India
- Field studies reflect that Indology doesn't explain the present-day situation

Structural functionalism (M N Srinivas)

Studies particular functions that are performed by an institution or object for maintenance of Structure.

- Tries to explain the various social forms found in tribal societies in terms of their contributions to social cohesion.
- This perspective focus on the understanding of the 'ordering' and 'patterning' of the social world.
- It asks certain basic questions like:
 - How did various institutions or customs originate?
 - How does it fill in the broader context?
 - How does the part relate to the whole?
- Regarding this perspective, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown says that the total social structure of a society, together with the totality of social usages, constituted a functional unity, a condition in which all parts work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, that is, without producing persisting conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated.
- It treats changes as a slow, cumulative process of adjustment to a new situation.
- Its explanation consists essentially of pointing out how the different types of activity fit on top of one another, and are consistent with one another, and how conflicts are contained and prevented from changing the structure
- The structural-functional perspective relies more on the field work tradition for understanding the social reality so that it can also be understood as 'contextual' or 'field view' perspective of the social phenomena.
- The important followers of this perspective are M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube, McKim Marriott, I.P. Desai, D.N. Majumdar and others.
- In this section, we would discuss the structural-functional approach adopted by M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube and McKim Marriott in the study of Indian society.
- (WH – Wisers – Jajmani System – Structure Function |
- Relevance of Structure Function increased after welfare economy Policies in India.)

MN Srinivas

- **M.N. Srinivas** is to be credited for initiating the new line of structural-functional analysis in sociological and social anthropological research in India.
- **Inductivism** - Srinivas had initiated the tradition of basing macro-sociological generalizations on micro anthropological insights.

Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives

- Moved from western textbooks or from indigenous sacred texts to "from direct observation, field study and field experience".
- Also, Coorg Study revealed similarity in religious rituals.
- Field study of Coorgs between 1940-42. Rites in terms of worshipping Rivers (Ganga, Kaveri in Coorg) (Coorgs - People of the place Coorg)
 - functional unity was explained by explaining the interaction in ritual context of different castes of Coorgs, mainly Brahmins (priests), Kaniyas (astrologers and magicians) and Bannas and Panikas (low castes)
- Studies of caste religion (1952, 1959, 1962, and 1966) highlighted not only their structural functional aspects, but also the dynamics of the caste system in rural setting.

Introduced new concepts

- proposed conceptual tools like 'dominant caste', 'Sanskritizationwesternization' and 'secularization' to understand the realities of inter-caste relations and also to explain their dynamics.
- The concept of 'dominant caste' has been used in the study of power relations at the village level.

Whole range of work can be classified into 5

His work can be arranged and studied under the following heads

- Social Change
- Religion & Society
- Study on village
- Caste
- Dominant caste

Social change

Brahminization, Sanskritization (Religious + Secular), Westernization (Primary, Secondly, Tertiary) and Secularization

- Attempted to construct a macro-level analysis using a large number of microlevel findings on the processes of 'Sanskritization', 'westernization' and 'secularization'.
- Coorgs - Sanskritization - case of anticipatory socialisation - Generally inter - generation - Followed with rise in Secular mobility
- Rampur (village) - Dominant caste
- When entire group gets mobility (Sanskritization) - Dominant caste.

Religion and society

- Coorgs of South India
- 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 to interpret changes observed through field study.
- Later led to higher level concept, 'sanskritization', Brahminic model as frame of reference had limitations (copying of life ways and rituals of other higher castes also)
- Though referring mainly to the processes of cultural imitation, has a built-in structural notion, that of hierarchy and inequality of privilege and power, since the imitation is always by the castes or categories placed lower in social and economic status. Book- Social change in Modern India (1966)
- Sanskritization- 'sanskritization' as the process by which a 'low' caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, ritual, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a 'twice - born(dwija) caste. The sanskritization of a group has usually the effect of improving its position in the local caste hierarchy.
- Westernisation- westernization was a change resulting from the contact of British socio-economic and cultural innovations and ideological formulation after independence to deal with the question of religious groups and minorities.

Study of village

- Srinivas considers village as the microcosm of Indian society and civilization. It is the village, which retains the traditional composition of India's tradition. Srinivas was concerned with the spread of Hinduism.
- Hinduism was being spread by the process of Sanskritization. Curiously did not take up why masses of Hindus still lie in low castes or no castes.
- He was not fascinated by Hinduism in its holistic form. He looked for it in the caste system.
- Rampura village- dominant caste.
 - He conducted the study of Rampur- a Mysore village - which gave him the concept of 'dominant caste'. The study has been contained in The Remembered Village (1976)

Views on caste

- He showed how castes are interdependent in villages by his study of Rampura Village.
- Srinivas has extensively talked about the social evils of the caste society; he pleads for change in caste system and discusses westernization and modernization as viable paradigms of changes Srinivas views caste as a segmentary system. Every caste, for him, is divided into sub-castes which are;

Keyword - SOPCP

- Segmentary- The unit of endogamy
- Whose members follow a common occupation
- Pollution and purity
- Commensality
- Whose members are governed by the same authoritative body, viz., the panchayat?

Dominant caste - Political

- He first proposed it in his early papers on the village of Rampura.
- In Rampura village there were many communities- Brahmins, peasants, untouchables. Peasants hold lands, and although they are lower in hierarchy than Brahmins, they hold considerable power over them in the village.

Dominant Caste

- Six attributes
 - Sizeable amount of arable land
 - Strength of numbers
 - High place in the local hierarchy
 - Western education
 - Jobs in the administration
 - Urban sources of income.
- Of the above attributes of the dominant caste, the following three are important:
 - Numerical strength
 - Economic power through ownership of land
 - Political power.

Criticism

- MNS's views come across as Upper caste views only
 - For him, Indian traditions are those, which are manifested in caste and village.
 - His traditions are Hinduised traditions and in no sense secular ones.
 - The construction of sanskritization and dominant caste put him closer to Hindutva ideology of cultural nationalism.
 - More elitist or presents only upper caste view.
- **Yoginder Singh** criticizes M. N. Srinivas on the ground that his structure functionalism is a manifestation of objective idealism (a preconceived notion that India changes at a slower pace in comparison to west)- rather in India change is really fast
- **Maitri chowdhary** considers that M. N. Srinivas theory is conservative as it cannot understand the changes experienced by Indian social institutions under the influence of globalization and feminist movements
- **Anand Chakravarti**- silent on class, factional politics and different kinds of political manipulation persisting
- Y. Singh - Indian society rapidly changing, of many factors (Islamisation, westernisation), villages no longer micro - cosm of India

- **Gail Omvedt**→reflection of Brahminic ideology than value neutral sociology. Caste as a product of culture is shared by all Indians is absolutely unacceptable.
- Gail Omvedt – MNS doesn't explain why Dalits couldn't become Dominant caste inspite of numbers.
- Ghanshyam Shah: Dominant caste nothing but class mobilisation
- **Yogesh Atal's**: Dominant castes have different meanings at different
 - (Multiple Dominances) levels. (MNS not defined where the dominance is)
 - Example –
 - At village level – Family dominates
 - At state level – A caste dominates
 - At National level – various Dominant castes
- **RK Mukherjee**: presently in capitalist India, Urban areas make the structure of society, villages are a were recipient of the structure made.
- Does not explain mobility experienced by non – Hindu communities.
- Difficult to say what constitutes a dominant caste when there are so many sub – castes.
- Gujarat KHAM, MY – various groups came together as a power faction Dipankar Gupta to overpower dominant castes. (KHAM overpowered Patedars)
- Standard dukh-dard of Structure functionalism
 - States Quoist
 - Teleology's
 - Ignores Conflict
 - Tendency to Generalise (Empirical Anarchism)

Marxist sociology (A R Desai)

Radcliffe Brown –

- History distinguished from socio. (Wilhelm Windbenrd & Henrich Rickert) History ideographic (dealing with individual facts), socio nomothetic (dealing with abstractions, generalized facts)

Marx & Marxists –

- This is unacceptable. History lifeline of society. Society subject matter of history. Complement Interdependent.

Noted Indian Marxists –

- DP Mukherjee (Marxological), RK Mukherjee City Studies), IP Desai, AR Desai.
- They gave an alternate vision to Indological perspective and str. functionalism.

Marxist Idea/Thought -

- Societies Develop through dialectics. Indological persp gives only history, str func discusses only present. Marxist view studies the process of development and evolution through history. Social institutions understood through Dialectics + Economics.

Marxist

- **Daniel Thorner** - understood agrarian class structure
- **Kathleen Gough** - highlighted class - caste nexus.
- **IP Desai** - Joint family in agrarian societies of Economies of scale & DoL.
- **Berman** - Jajmani exploitative for kamins.

Methodology - How do they do it -

- Marxists collect historical data and look at the socio-historical dev at diff points of time.

AR Desai

- Rejects uniqueness of Indian culture. Considers that history of India should be interpreted from economic perspective to understand the birth, growth and rise of Indian soc.

His ideas -

- On Birth of Caste -
 - Aryan invasion destroyed primitive MOP (woh kyaa thaa nahin bataaya ussne)
 - Indigenous were subjected to separate residence.
 - Beginning of caste. Aryans thought themselves as superior, called themselves Brahmin.
 - Different indigenous tribes got their names from the totems they worshipped.
 - Their occupation was rigidified by Brahmins.
 - Texts were written by the dominant caste to rigidify stratification, e.g., Rigveda which says -
 - B-Head, K-Shoulders, V-Legs, S-feet. (Cultural reproduction - Pierre Bordeaux)
- **On Buddhism and Jainism** - Scholars see them as progressive anti-Brahminical movements for egalitarians soc. He says B&J simply offered some space for explanation of existing dominant culture and looked for patronizing from ruling class making Hinduism stronger and seeing Buddha as one of the avatars.
- On Classes in India
 - 2 Classes - Masters and Service.
 - Service Class **morally and socially** bound to offer services to master class.
 - The relation is dialectic economical relation. Comparable to slavery in west.
- On feudalism in India
 - Largely different from European.

- Indian came from above (by Emperors or British), in Europe the feudalism came from below, means that a lot of minor chieftains, feudal lords collectively determined who would they support for Kingship.
- Indian feudal lords were already chiefs or kings.
- Normal ppl no ownership of land they tilled.
- Rent in the form of taxes and services offered.
- Therefore, loss of political, social and economic freedom by masses.
- **Capitalistic MOP** – Colonialism brought railways, roadways, diff tenure systems, Bureaucracy, legal courts, police system, cash transactions, thus, starting Capitalistic MOP.
 - Machines produced, cottage industries shut, peasants lost right over Agri land and forced to grow cash crops and indigo.
- On revolt of 1857
 - **(Capitalism VS Feudalism)** - clash between rising capitalism and declining feudalism (represented by diff feudal communities)
- **On INM (5 Phases)**
 - AR Desai is Critical of national and liberal historians.
 - Many ex-feudal lords got into industry under British.
 - Emergent industrialists and Middle class started eyeing a position in admin, politics, police etc and started a mass mobilization against British which they called INM.
 - “The so-called national leaders like Gandhi and Nehru adopted policies not to wipe out class ineq rather they preferred to glorify nation in the minds of all in order to receive support from the hungry and speechless masses in India, so as to transfer the power from the hands of external colonizers to internal colonizers”.
 - Therefore, democracy came in India without democratic participation, without economic freedom, without pol freedom.
- On Contemporary Policies
 - He is Sceptical of New policies as they profess False Consciousness like Governmental policies like LR, Reservations etc.
 - He sees it as a conscious design of dominant group to glorify the segmentation amongst the culturally, politically and economically deprived sections of the society.

Conclusion

- Desai attempts to understand poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, marginalization of masses in India as a product of economic history driven by conscious ideological constructs.
- To him INM, Devl policies are all populist measures by govt to ensure that True Class Consciousness and Polarisation of society never occurs.

Criticism

- **Andre Beteille** – exaggeration of eco history to fit into Marxist theory. Eg peasant movements in diff parts of the country sign of democracy, never seen in history. AB says that Development is happening.
- **Y Singh** – Marxian theory never looks for alternatives to social change. Highly sceptical of everything (govt policies, mass media, popular movements etc.)
- **Gail Omvedt** – Marxian theory sees only 2 polarised classes. Whereas in India the degree of inequality experienced by all classes is not equal. Dalits immensely suppressed, worst victims.
- **Jyoti Basu** – Biggest folly of Marxist studies in India is to ignore castes & religion. (Equality caste as class is invalid in India)
- **Andre Beiteille** – Exaggeration of eco. History to fit into Indian History, other basis of stratifications like caste & political pouncer milled.
- Urban areas are witnessing large swathes of Middle – class, contrary to what Marxists Predicted. (Use Dahrenderf's 5)
- **Gail omvedt**- Not right to clarify India into 2 polar classes, Dalits are highly oppressed compared to others.

Other Marxist approaches to study Indian Soc -

- Ranjeet Guha's Subaltern Sociology – The history of India should be re-written from a mass persp than from the (current) govt's perspective. Empirical evidence indicates that how subaltern groups have exhibited resistance in diff parts of the country at diff times. Eg tribal movmts, caste movmts, peasant etc.
- Anand Chakravathy's Hegemonistic Domination – It is against class domination. (Under-class = a body of ppl who are subjected to various forms of deprivation). He says that politics, judiciary, police etc controlled by same class and for underclass to rise and get HRs and other economic and political rights it will need support from urban intelligentsia.
- Ashok Rudra, Pranab Bardhan – Follow Althusser's thoety of ideological state apparatus (which does not track history of inequality but focuses on genesis of inequality).
- Pradeep to Sarkar – LPG era = neo-colonialism (for explaining poverty and marginalization in India)
- All in all, India from past to present is a dialectic of Poverty and Prosperity, Empowerment and Powerlessness.

Some fodder material on AR Desai

- Worked under GSG.
- Major Book – The SBIN.
- A fresh view on "India" level problems.
- Fame – 15th All-Indian Sociological conference. 27 points emphasizing non-existence of Marxist methodology in Indian sociology.

7 Broad Contemporary Ideas

- **Constitution** – Bourgeoisie, leadership capitalistic. Slogan of socialism is a hoax to confuse masses.

- **State** - Though preaching science, revivalist and popularizing old religious philosophies. (Naming India Bharat (To be quoted in Secularism - that state's symbol still talk of religion), Dharma chakra as national symbols etc.)
- **Culture** - idealistic and religion-mystical philosophies re-enforced by ruling bourgeois to dominate.
- **Development** - book India's path of Development, 1984. Weak Indian capitalist society can't resolve eco, pol, socio, educational, cultural problems of India.
- **Crisis** - present society will deepen eco, pol, socio, cultural crises.
- **Capitalism** - Under capitalism not possible to liquidate mass poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance, reactionary caste, feudal institutions.
- **Socialism** - Only Socialism can end crisis. By changing consti - giving right to work, removing private property for transformation of Indian society.
- **Interactional Theory** - It a caste receives max food from max castes, is lowest in hierarchy (Mekim Marxist from GSGS writing)
- **DP Mukherjee** - Marxian perspective on Indology (Marxology) (Dialects of Indian History)
- **Wendy Doniger** - American Indologist, Book - The Hindus: An Alternative History
- **Content Analysis** - Apart from texts, official data, Histories, Mass Media also being analysed (eg. Analysis of Tv serials presents primacy of traditional roles, family. Also, texts. Monuments, scripts deciphered, leading to never meanings.

Criticism

- Field Studies highlighted weakness in studying texts as they do not reflect present day situations.

Part - A2

Impact of colonial rule on Indian society:

- Social background of Indian nationalism.
- Modernization of Indian tradition.
- Protests and movements during the colonial period.
- Social reforms.

Social background of Indian Nationalism ->

- Nationalist - Nation always existed, Urban MC seeking reforms
- Marxist
- Sub - Altern - Nation was imposed by MC
- Role of western education
- Social Reform Movement
- Women
- Various castes

- Tribals
- Various religions
- Rural-Urban
- Role of Diaspora
- Vivekanand & Caliph - Role of Religion - Led to Partition

Different theoretical strands to study SBIN

- **Nationalist** – Ranade, Pt. Nehru, NK dutt, KN Pannikar.
 - Indian Nationalism product of urban English educated middle class seeking reforms in social
- **Instis.**
 - Promoting territorial integration,
 - stimulating mass minds.
 - They consider congress and INM integral for rise of N in India.

AR Desai (Marxist point of view)

- Opposite to the above view.
- Economic MOP influenced the political superstructure and mobilization.
- Indian Nationalism in 5 distinct phases. With each phase social base broadened.
- He writes - Prior to British, Nationalism was absent in India as ppl lived in dispersed villages.
- Earlier rulers including Mughals did not touch village autonomy and were thus not revolted against.

Divides the SBIN in 5 phases -

(1800 – 1850 | 1850 – 1888 | 1888 – 1905 | 1905 – 1920 | 1920 – 1940)

- **First phase** – Intro of British & related beginning education, policies etc.
 - Peasant suppression Rise of intelligential Reform movements | Narrow social base of nationalism
 - Intro of British brought –
 - large body of tax collectors.
 - Middle-men.
 - Police.
 - Disinterested bureaucracy.
 - Cash Transactions. Thus, peasant started to get suppressed.
 - Also, rise of Intelligentsia product of modern education imparted by British. Raja Ram Mohan Roy & co. pioneers of the concept of Indian N. They initiated socio-reform and religio-reform movements. N had narrow social base. Arya samaj, brahmosamaj etc beginning to operationalise.

- **Second Phase** – Destruction of indigenous industries Peasants & dethroned feudal lords led to 1857 Religious reasons as well | It was a war b/w declining feudalism & rising capitalism
 - Colonial infra consolidated Destroying indigenous industry & related consequences 1857 revolt.
 - Colonial powers consolidated. Expanse of rail, ports, telephony etc. Intro of British goods destroyed indigenous industries. Rise of mass poverty, debt trap, forced eviction. Peasants in diff parts supported by dethroned feudal lords led to 1857.
- **Third Phase** – Indian Bourgeoisie encouraged middle class to protest in order to project their interest Rise of INC
 - Rise of various trusts. 80% of British origin. Monopolising manufacturing and marketing. Indian industries absolutely collapsed. Very few (12) Indian industrialists. They organized revolt to protect their class interest. Funded, encouraged, patronized Indian middle class to organize protests against British. Rise of congress and acceleration of Indian N.
- **Fourth** – Peasantry in country side mobilised Rise of Kisan Sabha movements.
 - Landless peasantry mobilized by Indian leaders driven by socialistic inclination revolted against zamindars/intermediaries. Rise of Kisan Sabha Movement in countryside uniting peasants of different languages, diff regions.
- **Fifth** –
 - Mahatma Gandhi bridged the gap between different classes. Thesis (Indian Buorgenoisie), anti-thesis (Indian Proletariat) then synthesis (Both together) Mass movement. Articulated concerns of peasants and supported concessions to Indian industrialists. Asked zamindars to support INC. Therefore, Bourgeois interest got glorified in INC agenda. And has been so ever since.
 - He concludes that N is being used as a vehicle for the perpetuation of the dominance than making India an all-inclusive country without poverty, illetracy, discrimination. Hence his conception of N is paradoxical to that of nationalists.

Reactions/Criticisms –

- Ramachandra Guha – Gandhi was not a bourgeois leader but a statesman who understood the importance of masses and mobilized them into INM.
- Andre Beteille – what India needs today is a responsible and reflexive state concerned about Social Equity and Social Welfare.
- MNS – Diversity in India is not its weakness but a balancing force.
- Lack of empirical data.
- More Y. Singh of an ideology than reality.
- A. Beteilles forced empiricism to fit into Marxist methodology).

Hinderances to modernisation in India:

Y. Singh:

- Status Qus orientation

- Caste: Divides during movements (KK Sarkar)
- Joint Family
- orthodoxy | superstitious -> Sea travel considered bad
- Religious belief (Karma Theory) (weber quoted)
- Elites

Relevance

- Sub-nationalism articulated through separatist movements. These movements unifying ppl on the basis of culture, language, territory. Sub - nationalism is unifying people.
- Return of Hindu N a new challenge to secular and democratic state of India.
- Therefore, N becoming pathological as well as promoting unity.
- New Forms - Cricket N, Scientific N, War N unifying nation.

Modernisation of Indian Tradition

Define Modernity

- Modernity is ADAPCO.
 - Ascription VS Achievement
 - Diffusion VS Specificity
 - Affectivity VS Affective neutrality
 - Particularism VS Universalism
 - Collective orientation VS Individual orientation

Rationalisation in PEST

- Overall societal process which brings about social change in norms, ethos, values, culture, structure and function of the society. Thus influences all facets of society
- Weber- Historic process with its roots in- Renaissance, --> rise in democracy, growth of nation states, expansion of markets
- Others - Saint Simon, Simmel - It's a 19th century product -> secularisation, industrialisation, bureaucratisation
- Theory of modernisation not unique to India and various studies

Features

- Normative- norms changing
- Individualisation
- Social phenomenon- transforming MOP, ROP, political participation

Modernity various Point of Views in India

- Nationalist
- Marxist
- MNS
- Gurnar Myrdal
- L. D. & A. B.
- Y. Singh

Modernity has been taken as a frame of reference by various thinkers

- **Nationalist thinkers** such as Ghurye and Mukherjee, RN Sharma, Utpal Dutt
 - Effective instrument for development of Indian society
 - They were sceptical of colonial attempts
 - Synthesis should be there between tradition and modernity
 - Mahatama Gandhi- "While rejecting on modernity, indicated that man in India should be open to diverse thoughts, without compromising with his potential Indianness"
 - Vivekanand- "Synthesis between western materialism and Indian spiritualism" ○ Arya Samaj- "English and Sanskrit was taught in schools"- judicious mixture of Indian values and western thoughts
 - Conclusion- It is never an attempt to evolve (we are not bad), our process of modernisation is unique and specific to India
 - Tradition and modernity co-exist in India

Nationalists' P.O.V.

- Synthesis be there b/w Tradition & Modernity.
- Uniqueness of India shall be preserved

Marxist school

DP Mukherjee

- Modernity in India accelerated during British rule
- Modern trade, education, liberal thinking, growth of Indian middle class
- But our modernity is different from west (which came by Industrial revolution), which has come without industrialism
- Middle class in India engaged in transforming politics
- But confused, due to Modes of production not emerging as it is aspirational, want work but means not available .

Marxist P.O.V.

Middle class with education formed, and has no MoP (no industrialisation), ∴ only politically active. Became agent of modernity & spread the idea of independence to ensure self – rule.

But this is criticised by AR Desai

- Modernity is a colonial construct
- It has destroyed weavers, handicrafts, village industries, independent guilds
- New market centres have evolved selling foreign goods. Work is done for accumulation of wealth
- Various classes have formed- Industrialists, landlords, middle class, industrial workers. They all have different interests and feel depressed; so, they start participating in freedom struggle to get personal freedom
- So Indian modernity is largely influenced by segmentary interest of class than the collective interest of masses

Y Singh contradicts

- This theory does not have much empirical evidence
- It is more of an ideology than facts

Alternate views

Marriot and Milton Singer

- Theory of orthogenetic and heterogenetic change (Urban [melting pot type] culture)
- Which concludes-- In India is present "Indianisation of modern tradition" than "modernisation of Indian tradition"
- Contradicted by SC Dubey
- Social Change in India is not always synchronic
- Though tradition influences modernity, but there have been examples where modernity has absolutely influenced tradition- as Brahminical tradition is slowly disintegrating under the influence of urban class consciousness

Milton Singer & Marriot

- Ortho (indigenous change) & Hetro (imported or because of contact with other tradition)

DRAW DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATION OF LITTLE AND GREAT TRADITION wrt

Parochialisation & Universalisation

- Parochialisation & Universalisation

Parochialisation

- same elements of great tradition
- circulate down to little tradition.
- A new tradition emerges
- Example, veil by Rajputs adopted from Islam.
- Go-vardhan (cow- Protector) became Gobar Dhan (People started valuing cow dung) - Holi's transformation to Hola - Mohalla in Punjab

Universalisation

- element of little tradition that have become part of Great Tradition.
- Example, Rakshabandhan
- Saluno festival in UP -> Precursors to Raksha Bandhan
- Chhath Pooja of Bihar, being celebrated in Delhi
- Ganesh Mahotsav of Mumbai being celebrated across India
- Lohri of Punjab

Contemporary Continuum: Because of Globalization, Migration, IT – Globalization becoming Glocalisation.

- **Little & Great Tradition** (Robert Redfield, Mexico)
- Singer & Marriot used it in India to study Social changes
- (Robert Redfield, Mexico) (Used in India by Mckim Marriot)

Little Tradition	Great Tradition
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Folks & Peasants (Both interact) • Foster collaboration, cooperation • Of illiterates • Local version of textual knowledge • Moulds the roles according to local settings • Local versions of epics with local examples for easy comprehension of folk people. • Low culture • Folk culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elite or Reflection few • Literates • Textual or 'Shastriya' • Decides role of caste system, education, priests, teachers • Ramayana, Mahabharata major source of Great Tradition. • High culture • Popular culture • Classical culture • Up for scrutiny

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not scrutinised Parochialisation • Changes made to meet traditions at village level • Desans Kritisation occurs as local priests mould the great tradition according to their needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universalisation
--	--

MN Srinivas

- Both orthogenetic (Sanskritisation | Hetrogenetic (westernisation)
 - Modernity is a value loaded concept- (assumed to be a good thing always)
 - So, he calls it a concept of westernisation
 - Under influence of west new technologies, new institutions and new ideologies are introduced in India- resulting in mutual coexistence- E.g., Sanskritization and westernisation co-exist as ways to gain mobility
- Westernisation (modernity's name in India) & Sanskritisation both ways for Social Mobility
- **Thought Extended by Rudolf and Rudolph** - they think in India, change can come w/o violence Caste co exists with democracy. Caste with its numbers get elected. So it co exists in society

Gunnar Myrdal

- There is a distinction between modernity in West and Asia
- Modernity comes through 2 ways -
- Normative, followed by Instrumental
 - Normative- Ideas come first
 - Instrumental- Institutes come next
- But in East only instrumental
- Nehru- "Modernity in India should be through social institutions"

Modernity

- West -> Normative then instrumental
- Asia -> only instrumental

Cognitive theory of Louis Dumont

- India is a classic example of hierarchy, where modernity is not acceptable in absolute form
- Various tradition institutes like Brahmanical supremacy and commitment to task based occupation, social distance between caste stand in the way of modernity
- Distinction between homo hierarchies and homo equillous

L.D.

- India hierarchical. Tradition institutes won't let modernity come & make Homo Equillus.

Criticised by Andre Beteille

- Change derived by both internal and external motivations
- Indian culture was never a central culture- different at different places
- Different dynasty at different places-Jainism and Buddhism introduced at different places
- Mughal also came, after that Britishers
- Cultural contradictions at different times led to cultural amendments--> modernity
- Public and private spheres both were amended
- So adaptability of people is really high

A.B. -> Diff. Traditions at different places. People very flexible change both by internal & external motivation.

Y Singh

- Most famous book- "Modernisation of Indian tradition"
- He contradicts all approaches to modernity on 3 grounds, precision, objectivity and integration (IPO)
- Criticises all on
 - Precision
 - Objectivity
 - Integration

Explains modernity through 3 perspectives

- Theoretical – Little Tradition
- Macroscopic – Heterogenetic
- Microscopic – Orthogenetic

Y. Singh's Paradigm - Modernisation of Indian Tradition

Sources of Change	Cultural Structure (Abstractions)		Social Structure (Reality)	
	Little Tradition	Great Tradition	Micro Structure	Macro Structure
Heterogenetic	16. Islamisation 17. Westernisation	18. Secondary 19. Islamisation 20. Secondary Westernisation	21. Role differentiation 22. (Joint F -> NF -> JF) 23. Family, castes, subcaste, etc 24. New 25. Legitimisations 26. (Village, caste, power)	27. New Political institutions (Bureaucracy, industry) 28. New structures (Bureaucracy, Industry, Elites)
Orthogenetic	Sanskritisation	Cultural Renaissance (Buddhism, Jainism, Bhakti Movement)	29. Migration 30. Population shift 31. Pattern 32. Recurrence (JF -> NF -> JF)	33. Elite 34. circulation 35. Succession of kings 36. Rise & fall of cities

- Borrows theory- Singer's (Little tradition and great tradition) to explain orthogenetic (Micro to Macro) and heterogenetic changes (Macro to Micro).
- Buddhism, Jainism, Bhakti etc- introduced changes at the micro level and slowly they expanded to macro level--> This process which is from micro sphere to macroscopic changes it is orthogenetic change
- Rise Of Islam in India- Led to conflict between 2 great traditions. So, Islam started conversions to strengthen its little tradition ways. But Hindu people had great admiration for Sanskrit ways, so paradoxically it led to change of Islam (S.E. Asia -> Milder Islam.: influence of Buddhism)
- Appearance of caste in Islam
- 2 Great Traditions in conflict Islam converses to strengthen its little tradition. But got changed castes in Islam.
- It culminated in separation of 2 nations

- Heterogenetic change- PEST analysis (PESTEL change)
 - With regards to heterogeneteic changes he makes a list of changes encountered by Indian society under the influence of modernity
 - Not only for British, Islam but also educated and dynamic society of the world
- From outside sources, affecting macro institutions like in Polity, Economy.
 - PESTL modernity leads to value modernity (which is individualism, achievement based, rationality, secularism and liberty) (**Y. Singh** -> Different people adopting change differently according to their needs.
 - Different places are impacted differently by these factors. People adopt to forces to modernity selectively depending on their needs and expertise

Criticisms of Y Singh

- JPS Oberoi- (Indian & western modernity's are same)
 - In his book "European modernity" - Indian modernity and European modernity comes from the same principles- by rejecting religion (Indian modernity does not come selectively)
 - Dalit movement can be compared with Protestant movement

Post-modernist Thought

Avijit Pathak

- Followed the theory of Habermas
- Modernity is forcing people to follow a
 - universal pattern of growth- Economic and political
 - Universal pattern of thinking- liberty, freedom
 - And "capability to develop their culture distinctively"
 - E.g., Endogamy getting support from computer revolution, loyalty to family still appreciated global

Modernity becoming uniform across the world ->

Giddens - High modernity (extreme specialisation even to live daily)

Study Indian Culture in 4 aspects (If these are changing, then modernity) (HCHT)

- **Hierarchy** - Gradation of people, according to
 - Age
 - Caste
 - Gender

- **Transcendence** – Karma, religion etc.
- **Holism** – Universalism vs Particularism
- **Continuity** – Status Quoism vs change

Protests and Movements during the colonial period +

Social Reforms

- Social movements in India not only protest and dissent but also reform and reactionary (like socio religious and freedom movement).

MSA Rao – Underlying cause is Relative Deprivation.

Ghanshyam Shah and TK Oommen – protests are ongoing process of change.

In India, significant number of protests during colonial rule. Due to –

- Policies of expansion
- Exploitation
- Interference
- Land reforms policies causing relative deprivation
- Alienation and
- Discontent

Tribal Protests

- Sanyasi, Santhal, Ho, Khasi, Munda, PagalPanthi etc.

Agrarian Unrests

- Indigo, deccan, pabna, champaran, kheda etc.

Characteristics of above protests –

- Localised
- Against local zamindars and landholders
- Never directly challenged British rule
- Colonial rule also brought modern education, exposure to the world, rational thinking. Formed the basis for Social Reforms.
- Reformers – RRM, IC Vidyasagar, Vivekanand etc. causing general awakening of the masses. These reforms backbone for transformation of Indian society.
- **AR Desai** – without these social reforms rise of freedom movement wouldn't have been possible. **Y Singh** – S.Reforms an important role in transforming Traditional India into Modern India. **TN Madan** – Social reforms Indianised the modernity.
- **MSA Rao** – compares S.Reform programs to protestant movement for 2 reasons –
- They restored the cultural pride and confidence

- It unified the people and exposed the exploitative nature of British rule
- Therefore, protests were the manifestation of the survivalistic needs of the masses.
- He adds, spontaneous protests were supplemented by organized protests at a later date with the emergence of organized leadership.
- These movements encompassed not only economic but also social, political and ideological aspects.
 - Eg. – swadeshi and boycott movement, home rule league movement, NCM, CDM, culminating into QIM.

Paper - A2

Colonial Hangover

1. The Colonial Rule over India ended in 1947 but the Colonial Hangover continues till date. Comment.

Answer

- The British colonial rule brought a significant social change in the Indian society, polity and culture.
- While the foreign rule being mercantilist certainly drained India of its resources, there was a silver lining in the form of various social reforms, administrative unification and ultimately the rise of nationalism.
- Various sociologists have tried to sum up the impact of colonial rule.

M N Srinivas - Westernisation

- MNS defines Westernisation as the changes brought about in Indian society and culture, as a result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels, technology, institutions, ideology and values.
- It is a cultural change and not a structural change.
- The impacts of Westernisation were seen in increased avenues for social mobility, changes in food habits and dressing, giving up of many superstitious rituals e.g. Child marriage, sati, etc.
- Westernisation is seen more as an imitation of external form of culture and does not necessarily mean adoption of modern values like democracy and equality.

Yogendra Singh - Modernisation

- Yogendra Singh contends that the British impact brought a new great tradition of modernization which led to both cultural and structural changes.
- At the cultural level, modernisation of tradition took place which was visible in the amelioration of caste system, reforms for women, struggle against social evils, urbanization, form of education and so on.
- At the structural level, new social classes like middle class, industrial elite, working class and new institutions like market based economy, universalistic legal superstructure, bureaucracy and changes like rise of nationalism, politicization of society were seen.

Revivalist Thinkers - Nationalist

- The colonial rule helped re-emphasise the lost glory of India.
 - Social change is understood as an evolutionary process and hence the changes brought about during the colonial rule did not end or reverse once the colonial rule ended.
- India achieved its political independence but its culture and institutions can still be seen in a colonial hangover as can be seen in the following examples:

Education Institutions

- The primacy attached to the English language as a symbol of intellect continues which makes sure that till date the missionary schools are the most sought after for education of children.

Political Institutions

- Much of the parliamentary procedure working follows the conventions of the British rule. (Venkaiah Naidu: "I beg to lay the papers" to be replaced with "I rise to lay the papers on the table").

Administration

- While the recently developed corporate structure has a very fluid and dynamic way of functioning, government offices are still caught up with bureaucracy, strict hierarchy of positions and concentration of power at the top. eg. a sense of awe attached with IAS, Sahayak system in Army.

Culture

- Western food and dressing habits are considered superior and have overshadowed Indian versions to quite an extent.
- Examples
 - Jeans and trousers are much more common than saree, salwar suit and lungi.
 - The obsession with wearing coat-pant suits even if it doesn't suit the Indian Weather.
 - The market for fairness products shows the value attached to the fair skin and how white supremacy still operates at the level of culture.

Legislations

- The forest laws, Indian Police Act, Indian Evidence Act, Indian Penal Code and many others are largely based on the British rule ethics which aimed to control the local population through a dictatorial rule.
- Till date, the tribals and forest dwellers do not enjoy their forest Rights in the real sense and the police is seen as an instrument for imposition, rather than being a government 'servant'.

Economy

- The post-independence land reforms were not successful and the legacy of the British rule continued.
- Majority of the land is still owned by a few dominant higher caste groups. Dalits were never allowed to acquire their meaningful share.

Social Lives

- The Indian values of communitarian living have eroded and the consumerist culture continues to expand in the attempt to mark themselves as elite.
- Class stratification has replaced the Indian system of stratification and continues to operate. Some harmless symbols like left hand driving, cricket euphoria, tea culture can also be associated with India being a colony in the past.
- But some social evils like communalism are a hangover which is a challenge to the fabric of Indian society.

International Relations and Boundaries

- Arbitrary boundaries, both national and international, Inner Line Permit, etc. are colonial legacies.

While the colonial hangover is a real phenomenon, but the present social conditions are defined by a multitude of factors as described in the following:

- Globalisation has ensured that values and institutions from across the world are being shared to generate a cosmopolitan culture.
- While the US cultural values are visible in the presence of American food chains like McD and Dominos, popularity of Hollywood, etc. On the other hand, Indian traditions like Yoga, Indian cuisines, Indian festivals find a reverberation in the world.
- So many phenomena like consumerist culture, nuclearisation of families are not entirely a colonial hangover but influence of western culture whose contemporary definition is wider than just the British culture.

Yogendra Singh talks of Traditionalisation of Modernity

- Even in the present times, it is observed that traditions are being helped by western innovations e.g., Sanskar channel over cable TV, Matrimonial websites providing caste and ethnicity filters, temples offering e - darshana, kundli software in laptop.
- This shows many Indian traditional values and institutions continue to operate.
- There also exists a call to the glorious past where traditional elements are being glorified to raise the pride associated with one's own culture. Active efforts are being made for some changes like separation of railway budget from general budget.

Conclusion

- Indian society certainly experiences a colonial hangover.
- The elements which have caused a positive change like introduction to western scientific education and liberal values of democracy, equality, rule of law must be appreciated.
- Further the utility of knowing the English language, utility (greater mobility) of western clothes cannot be ignored.
- But a revamp of certain structures like police forces is a must as the ideal of independent democracy will not be achieved if dictatorial policies continue to exist.

Nationalism with Caste and Religion

2. Indian Nationalism was unique as unlike its European counterpart, it emerged countering its unique challenges of centuries old casteism and rising forces of communalism. Discuss.

Answer

- Nationalism refers to the feeling of cohesion of an imagined community
- It is defined through a set of symbols and beliefs which provide the sense of being a part of a single political community.
- The feeling of cohesion or the psychic unity arises from a common characteristic like language, religion or ethnicity which act as a base for the community to assert itself as a separate political community.
- This was the reason for the rise of nation states in Europe.
- In the case of India, an exactly similar definition of nationalism does not fit the bill as the country is diverse in its languages, cultures, ethnic origins of people and so on. Indian nationalism has been considered as a composite culture nationalism.

Emergence

- Historians like K M Panikkar, Romila Thapar believe that Indian nationalism was a product of putting up against the common enemy i.e., the British rule.
- India never had a single dominant cultural heritage but a composite culture where different people lived in cooperation with each other.
- It was the Indian National Movement which brought the people of various castes and religions together who fought in unison to achieve Independence, example Non-Cooperation Movement 1920.
- This same set of people set out to the task of nation building under the guidance of leaders like Nehru.
- Nationalism served as an inherent need of an aspiring nation at this stage i.e., post-independence. Despite many skeptics, India survived as a nation and did not suffer balkanization, as was predicted by many scholars.
- The Indian Constitution offered reservation for lower castes (Article 14-18) and granted special rights to minorities (Article- 29,30).
- Hence the Indian nationalism defeated both casteism and communalism, its existence as the largest democracy in the world today proves the fact.

A.R. Desai Marxist Perspective

- Nationalism in India was a modern phenomenon which could have not happened before the coming of the British.
- He sees its genesis in the material conditions of the country.
- The economic structure changed as the new social classes emerged out of land reforms and industrialization.

- While the new social classes had their respective aims and demands, they also became conscious of certain common interests of Indian people such as the development of productive forces and the general economic advance of the Indian society, increased control of the state power by the Indians and spread of modern education and culture.
- This led to the growth of a united nationalist movement of all the progressive social classes in the country with a common programme.
- This synthesis was made possible by Mahatma Gandhi.
- The Marxist perspective gives more importance to economic conditions and does not see differences in religion and caste as a hindrance to the rise of nationalism.
- A R Desai concludes that Nationalism is being used as a vehicle for the perpetuation of the dominance than making India an all-inclusive country without poverty, illiteracy, discrimination.
- Hence his conception of Nationalism is paradoxical to that of nationalists.

Critique

Bifurcation of Nationalism

- The Divide and Rule policy of the British sowed the seeds of communalism in the country and it had huge implications for the country.
- The communalism resulted in the rise of religion affiliated nationalism and groups like Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha weakened the Indian National Movement.
- The partition of the country was the biggest setback to Nationalism.

Sub - Altern School

- The sub-altern school propounds the view that the concept of Nationalism was imposed by the higher castes and educated middle class on the Dalits. The instruments of exploitation like the Varna system were not attacked even if an attempt to remove social evils like untouchability was made. So, the attempt to achieve unity was half-hearted.
- Example- Dalit Leaders like Ambedkar rejected Gandhian nationalism, the differences were clearly visible in the issue or demand for separate electorates.

Conclusion

- According to Amartya Sen, nationalism in India borders on religious revivalism as national identity is often hijacked by majority groups. Such tendencies limit individual freedom as well.
- In a diverse country like India, over emphasis on a single absolute national identity can be problematic as such a single identity can witness problems of inclusiveness. This is validated by the vast diversity witnessed in rituals and civil rights of various castes and religions.
- The solution lies in refocus on the pressing problems like poverty, hunger and illiteracy, suggests Andre Beteille.
- Ramchandra Guha suggests that people should be allowed to construct their own ideas of nationalism- Cricket nationalism, Kargil - Nationalism and Adversity - nationalism (example Tsunami. Kerala Floods)

Part - B1

Rural and Agrarian Social Structure

The idea of Indian vilage and village studies

- Since centuries village as a socio-cultural unit. Their sustainability, exclusivity matter of historical, colonial, social delight.
- Mentioned in Vedas as
 - Pur
 - Gram
 - Van (Jungle)
- In Puranic texts – Potential hierarchy. (Also mentioned by Kautilya's Arthashastra that gram's appointed leader should pay taxes to Pur's king for protection).
 - Pur – Elites
 - Gram – Commoners
 - Van – Tribes
- Other historical accounts (between 7th and 12th century) talks of different kinds of villages are
 - One caste One village
 - One caste Many villages
 - Many castes One village
 - Many castes Many villages
- Therefore, interlinkage between caste and villages was greatly established.
- Subsequently entry of Islam and Christianity made villages multi-ethnic and multitasked.
- Colonial rule – Systematic study started.

Colonial View Point

People refusing to modernize, White man's burden.

- Sir Henry Maine
 - Indian villages have no historic parallel in west. Village self-sufficient, little republics. Rulers come and go, villages self-sufficient forever.
- Metcalfe and Munro
 - Endorsed this.
 - Therefore, colonial scholars developed an ETHNOCENTRIC (WH Sumner/ Eurocentric) understanding of India, that despite poverty, backwardness, orthodoxy, commitment to classical religion, diseases, natural disasters, people of India refused to change and are, thus, WHITE MAN'S BURDEN.

Anti - Colonial/Opposite view

- **O'Malley and Grigson**
 - Early colonial scholars had a pre-conceived notion about Indian villages.
 - They not able to observe vibrant village life. Anti-colonialists observed
 - Struggle for power in villages.
 - How economic conflicts get resolved.
 - Caste and culture operating to integrate.
- **Karl Marx**
 - Gave Asiatic MOP. Indian primitive communism. Common labour and fruit. However, tax to kings.
 - He believed, political and economic autonomy of India being demolished by British land tenure system. Transformation from classless India to feudal and then finally capitalistic.

Contemporary idea of village

- Andre Beteille
 - 'The village was not merely a place where people lived; it had a design in which were reflected the basic values of Indian civilisation'.

General features of Indian Villages (as identified by Indian village studies)

(SUDIR)

- Self-sufficiency busted (AB)
- Unity present
- Diversity (inside & outside village) (SC Dubey)
- Identity (source of identity) (MNS)
- Reciprocity (Jajmani) (W.H. user)

Village

- Important source of identity to its residents.
- Reciprocity (Interdependence) implied that though village social organization was hierarchical, it was the 'interdependence' among different caste groups that characterised the underlying spirit of the Indian village.

Social structure of the Village: Caste, Class and Gender

The Caste System

- While caste was a concrete structure that guided social relationships in the Indian village, hierarchy was its ideology.
- (Caste homogenized) SC Dube - Hindus all over India accepted this classification.
- Majumdar
 - Caste divisions determined and decided all social relations. Most scholars saw caste as a closed system. (caste = closed), varna ≠ caste.
- Srinivas
 - However, at the local level caste was 'radically different from that expressed in the varna scheme. Mutual rank was uncertain and this stemmed from the fact that mobility was possible in caste.
- Dube
 - Dube's 6 factors that contributed towards the status differentiation in the village community of Shamir pet:
 - Religion and caste
 - Landownership
 - Wealth
 - Position in government service and village organisation; (legal rationalt)
 - Age; and (traditional)
 - Distinctive personality traits (charismatic)
- Attempts to claim a higher ritual status through, what Srinivas called Sanskritisation, was not a simple process.
- It could not be achieved only through rituals and life-style imitation. The group had to also negotiate it at the local power structure.
- Sanskritisation gave mobility but through secular status first then ritual status > First acquire secular status (land, wealth, govt. service) then you'll get ritual status.
- However, a large majority of them viewed caste system as working within the framework of Jajmani system and bound together different castes living in the village or a cluster of villages in enduring and pervasive relationships.

Land and Class

- Land relations to them reflected the same patterns of hierarchy as those present in the caste system.
- Srinivas
 - (Twin hierarchy - Land or Higher caste).
 - There was a certain amount of overlap between the twin hierarchies of caste and land.

- Lewis
 - (Primacy of Land).
 - Some others underlined the primacy of land over all other factors in determining social hierarchy in the village.

Gender Differences

- Village studies were not completely “gender blind”.
- Further, accounts of man-woman relations provided in these studies were largely based on the data collected from male informants.
- Most of the anthropologists themselves being males, it would have been difficult for them to be able to meet and participate in the “private” life of the village people.
- Adrian C. Mayer
 - (Village well).
 - The village well provided a meeting place for all women of non-Harijan castes, and the opportunity for gossip.
- Twin DoL
 - Caste, Gender.
- SC Dube
 - After caste, gender was the most important factor that governed the division of labour in the village. Masculine and feminine pursuits were clearly distinguished.
- Srinivas
 - Male work > Female work
 - Male Controlling female Sexuality
 - Two sets of occupations were not only separated but also seen as unequal.
 - The dominant ‘male view’ thought of women as being ‘incapable of understanding what went on outside the domestic wall’.
 - Men also had a near complete control over women’s sexuality. Polygyny and concubinage (Cohabitation without being legally married) were both evidences.
- Not every thinker, sociologist or anthropologist agrees with the general opinion of village India as an idyllic social reality.

Dipankar Gupta

- Differs (EPW, 2005).
- (Depressing view of villages)

Hopeless Disenchantment

- “The village is shrinking as a sociological reality, though it still exists as space. Nowhere else does one find the level of hopeless disenchantment as one does in the rural regions of India. In urban slums there is squalor, there is filth and crime, but there is hope and the excitement that tomorrow might be quite different from today.
- Rarely would a villager today want to be a farmer if given an opportunity elsewhere.
- Indeed, there are few rural institutions that have not been mauled severely from within. The joint family is disappearing, the rural caste hierarchy is losing its tenacity, and the much romanticised harmony of village life is now exposed for the sham it perhaps always was.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s analysis of the Indian village

- If anything, it is perhaps B.R. Ambedkar’s analysis of the Indian village that strikes the truest of all. It was Ambedkar who said that the village was a cesspool of degradation, corruption and worse. That village India was able to carry on in spite of all this in the past was because there was little option for most people, rich or poor outside the confines of the rural space.
- Village cesspool of degradation, corruption & worse.

Why do Village Studies now

- Apart from industrialisation, one the main agenda for the new political regimes was the transformation of the “backward” and stagnant agrarian economy.
- Development
 - Planning
 - Implementing
 - Monitoring

Method used

- Use of “participant observation”, a method of data collection that anthropologists in the West had developed while doing studies of tribal communities.
- The “participant observation” method was seen as a method that understood social life from within, in terms of the values and meanings attributed to it by the people themselves.
- The method of participant observation also provided continuity between the earlier tradition of anthropology when it studied the tribal communities and its later preoccupation with the village.
- Approaches in village study > MNS > structural functionalism
- SC Dubey > Inter disciplinary
- MC Marriot > Culturology
- AR Desai > Marxian
- Andre Beteille > Weberian

Sociological Approaches to study villages

- Influenced by American Anthropological tradition of ROBERT REDFIELD and British Social Anthro tradition of AR RADCLIFFE BROWN.
- **MNS** – Pioneer – Article “The Problem Of Studying One’s Own Society”. • He suggested sociologist should not consider
 - Village as microscopic unit of macroscopic Indian society.
 - Reality is vast, unorganized and chaotic. We can’t study entire reality.
- **FG Bailey, MSA Rao, Martin Oran** studied Caste in different villages.
- **Andre Beteille** – Social Stratification in vill Sripuram.
- **Kathleen Gough** – Class Structure in Kumbapeti.
- **FG Bailey** – Power and Politics in vills of Orrisa.
- **AM Shah** – Family and Kinship Jahanabad Gujarat.
- **TN Madan** – Rituals of Kashmiri Pandits.
- **Tulsi Patel** – Gender Discrimination.
- **Amita Baviskar** - Resistance to governmental policies, changing food habits etc.
- **IP Desai** – Sme respects of family in Matina Gujarat.
- **MNREGA** > Jenn Drebe, Ritika Khera.
 - New areas
 - Effect of Globalization, Reproductive voting Behaviour, Politicisation of caste.
- **Dipankar Gupta** > caste in Elections (2000).
- Concept > AJGR, KHAM, MY. (caste chemistry).
 - **Milton Singer**
 - Little tradn and Great tradn and Mckim Marriot - Universalisation and parochialisation show interlinkage of the village with the larger social world.
 - They say that culture and civilization are not in contest in India like in Europe. Therefore, they coin the term INDIANISATION OF MODERNISATION.
 - **Willian Wiser**
 - American Sociologist – Elasticity in Jajmani reln.
 - **AM Shah and MNS**
 - Challenged self-sufficiency using empirical data.
 - After village studies gained momentum, debate started if India can be studied using village studies?

Village Studies

- Indological Perspective (Textual)
 - GSG (Attributionist) > Attributer of caste, Dynamism of caste, Kinship, etc. o L.D. (Structuralist).
 - KM Kapadia > Family, Marriage, Kinship.
 - Irawati Karve > Kinship system.
- Anthropological (Field view)
 - MNS > Structural Functional.
 - Mckim Maniot > (Culturology) (Traders. Empraised) (Rural – Urban Continuum).
 - AB > Weberian (Rural Power Structure) (Stratification).
 - SC Dubey > Inter – Disciplinary (Multi – tradition for social change).

Those who glorified (pro-village studies)

- SC Dube
 - Indian Villages.
- MNS
 - Villages in India.
- Mckim Marriot
 - Village India.

Those against (criticism of village studies)

- Upper caste hindered AB not allowed to interact with lower caste.
- Gender hindered (Lila Dubey).
- Louis Dumont
 - Criticized MNS for studying both caste and village. Village studies overshadow the primary source of inequality CASTE. (Counter – Andre Beteille – vill. study help know tge truth w/o personal bias).
- Y Singh
 - Studied 6 vill. in UP – studying history of change is necessary to understand reality comprehensively. (Village studies -> Incomplete in themselves).
- Marxists – (Study Urban centres)
 - **AR Desai** – Vill. study take you away from the empirical truth of socio-economic genesis.
 - **RK Mukherjee** – Vill. is land of small farmers, petty traders, wage labourers who are exploited by feuds (and bourgeois) living in urban centres. Study urban.

New Dimensions of Village study

- Social Movements
- Social Dynamics
- Political Dynamics
- Gender profile
- Demographic studies etc.
- Voting Behaviour – Impact of social scheme | PRI

Some Data on Villages

- 2001 Census, rural India -72 per cent of total population.
- Around one-fourth of the total national income.
- Nearly half of India's working population.

Agrarian Social Structure

Land Tenure System

- It identifies the ownership of land and the relationship of the owner with the cultivator. Terms and conditions under which land is leased to the tiller.
- Vedic period. State ownership limited. Common ownership of land.
- Muslim period – assessment of land revenue more systemized and standardized.
- British rule – system of assessment and collection varied according to states and admin convenience.
 - Who is Owner?
 - Relation of Owner and Cultivator
 - Terms and Conditions

3 main systems used by British

- Ryotwari
 - Independent single tenure. Sir Thomas Munroe, 1820, Madras. Occupant is tenant of state (state is owner of all land). 20-30 years. Revenue as rent and not tax. Eviction in case of non-payment. Assam, TN, MP, Guj, Maha.
- Mahalwari
 - Joint village ownership. (villages = mahals). Co-sharer selected to take liability on 5% commission. 30-40 years.
- Zamindari
 - (Permanent Settlement System)

- landlord/intermediaries. Outcome of permanent settlement Lord Cornwallis, Bihar 1793. Why - British reluctance to deal directly, force of loyals. Who - revenue collecting officers of Mughals (they were not owners). Real proprietors became tenants. State to get 10/11 of rent. Zamindars further leased out (outsourced). Long chain of middle-men.

Peasant Society

- Peasant
 - Daniel Thorner: Peasnt = Kisan.
- Peasant Society
 - Robert Redfield: "Peasant society and culture", 1956.
- 3 important features of Peasant CULTURE
 - Highly reverent attitude towards land.
 - Agriculture as noble, ideal, best job.
 - Industrious attitude, dignity to labour.
- Imp features of Peasant SOCIETY
 - Family primary unit of social organisation (generally Joint, whole family works).
 - Land main source of livelihood.
 - Distinct culture and daily schedule (than landed aristocracy).
- Peasant culture is of obedience and subordination.
- Peasant in de-facto possession of land but not owner. Aristocracy politically awakened and denies peasantry its rights.
- Sorokin
 - Rate of social mobility in peasant society is relatively poor. Only defect not dejure
- AR Desai
 - INM started as a peasant movement. Jajmani a crucial feature of peasant society.
 - (Orthodox & Traditional) Peasantry - Production for self-sustenance only. Land sacred. Not willing to migrate. Belief in old techniques. Economically poor. Low std of living. Highly influenced by tradition and keep passing it. Religion imp. Superstitious and blind faith in religious texts.
- Peasant society is thus an agri based tradition soc with highly reverent attitude towards land.

Land Reforms and their Social Consequences

Land Reforms

- Major policy for rural development. Designed to break old feudal socio-economic structure of rural India. Impetus to modernization of agri production and productivity.

Objectives

- Equality, Efficiency, Effectiveness, Economy.
- Improving distribution of ownership.
- Agri modernization.
- Modernising irrigation.
- HYV seeds, pesti, ferti etc.
- Improving land use.

Steps Taken

- Abolition of intermediaries.
- Tenancy reforms
 - Fixity of tenure
 - Rent regularization
 - Ownership rights
- Land ceilings.
- Agrarian reorg.
- Co-operativisation of agri.

Consequences

- Because of abolition of interm – 20 million tenants direct contact with state.
- 6 mn hectare of fallow land distributed to landless and marginals.
- 7.7 mn tenants given ownership rights.
- Social Consequences of LR
 - Shift in the occupation of the lower cates.
 - Decline in migration.
 - Generation of conflict due to legislation.
 - Naxalism – Bihar, UP. Labour Movment – AP.
 - Eviction of landless labours.
 - Shortage of manual labour at the time of sowing and harvesting in Punjab and Haryana.
 - Increase in absentee landlordism.

- Policy of land restoration did not touch adversities of tribal.
- Agrarian movements used in politics and terrorism.
- Family > Nuclearised To evade LR.
- Marriage > of conspicuous income. Cave conflicts.
- Naxalism. Gender > Female infanticide.
- Dowry Rural – Urban > Migration checked urban untouched.
- Class > Poor tenants couldn't benefit. Landlords labourers existed.
- Stratification > Class based from caste based.
- Alienation > checked of lower castes.
- Work > changed.
- Mobility > increased.
- Tribal > Unchecked.

Emerging Agrarian Class Structure

- Impact uneven.
- Depended upon the size of holdings.
- Elevated richer tenants.
- But broadened the base of proprietary classes (which now had landlords and rich farmers).

How LR helped Richer Tenants

- Zamindars were to be given compensation by the tenants before they could secure the ownership rights. Basic and Biggest limitation.
- Only rich tenants could pay. Poorer forced to borrow or denied ownership.
- At the same time, they lost tenurial security, became “non-owning proletariat” with increased insecurity, obligations and subordination.

Emerging trends in post-independence (summarized by PC Joshi)

- Decline of feudalistic and customary tenancy. Replaced by more insecure and exploitative lease arrangement.
- Increased importance of commercial tenancy.
- Rise of owner-farmers.

Emergence of commercial peasants led to 2 imp socio-economic consequences

- Increased the production and productivity of agric.
- Accentuated class conflicts in villages.

Social Consequences of Green Revolution

GR Definition

- Large scale increase in agri production in a short span of time as a result of appln of HYV seeds, chemical ferti, pesti, machinery. Crops – Wheat. Time – 1966/67 to 1970/71. Area – Pb. etc.
- With the advent of GR focus shifted from LR to optimizing production.
- On a study of 3 villages of Ludhiana, social consequences
 - Caste system undergoing changes. Disappearance of untouchability. Middle class improving, upper class adjusting.
 - Jajmani system declining with work for payment rather than foodgrains.
 - Traditional hereditary privileges weakening.
- On a whole, PEASANTS TRANSFORMING TO FARMERS.
- {Peasants – prodn for self-sufficiency. Farmer – Surplus}.

Controversy due to GR

- Limited reach. Harmful social, economic, environmental, health effects. Termed Seeds of Disaster.

Social Consequences of GR

- Increased disparity. Big farmers (>10 acres) benefitted.
- Small farmers' previously leased land reclaimed. Became landless labourer.
- Increased owner cultivation. Large scale eviction of tenants. Leased area halved in 20 yrs.
- HYV costly. Farmers preferring only skilled labour.
- Labour movements for increase in wages in Kerala, TN, AP.
- Increase in conspicuous income of rich farmers. Relative deprivation of share croppers. Start of Consumerism in rural areas > Vidharbha > Copying of GR ways in absence of GR infra. Leading to suicides.

Changing MOP in Indian Agriculture – Contemporary Topic

- Earlier phases – Jajmani.
- Followed by – Zamindari, Mahal, Ryot.

Now – 2 phases

Post-independence Pre LPG phase

- Most important changes through legislation, LR, GR. (above).

Post-independence Post LPG phase

- **Circulation of labour** – Agriculture commercialized, growth of seasonal migrant agri labor. Jan Breman calls them Footloose labor. They live in poor conditions.

- **Feminisation of agri labor** – Men move outside for work. Also, women labor cheap.
- **Participation in WTO (Dr. K. Somare khana** - Opening of Indian mkts for imports. Imported fruits common. Indian farmers not as adequately supported as European, American ones.
- **Contract Farming** – Though assured return, increased insecurity by dependency on companies, loss of own indigenous knowledge. Products like Cut-flowers divert from food-grain prodn. Production of mainly elite and costly products using ferti, pesti, not good.
- **Multi-nationalisation of agriculture-** From selling of seeds to marketing produce. Govt agents replaced by profit-driven agents of companies. (Terminating seeds).
- **Farmer Suicides** – while farmers in distress from centuries, suicides relatively new.
 - Sociologists attribute a range of factors.
 - Mainly marginal farmers trying to increase production using GR methods by borrowing.
 - Failing which means heavy debt and suicide.
 - Increasing demand for dowry, better health, education, medical care.
 - Lack of mobilization making agriculturists unable to influence policies.

Globalisation of Indian Farmers

- Dr. K Somasekhara
 - Post WTO Period- Indian farmers will find it difficult to face global agricultural completeness.
- World Trade will become oligopolistic
 - Increased cost of production will lead to decreased returns
 - Development not Gender Neutral (Because lower access to credit, Lower wages).
 - Decrease in welfare-oriented activities

Why High rate of farmers suicides in recent times

- P Sainath –
 - Ecological Crisis + Economic Crisis + Social Crisis
 -
 - (HYV seeds, Chemicals) (Indebtedness) (Suicide)
 - Vandana Shiva + Utsa Patnaik
- Negative growth of agriculture in recent past

Various Studies

- Impact of westernization (Impacts: on class, caste, women) > Srinivas > Rise of MC, Y. Singh > Homogenization & cultural Identity.
- Impact of Migration > Mackim Marxist, Kathleen Gough, AM Shah, Lancy Lobo.
- Impact of Urbanization -> SC Dubey, MSA Rao
 - Feudalistic Tenancy Expiritative le are
 - Commercial Tenancy
 - Rise of owner farmers.
- GR & LR > PC Joshi on LR

Bhalla, Chaddha on GR >

- Disappearance of UT
- Jajmani
- Hereditary privileges
- Rise of relative deprivation of disparity.

Migration

- (IP Desai > Traditional Joint Families Replaced by Functional JF.
- AB > caste weakening. Class ties becoming important.
- Harold Gourd > caste weakening.
- Karuna Ahmad > woman: Status improved but clustered in low status, love in cover job.
- Ashish Nardy > Urbanisation has helped caste mobility.
- MSA Rao > Remittances from cities, helped increase Prestige back home.
- EA Ross > Rural People becoming consumerists.

Part – B2

Caste System

- Perspectives on the study of caste systems: GS Ghurye, M N Srinivas, Louis Dumont, Andre Beteille.
- Features of caste system.
- Untouchability - forms and perspectives.

Andre Beteille

- View on caste
 - Reflexive
 - Diffusive (Not as a structural organization)
 - Variable explanation to caste
 - Committed to Weberian idea that caste to be studied historically & empirically than as good or bad.
- Book
 - “Caste, Class & Power”.
- Village Study
 - Sripuram Village, Tanjore, T. N.

Variable dimensions of stratification in village

- Caste > Status by birth.
- Class > Status by economic.
- Power > Status by Pol. Networking.

Dynamism

- Inter & Intra caste hierarchy.
- Sripuram > Brahmins – Ayangars, non – Ayangars.
- Super – segmentary nature.
- Various sub – castes formed at various times.
- Therefore, caste is dynamic. Refuses to die. Can never be replaced by class.

Caste & Class

- Subcastes have endogamy.
- Because, within caste there is economic variation.
- Therefore, Poverty another reason of social exclusion.

- (LD said > Purity & Pollution), (AB said > Poverty & Pollution).
- Therefore, can't be concluded that stratification is only caste driven.

"Caste old & New" (Book)

- (Dismissal of theory of Y. Singh Modernity).
- Indian social structure, **3 distinct features**:
 - Caste - Hierarchical system
 - Jajmani - Interdependence & Vertical ties.
 - Hindu Value System - Hierarchical grading of values.

Now

- Emergence of egalitarian, rational, modern value system.
- Change visible. But caste Elastic.
- Earlier > Strong relation b/w caste, class, power.
- Caste 1 = Class 1 = Power 1 (Cumulative Privileged).
- Now > caste 1 = class 5 = power 10. Various P&C Possible.
- Caste Old > Cumulative.
- Caste New > Dispersed Still, Brahmins > Professors |
- Kshatriya > Police, Army
- Vaishyas > Business
- Shudras > class IV employees
- Therefore, Caste developed cracks but not collapsed.

As a Critic to Louis Dumont

- L.D. > Caste, unique to India, gives status by Birth.
- A.B. > Not unique. Queen, Nobility, Pope on the basis of their affiliation or birth.
 - Religious status not prerogative of birth, can be achieved. Guru Nanak, Buddha, Sai Baba, etc. achieved it.
 - L.D. is Manusmriti, telling what society ought to be, then what it is. Ignore challenges to Brahminism.
- L.D > Only caste, Produces hierarchy.
- A.B > caste, class, power.
- L.D > India H.H. (Bad) | West > H.E. (Good).
- A.B > There is religious revivalism in west, Secularization in India.
- Therefore, Nature of social change, a matter of degree than a matter of kind b/w India & west.

On caste & Politics

- Critical of caste-based reservation
 - Kills meritocracy.
 - Rise of Pathological D.O.L.
 - Makes caste consciousness stronger.
 - Emphasizing historic wrongs then contemporary needs.
 - Creating vertical division.
 - Killing spirit of constitution by prolonging it.
- On Politics & Caste
 - In America, various social forces like class, gender, colour influence voting behaviour. In India > Produces, reproduces & perpetuates caste, which influences voting behaviour.
 - Caste not the only factor in politics. Friendship, leadership matter.

Why rise of Primordial identities (caste, family, religion)

- As a reaction to oppression.
- As a method of Self - assertion.
- For maintenance of Status - que.

Dynamics of caste than Statics

- Caste not an institution but an empirical reality.
- Strengthened by - Culture, Economy, Religion, Ideology.

Criticism

- Gail Omvedt
 - Over emphasized change in caste.
- Overall, Anand Chakravarty
 - Hegemonistic domination not studied.
- Y. Singh
 - Every study lacks PIO

MN Srinivas

- View
 - Field view. Str. Functionalist
- Books
 - Caste among India & other Essays.
 - Society & Religion among the Coorgs of south India.
- 4 Points
 - Varna & Caste.
 - Structure of caste & caste mobility.
 - Caste & Politics.
 - Secularization of caste.

Varna & Caste

- India to be studied from caste perspective, not Varna.
- Easier view: Caste outcome of Race or varna.
- His view: Rigveda itself not sure if
 - Varna = colour or Varna = occupation.
 - Purusukta -> 4 varnas.
 - Inter mixing of Color & occupation.
- Therefore, Varnas give a distorted image of Indian society.
- Also, Varna used as a readymade model of caste Indian Soc. which is Hierarchical (Western is Stratified)
- Diff. Castes at diff. Places understood uniformly because of varnas. Gave Regional Interlinkage.
- Therefore, Varna some form of functional inter-linkages.
- Inequality not necessarily permanent > Sanskritisation.
- Raj Gonds > became Kshatriyas.
- Chauhan > Rajputs.
- Yadavs > Vanshi Kshatriyas, etc.
- Also, because of Bhakti Movement, various Brahmins came up.
- Therefore, Caste under diff. influences gives mobility.
- Therefore, India to be studied from caste Perspective & not Varna.

Structure of Caste & Caste Mobility

Caste 2 Compartments

- Ritual Structure
 - Pollution & Purity
 - Dietary worship
 - Language spoken
 - Food habit
 - Mannerism
- Secular Structure
 - Access to Power
 - Wealth – Education
- Earlier, ritual criteria.
- Now, secular dominates.
- He quotes McKim Marriott's Kishangarhi Village Study, where status comes from both (Universalization & Parochialisation).
- Also, MSA Rao > Yadavs of UP | | AM Shah > Kunbi, Gujarat | | SC Duke > Rajgonds of M.P.
- Showing → Wealth & Power leading to Sanskritisation.
- Thus, Ritual mobility not Possible without Secular mobility.
- Caste mobility > Group moves, Class mobility > Individual moves.
- Oscar Lewis > Class mobility leading to inequality within caste.
- Adrian Mayer (Multiple Dominations) > Ramkheri Village - Jats > Econ. Dominance, Rajputs > Political | Brahmins – Ritual.
- Also, MNS > caste mobility a historical phenomenon, accelerated by modernity.
- Caste Dynamic Should be studied empirically.

Contradicts L.D. on Pollution & Purity

- P & P 2 type
 - Individual
 - Corporate
- Sanskritisation way out of Polluting activities.
- Contradicts Indologists > caste not varna.
- Contradicts L.D. > Caste not holy cow that can't be discussed and altered.

Caste & Politics

- By 1970s in South India – Lower castes & Middle consolidated because of
 - Land Reforms.
 - Decentralised Political System.
- What is a Dominant Caste
 - Numbers
 - High ritual status
 - Eco Standing
 - Capacity to articulate caste consciousness.
 - Modern Education.
 - Land
 - Quasi – organized Political Power - Marathas, Lingayats, Jats, Rajputs, Reddys, Yadavs.
 - Therefore, Caste not only dividing but also unifying.

MNS

- **Micro Structure** > Caste as Caste > Because of mobility in caste & not in varna.
- **Macro** > Caste as Varna - unifies to gain numbers → Because of numbers based politics.
- **Reservation** – To untouchables & tribes not to OBCs > This is politics of caste.

Politics of reservation over powering Sociology of reservation

Secularization of Caste

- Book > Caste & its 20th century Avatar.
- Caste driven by Fission & Fusion.
- Karnataka > Lingayats + Vokkalingas combined (overthrew Brahmin rule).
- U.P. > Dalit + OBC.
- But still divided e.g., > 1993 Maharashtra Coalition broke.
- Therefore, only interest-based integration, No integration of hearts.
 - He Rejects Modernists who claim that caste is going to die.
 - He Rejects Marxists who claim that Class replacing caste.
- Stratification of India much more complex than west.

Criticism

- **Ghanshyam Shah** – Dominant caste is nothing but class mobilization.
- **Yogesh Atal** – D.C. has diff. meanings at diff. levels. Vill. Level > family dominates, State > Caste, Nation > Diff – D.C.S.
- **T.K. Oommen** – caste a power reservoir operated by caste leaders.
- **Edmund Leach** – Integration only driven by Political + Economical interests.
- **Y. Singh** – Microscopic view (to form Generalization).
- **Anand Chakraborty** – Power factions not considered by MNS.

Louis Dumont

- Ideal type theory (from Structural persp. Using Indology).
- Book – “Homo Hierarchical” – The caste system & its implications.
- It is explained by
 - Hierarchy
 - Pollution & Purity

Dumont

Bailey's Politico

- Economic theory is wrong. Caste can't be compared with West's class. Caste is unique to India.
- West “Homo equalis”, mobility possible, class society.
- India – Homo Hierarchical. Mobility not Possible.
- Caste society. Caste focused on maintenance of inequalities.
- India fundamentally diff. from west (Being Encompassed | Encompassing) (purity “encompassed Impurity”).

Hindu Ideology

- Mutual separation of Pure & Impure.
- Upper caste closes its boundary to lower.
- Refusing them commensality, Inter – marriage, Physical contact.
- However, not only mutual separation but also, mutual inter dependence. • Lower caste absorbs the pollution of the upper to enable them maintain purity.

Relation of Power & Status

- In west together. In India – Not always.
- E.g., Brahmin could be eco. poor but high status.
- Status superior to Power.
- Status independent of Power.

Criticism

- Empirically | Logically | Ideologically.
 - Derived from classical texts – Ignores empiric reality.
 - Gerald Berreman – Power & status, 2 sides of the same coin.
- Gonds, a tribal group. Because of land became Raj Gonds.
- Dipankar Gupta
- Caste Obeyed because of power.
- Berreman – Brahminical Pov. Artificial, stiff, idealized & stereo typical.
- Joan Mencher > conducted fieldwork in TN. Established caste as exploitative.
- False dicotomy of Traditional & Modern societies.
- Individual's given no importance.
- No acknowledgement of social movements because of exploitation of caste.
- However, Dumont's concept of P&P explained structuration of culture.

GSG

- Historical, comparative & Integrative aspects of caste.
- Book > caste & Race in India.
- Approach – Ethnographic, Indological & statistical.
- Subscribed to "Race Theory of caste" partially (by Risley). Caste may have racial origins but regional variations.

Views

- Origin
 - Aryans racially distinct from native Tribes. Attempt to maintain distinctness & superiority. Practiced endogamy, rituals. Perpetuated by writing texts.
- Differentiation
 - Compared races in diff. parts of country. Found intermixing. Racial purity only in north.
- Features
 - Segmental division of society: civil & Religious disabilities & privileges, commensality restrictions, marriage restrictions, hierarchy (SHOPCM).
- Future of Caste
 - Caste associations will give rise to Political consciousness.
- Competition & Conflict
 - b/w castes will undermine national integrity.

- Caste Associations
 - for furtherance of education & reforms.

Criticisms

- Andre Beteille > Refutes racial genesis.
- Rajni Kothari > caste associations doing more good than bad.
- Gail Omvedt – GSG did not study protests in caste.
- Armed chair theorists.
- Brahminical P.O.V.

Perspectives on Untouchability

- Brahminical
 - Texts by Aryans | Brahmins to subject Non – Aryan they became UT 2
- Dividualistic
 - Marriot & Inden: creator gives particles. Uts have bad particles.
- Marxian
 - False consciousness.
- Gandhian
 - Genesis irrelevant. Persuade, common dining, Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- Ambedkar
 - Racial | Reform.

Efforts to remove UT

- Collective Action Based

Ghanshyam Shah

- 2 types
- Reformative
 - Sanskritisation | Bhakti Mov. | Neo – Vedantic Mov. (Success) Arya Smaj, Adi dharma, Adi Andhra, SNDP.
- Alternate
 - Conversion (Jain, Buddh, Islam) | Secular (Law Based, Electorate based).

Ambedkar's Efforts

- Mahar Movt.(countered scrounging) | Poona Pact (Separate electorate led to Reservation) | SC Federation / Bahishkrit Hitkarni Sabha | RPI | Annihilation of caste/ Appeal of law.

Gandhi's Effort

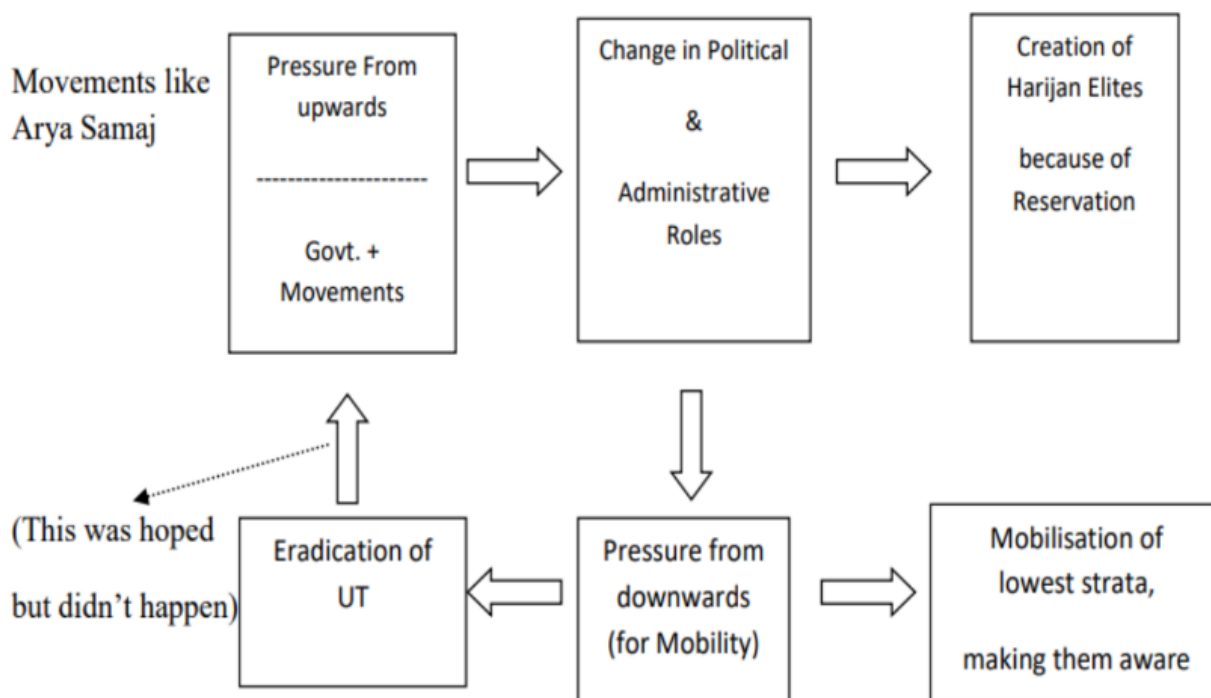
- Harijans (Sevak Singh) | Ashram | Change of Heart (Appeal to upper caste) | Commensality.

After Ambedkar

- Dalit Parties > Bamcef (Backward & Minority communities Employee Federation) Lok Janshakti Party (LJP) | BSP | RPI.
- Dalit worker's Associations.
- Empower mental Issues.
 - Laws: Manual Scavenging Act, PCRA (Protection of Civil Rights act), SC | ST Prevention of Atrocities Act.
 - Constitution > Article 17.

Paradigm -> Satish Sabherbawal

During Inter-Caste study of Punjab



Part - B3

Tribal Communities in India

Definitional Problems of Geographical Spread

- Sociologists, anthropologists, social workers still not on same wavelength about the definition of the tribes.
- Arthur Wilke- "For years ambiguity has stalked India's official portrait of tribal people". • Main scholars- Mandel Baum, Roy Burman, Vidyarthi, Elwin.
- Tribal population - 15% of the area, 8% of the population- over 700 under as per schedule under article 342.
- Traditional definitions of tribal - Tribal communities in India traditional definitions of a tribe mentioned (as mentioned by Naik)

Living in Forest

- Dublas of Surat and host of others do not live in forests. They live in fertile plains.

Primitive Religion

- There is a continuance from tribal gods, to Hinduised tribes some converted to Christianity, Islam.

Geographic Isolation

- Hundreds of tribes who are not living an isolated life-- (Bhil Santhal, Irula).

Primitive Economic System

- Many peasant groups who are living by equally primitive economic system.

Economic Backward

- Many of the tribes are self-sufficient and more economically forward than many castes. For e.g. Khasi, Gond, Bhil are more economically specialised than their non-tribal neighbours.

Common Language or Dialects

- Common in Assam and other Central Indian tribes but not for many Western and Southern Indian tribes.

Politically Organised

- May not always be politically organised or even have a tribal Panchayat. Some tribals may or may not have single chief or a few elders Schedule 5,6, TAC -> Pol. Orgn PESA.

Joint Ownership of Property

- May or may not be true. For e.g. among Hos it is not exclusive FRA.

Definitional Problems Due to

- Dynamics of tribes > no more traditional stereotype.
- Tremendous increase in population and migration.
- Welfare policies have led to breaking the stereotypes.

D.N. Majumdar

- States that, except for the tribes of Eastern India, everywhere else ethnic strains have crisscrossed in the sub-continent.

F.G. Bailey

- Thus suggests that the definition of tribe should be seen in a continuum: the tribe at one end and caste. On the other end
 - Srikanth –
 - tribals,
 - semi tribals,
 - Acultural tribes,
 - Assimilated tribes.
 - Ghurye- Hinduised tribes-->partially hinduised tribes--->Hill section.
 - DN Mujumdar- Primitive tribes--->Tribe with degree of association--->hinduised tribe.
 - Elwin- Most primitive-->Individualistic-->Detribalised--> Tribal aristocrats.
 - Even Beteille says "there is no satisfactory way to define a tribe. It can only be explained through the continuum.

Geographical Spread

- The tribal population can be demarcated in the following three geographical zones
- North-North-Eastern Zone
 - It includes the tribal areas of Ladakh (Jammu & Kashmir), Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and the North East comprising seven states (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura).
- Central or Middle Zone
 - It includes West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Southern Uttar Pradesh, Southern Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra.
- Southern Zone
 - It includes Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and the Andaman – Nicobar.

- Some Major
 - >4mn Gonds- MP, Maharashtra, AP.
 - >4mn Bhils- Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, MP.
 - >3mn Santhals- Orrisa, Jharkhand, WB.

Wide Variation in Socio Economic Development

- Mostly patrilinear- but some matrilinear (Garo).
- Embraced different religions
 - Naga, Mizo, Santhals, Munda- Christianity.
 - Bhutia, Lepcha- Buddhism.
 - Bhils, Bhimis- Hinduism.
- Occupations
 - Food gatherers, forestry, shifting cultivation, agriculture, labourers.

Constitutional Safeguards

- Article 15(4)
 - Special provisions are made for educational advancement of the Scheduled Tribes. These provisions are like reservation of seats and relaxation in marks in admission to educational institutions, scholarships, etc.
- Article 46
 - The State to promote with special care to education and economic interests of SC and ST and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
- Articles 330 and 332
 - Seats are reserved for SC and ST in Lok Sabha & State Vidhan Sabhas.
- Under Article 339(1)
 - The President may at any time appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Area and the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the State.

Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Definition

- Primitive traits
- Distinctive culture
- Geography Isolation
- Shyness from general Population
- Backwardness

- Initially tribals were ignored because of
 - partition, - states re organization
 - resource requirements for industries
 - LR
 - Less political participation
 - Wars. etc.
- R - Religion
- I - Isolated
- P - Political
- P - Property
- L - Live (where do they live)
- E - Economy
- D - Dialects

Colonial Polices and Tribes

- C - Christian Missionaries
- A - Administrative Policies
- F - Forest Policies
- E - Exclusion

Lord Dalhousie

- Teak, state property (No MFP).
- 1878 Act > 3 classified > Reserve, Protected, Village.
- 5 acts > State's control increased.

After Independence

- 3 types of forests.
- 5 consecutive acts.
- 1952 > National interest (Development, Tribals excluded, enemies of forest).
- 1988 > Environmental stability (afforestation, environmental nations)(meeting needs of Tribes).
- 2006 > Forest dwellers rights (MFP, IPR on traditional knowledge, 4 hectare/family, some duties to protect).
- (Forest Act)
 - User right
 - Ownerships
 - Control right (buy/sell land)

During Colonial Times

- The dominant policy of British > to safeguard their isolation in officially declared excluded or partially excluded areas.
- In practice > however, the policy of isolation was seriously compromised by the dominant concern of the colonial State for maximising revenue extraction, because regions of tribal concentration were typically the richest in terms of endowments of forest and mineral wealth.
- The policy of isolation translated itself into a general policy of non-interference with tribal customs and traditions, except where these became barriers to the extractive objectives of the colonial State.
- Entirely alien and fundamentally destructive concepts of State ownership of forests and private property of land, were laid for the exploitation of tribal wealth which continues until the present day.
- At the same time, the colonial administrators encouraged Christian missionaries, whose main ideology was of 'assimilation', albeit into Christianity, rather than the caste Hindu mainstream. Although missionaries contributed very significantly by providing educational and health services in difficult and remote tribal regions.

Colonial Policies

Administrative policies (3 phases) > Cleveland, Rajmahal Hills, civil & criminal Jurisdiction, failed

- 1st phase- (1782-1827)
 - Came with contact of tribal first in Bengal.
 - Revolt of Paharias of Rajmahal hills against Hindu Zamindars.
 - "Cleveland", the administrator recognised this problem and decided to specially administer the area (Rajmahal hills) > Civil and criminal jurisdiction provided to local elders of the hills. However this experiment did not succeed due to corruption and mal administration.
- 2nd phase (1855-1919) > Scheduled Tracts > Exclusive administration, | Backward Tracts > Minor changes
 - Pattern on administration experimented with paharias continued till 1855. o Till then Santhal revolution > leading to creation of Santhal district.
 - Then 1858- Queens proclamation > Giving right to every community to right to its own culture.
 - 1861 act- Tribal areas brought under special administration > officers given special civil and penal powers.
 - 1870 act- Powers given to GG in council issues laws and regulations for "scheduled tracts" (areas inhabited by tribes).
 - 1919 act- Brought the concept of "backward tract" (where tribals lived with other communities). In case of BTs- only modification of all India laws was sought, whereas for STs exclusive administration and local arrangements were thought necessary.

- 3rd phase (1919-1947) > Partially Excluded > Governor's sought advice, Wholly Excluded > Gov's discretion
 - Britishers feared Tribals joining freedom struggle so they designed the policy of isolation.
 - GOI act 1935- tribal areas divided into 2.
 - Partially excluded- Governor sought advice of village administrators.
 - Wholly excluded areas- Governor acted in his discretion.

Forest Policies

- Lord Dalhousie declared "Teak" a state property. Restrictions were also put on collections of MFP (Minor forests produce).
- 1855- Formal forest policy declared.
- 1865- Restrained some local practices and customs.
- 1878 act
 - The entire forest areas in the country were classified in to reserve forest, protected forest and village forest.
 - Allowed forest dwellers to enjoy the rights to some extent but restricted from owning. > applicable only to the forest under control of the government and no provisions were made to cover private forests.
- Act was followed by five different successive acts > 1901 Indian forest act, in 1914 the repealing and amending act 1920. The devolution amendment acted in 1927 the Indian forest. > Gradually taking the control of over the forest to regulating people's control over the forest lands and produce > radically changed the forests from common property into state property.
- It was also the beginning of the alienation of village communities from forest.
- After independence
 - Some rethinking on the issue of the forest policy.
 - In 1952 a new national forest policy. > Forest policy should be based on the paramount national needs.
 - Use of forest shouldn't be permitted at the cost of national interests.
 - The concept of national interest was interpreted in a very narrow sense.
 - The destruction of forest for the developmental projects was justified in the name of national interest and was discouraged from using the forest.
 - The forest officials of India thought mainly of increasing the revenue from forests, treating advasis as the enemies of the forests.
 - Criticized > the mere extension of government authority over forest.
 - The traditional rights of tribes were no longer recognized as rights.

- 1988 act
 - Objectives --> maintenance of environmental stability, conservation of the national heritage, increase in tree cover, meeting needs of the tribes, encouraging efficient use of forest produce and afforestation programmes.
 - While this policy has more people-oriented statements, it still has the concept of exclusive state ownership of forest and mentions industrial needs as national needs.
- The Forest Act of 2006
 - It attempts not only to correct a historic injustice committed by the colonial and post-colonial rulers but also vests in forest communities a primary role in sustaining forest ecosystems by restoring their rights as well as their environmental duties.
 - The greatest value of the Forest Act of 2006 is that it effectively recognizes the rights of forest dwellers who previously were considered encroachers on state land.
- The forest is the pivot around which the tribal life revolves, but for the state, the forest is simply a source of raw materials for industry and revenue for itself.
- In some states the Forest Department is a major source of revenue for the government. It is no wonder that successive plans, policies, and legislation have resulted in restricting the rights and usage of forests by millions of tribal people for whom forests are their only refuge and source of sustenance.

Impact on Tribals

- Indian forest laws enacted in the 19th and 20th centuries treated forest dwellers and other traditional forest users and especially their farming practices such as shifting cultivation as a threat to forest ecology.
- The British forest policies were mainly aimed at supplying the raw material for the British-based industries and commercial exploitation of forest was encouraged at the cost of tribals in the name of national interest.
- The state saw that the well-being of forest and forest dwellers as two different and mutually exclusive options. This is based on a premise that the forests can be well protected only if the local forest-using communities are excluded, and that the needs of the forest-dependent communities can be met only if society is ready to suffer the loss of forest.
- Despite the oppositions from tribal people, the forest areas are allocated to corporations to invest in mining and other projects.
- Now community is experiencing a new form of encroachment on their customary rights by developmental interventions such as large dams, mining and conservation.
- Social- Impact > culture, Habit, occupation
 - Culture affected due to missionaries.
 - Habits such as Pan chewing, liquor consumption increased due to proliferation of money lenders in the areas.
 - Traditional occupations were affected.

- Political- Rights, Migration, Poverty, segregation
 - Poverty increased.
 - Forest rights alienation.
 - Led to migration to cities.
 - Policy of segregation meant, no infrastructure was built in these areas.

Issues of Integration and Autonomy

The Constituent Assembly debate on tribal autonomy saw the clash of two schools of thought

Assimilationists

- Who argued that tribes in the schedule areas should be absorbed into the larger society and
 - Argued for an inclusive Indian nation that basically reflects a vision of the liberal state, for which the axis of reference is the republican notion of freedom: no social distinctions, no hierarchies, but there will be a sum of individuals whose membership in the nation will be determined by the freedom he/she enjoys.
 - The assimilationists considered terms like scheduled areas, reserved areas, or excluded areas a colonial baggage and argued for a uniform administration in independent India.

Liberals

- Who thought that they should be given autonomy, along with the self-governing rights.
 - The underlying assumption behind this view is that tribes should be integrated but they should be allowed to preserve their own autonomy.
 - Integration along with autonomy would also mean the respect for the pluralities of tribes.

In the Initial years after Independence

- After Independence, the senior political leadership in India particularly Prime Minister Nehru, sought to define the contours of a progressive and sensitive tribal policy that steered clear of the excesses of both 'isolationism' and the implied civilisational arrogance of 'assimilation'.
- Nehru maintained that tribal people 'possess a variety of cultures and are in many ways certainly not backward.
- In seeking to bring to these communities the benefits of health education and communication, he said that "one must always remember, however, that we do not mean to interfere with their way of life but want to help them to live it. The tribal people should be helped to grow according to their genius and tradition"
- This unusual sensitivity derived partly from the influence that anthropologists like Verrier Elwin who stressed that in designing development programmes for tribals, their special cultural strengths must be respected and nurtured.

BN Majumdar

- Policy of 'Limited Assimilation' -> A lot of practices like env. Protection, respect of women, elders, marring late can be inbited.

Policy of Integration

- The search for an appropriate middle path of integration, falling between the two extremes of isolation and assimilation, was concretised in Nehru's landmark **Panchsheel (CLTOR)**.
 - Avoid imposing anything on them. Try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
 - Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.
 - Try to train and built up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
 - Do not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes, rather work through, and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions.
 - Judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.
- C - Culture (encourage them to promote)
- L - Land Rights (Respects)
- T - Team (their own)
- O - Over - administer (don't)
- R - Results (not by money but by human character evolved)

Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission

- The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, headed by U.N. Dhebar (1960) later endorsed and elaborated this policy of integration.

Singular Exception of the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) (Arunachal)

- Despite such progressive policy, with the singular exception of the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) (Arunachal), the policy of integration was not implemented with any notable success in tribal India.
- For the opening up of the hitherto isolated, and strategically sensitive, tribal highlands of NEFA, a committed and trained group of exceptional officers were grouped into what was designated as the Indian Frontier Administrative Service. They closely interacted on a day-to-day basis with Nehru and Elwin. Elwin advised them, 'Integration can only take place on the basis of equality: moral and political equality'.
- It is significant that NEFA, now designated Arunachal Pradesh, remains the only state in the Northeast, which is not convulsed with militancy. Incidentally this is the only state in India where certain tribes have attained a hundred per cent level of literacy ".

Effects

- Positives
 - Statehood - Jharkhand, Chattisgarh.
 - Educated middle class.
- Negatives
 - Many tribal movements have emerged
 - For control of many vital resources.
 - For matters of ethnic-cultural identity.
 - To preserve their social and cultural identity - 3 alternatives
 - To exist side by side with majority (Meena and Bhils).
 - To absorb itself with the dominant group (Khond and Oraon).
 - To secede and seek political independence based on equality- (nagas and Mizos).
- PESA
- Issue of tribal identity.

Problems of Tribes

- Displacement
- Rights over forest
- Naxalism
- Poor development Indicators
- Stigma over tribal identity 6) Lack of voice & represent.
- Tribal Elites cornering benefits.
- Environmental degradation affecting livelihoods & lives.

Virginus Xaxa Committee Recommendations

- Gram Sabha to be empowered (even for Linear acquisitions).
- Acquired but unused lands to be returned.
- Tribal co - ops for mining.
- No to big dams.
- Naxalist killings to be probed by Judicial Enquiry.

Various Legal Provisions + Government Schemes for Tribals

- Tribal Sub plan
- Ministry
- Trifed

- NSTFDC
- PESA
- Article 14-16
- Article 46/330 – 332
- NCST
- PVTGs
- Mechanism of Mktg MFP through MSP
- Dev. Of value chain
- Tribes India
- Van bandhu Kalyan Yojana
- Review of FRA under PRAGATI
- District Mineral foundation

Natural sch. Tribe Financial & Development Corporation

- Interest subvention

MoTA

- Policies
- Planning
- Coordn.
- Various central spon. Schemes.

Tribal Sub Plan

- Skill Dev.
- Horti + Seri + Apiculture
- Dairy + Fish connectivity improvement
- Education
- Sports
- Culture
- Spl. Central assistance

Particularly vulnerable Tribal Groups

- Spl. Assistance under TSP to Tribes showing Isolated | Shyness | Primitive traits.

Education

- Scholarships
- Hostels
- Vocational Training (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Hostels).

Tribal Research Institution

1. Tribal culture Preservation
 2. Constitutional + Legal training & capacity building.
- Sex Ratio: 990
 - Child sex ration is declining
 - Gender Parity high
 - Dropout high
 - Literacy low
 - President in consultation with Governor Notifies ST.

Jan Bandhu Kalyan Yojana

- Outcome based approach to create enabling env.
- Use of available resources to augment development.
- Converging all existing schemes.
- State Govt to formulate long term perspective plan on 14 thematic areas.
- (Themes > sustainable employment, health, education, housing, sanitation, security).

Challenges in Tribal Development

- Colonial exploitation (historical wrongs).
- Displacement due to dams, mines, wildlife sanctuaries.
- Physical remoteness (lack of services).
- Language barriers.
- Weakening of institutions like tribal research institutes.
- Inefficient usage of funds under TSP.
- Security issues > Naxalism.
- Tribal Elites cornering benefits.
- Environmental degradation – affecting lives & livelihoods.
- Lack of voice & representation in contemporary political circles.

Part – B4

Social Classes in India

- Agrarian Class structure
- Industrial Class structure
- Middle Classes in India

Agrarian Class structure

- In easy words
 - Agrarian - Related to agriculture.
 - Class > similar Eco. Position.

Emergence

- During the British period Factors were
 - Land Tenure system , idea of individual ownership of land.
 - Payment of revenue in cash led to commercialisation of agri --- moneylender landlord - -- agri for profit purpose.
 - Oppressive policies of Britishers---- expansion of agri labourers -- new class of sharecroppers -- -loss of patronage for artisans.
- R. k. Mukherjee > Dominant class & subordinate class increasing, because of decay of intermediary class.
- Thus agrarian class structure included
 - landlords and rich tenants -- dominant class.
 - middle and lower tenants -- intermediate class.
 - artisans , sharecroppers --- subordinate class.

In Post-Independence Period

- Factors that affected Agrarian Class structure also included
 - LRs
 - GR
 - Democratic political system
 - Development of transport & communication.

Hamza Alavi

- Major Agrarian Classes

- Bourgeois landowners (Farmers high productivity).
- Colonial landowners (Absentee, low productivity).
- Sharecroppers (Payment in kind as were generally, subtenants).
- Agricultural labourers (Wage payment, no land ownership).

Daniel Thorner in 1973

- (Income/ownership/use).
- One man can belong to all – 3 categories.
- 3 criteria for dividing agrarian population
 - based on income earned from land.
 - nature of rights held in land.
 - extent of field work actually performed.
- Based on this criteria - 3 fold classification
 - Maliks - Owner (landlords).
 - Kisans are working peasants - Use (Tenants).
 - Mazdoors -- wage labourers or share croppers - Wage/Income (Labourers).

Andre Beteille

- No single way of classifying ASS... he classified based on
 - Ownership of land.
 - Control over land.
 - Use of land.

Generalised view of agrarian classes has been identified as under

- Rich farmers (Benefitted GR, LR | AB > Progressive farmers | Rudolph & Rudolph > Bullock capitalism).
- Middle farmers (Erstwhile tenants | After LR).
- Poor peasants (Landless earlier | LR Beneficiary).
- Landless labourers (Migration | Jan Breman > Footloose labour).

Bardhan and Rudra

2 types of agri labourers

- Unattached : casual labourers without any bondage.
- Attached : association with a particular employer.
 - Extremely Attached: complete bondage without any specific boundaries.
 - Fully attached: specific sphere of activity.

- Semi attached: seasonal association.

Bondage

- Indicates different degrees of attachment of a person with the other within the sphere of work.
- (Report 2013 > Most no. of slaves in India).

Bonded Labour

- Indicates a particular situation in which a person is under a compulsion to be associated with other person.
- This compulsion is enforced by coercion.
- Extremely attached bondage indicates bonded labour.
- However these are only broad framework.
- The actual agrarian class relations differ from region to region.
- The agrarian history of different regions in India has been quite different and the trajectories of development during post-independence period (like abolition of zamindari , land tenure , GR etc.) have also been different.
- ASS is not static but changes with changing nature of society at large.

Recent Trends

- Due to overall increase in wage level --- cost of labour input increased --- low profitability --- generating tensions b/w dominant and subordinate AC.
- Improving economic conditions in non-GR areas---shortage of labourers in GR areas-- migration decreased.
- Trend towards developing policies for workers in the organised sectors.

Industrial Class Structure

- It is pattern of relationship that exists b/w different classes in an Industrial Society.
- We'll study the ideas of - Bottomore, Marx, Weber, Daniel Bell.

Bottomore

- Social classes are characteristic feature of industrial societies . With the emergence of industrialisation , variously classes emerged , especially in urban areas , as
 - Capitalist
 - Educated Classes
 - Petty Traders and Shopkeepers
 - Working Classes

Marx

- Bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Weber

- Used by AB
 - Propertied Upper Class.
 - White Collared Workers.
 - Petty Bourgeoisie.
 - Manual Labourers.

Impact on Caste

Harold Goulds Study of rickshaw wallah of Lucknow

- Class structure has weakened caste structure in India. Cities provide them anonymity (upper caste doing menial jobs).

AB

- Higher caste does not always imply higher class . This disharmony is found in Indian cities where new jobs are opening. However this does not mean that caste system is disintegrating.
- Earlier cumulative privileges. Now, dispersed.
- Developed cracks but not collapsed.
 - Caste has also become a basis for organisation of trade union.
 - Caste or kinship is used as a criteria for allotting seats or selecting people for jobs - i.e. a phenomena of sponsored mobility rather than contested mobility.
 - In India with NIP and Globalisation this class structure is subjected to the most dynamic change.
 - Entrepreneurship.

Post - Industrial Society

Daniel Bell

- Book "Post-Industrial Society (1973)".
- Bell predicted that we are fast moving towards a society where services and knowledge related technologies would dominate rather than industrial production that was conventionally viewed. He held that post-industrial society would replace the industrial society as dominant mode.
- There are three components to a post-industrial society, according to Bell
 - a shift from manufacturing to services.
 - the centrality of the new science-based industries.
 - the rise of new technical elites and the advent of a new principle of stratification.

- Term used for post-industrial society is 'information age', as another characteristic feature of post-industrial societies is the domination of information technologies and industries related to it.
- Bells prediction of post-industrial society was based on already emerging patterns in America in the 1970s as
 - Employment figures in 1950's: US became the first country to have a majority of its working population in services.
 - Evidence showed that contribution to service sector to GNP was steadily mounting.
 - Increase in Financial allocation towards higher education i.e. theoretical knowledge.
- To bell post industrialization offers a solution to many problems in industrial society such as (Reform in MR TLC Alienation, creativity).
 - Individual talks to individual rather than interacting with machines.
 - Vision of new worker.
 - Performs interesting and varied jobs in pleasant surroundings.
 - Is engaged in production of a service and not in production of good.
 - Interacts with life people and not mindless machines.
 - As customer demands vary, offers personalized service.
 - Service not fragmented to which there was lack of identification with product – there is a certain unity in service provided by worker.
 - Finally new work places is a pleasant office room and personal shop floor.
- Some argue that post industrialism is unlike industrialism in its consequences for people. Industrialism promoted alienation as it made material affluence possible.

Benefits for Workers (De-Alienation)

- Post industrialism in contrast allowed individual to set its own pace, instead of being paced by machines, by offering work i.e. varied and interesting.
- Worker does complete jobs instead of fragmented bits of work.
- Hence post industrialism offers solution to the alienation of man.

Critics

Critics say that it is too rosy a picture. For them

- Marxist would not agree that is alienation can be solved within the frame work of capitalist system of production. To them root cause of alienation is private ownership i.e. what robs worker of his control over tool and production.
- Employment in service class implies that it is at the cost of agriculture. It's fallacious to equate industrial employment with blue collar manual job services with white.

- Many tasks involved in the provision of services such as catering, cleaning, entertainment, and transportation or of manual or even menial kind are not very different from general run of industrial jobs.
- If industrial employment has remain stationary and many of the new jobs created by the services are manual, the optimistic claim that the alienating condition of industrial work now applies to fewer people would appear to be totally misplaced.
- The argument that white collar workers in the service sector perform varied jobs in a pleasant atmosphere and has come under severe attack. Vast bulks of service sector employees are clerks who have been handed into large impersonal offices.
- The repetitiveness, division of labor, fragmentation of tasks and monitory that characterize industrial employment are to be found here as well.
- Finally, Bell's assertion that there is a growing proportion of professionals within the white collar has been questioned. The expansion of professionals in the service sector is taking place at lowest levels. These people are assigned impressive littlest such as engineer and technologist.
- However, they hardly enjoy freedom on their job. Their actual job is to perform according to someone else's specifications. They are more providers of information production of scientific knowledge itself has become an industry.
- With vast number of people performing fairly simple and regulated jobs for a coordinator who alone knows how the pieces fit together to make a whole.

Conclusion

While there are many critiques to Bells's arguments and his prediction, we are indeed moving from an industry oriented economy to a post-industrial one. The new technologies have definitely altered social structures, they have speeded up the globalization processes.

- Define Ind. Class.

Aim

- Marxist (AR Desai) > Maximising Profits. Functionalist - Meeting Demand, Giving employment.

Evolution

- **Pre - Independence** > started 1870 to swadeshi, during WWs demand increased - Rise of AITUC, INTUC.
- **Post - Independence** > Govt. Control increased, social welfare increased, Holmstorm. Holmstorm, Dev Nathan-Working Class in India is of 4 types
 - Gets more than a family wage (that is, more than the value of the labour power). ○ Equal to family wage (equal to the labour power).
 - Less than family wage (and has to suppress the standard of living to survive). ○ Pauperised (not able to meet the immediate demands).
- **Post LPG** > Informal increased, Disparity increased, CSR increased, Social Innovation increased, Holmstorm 3, 4 increased. For working class. Weber's white collared increased.

Conclude

Clark Kerr

- Convergence theory > similar Economies produce similar stratifications. With time, globalization will remove deprivations.

Criticism

Keith Dan's

- Govt. Control, licence, quota Raj slowed growth.

Sudipto kaviraj

- Slow employment growth led to increased Poverty.

Industrial Class Features (additional points)

- Ltd. Employment to women | children.
- workers have little or no land.
- Diverse background of workers.
-

Middle Classes in India

Definition

- The Economist
 - If more than 1/3rd income is left after paying for food & shelter.
- B.B. Mishra | M.C.
 - 75% to 125% of median salary.
- M.C.
 - Either own MoP at a lower scale (as compared to Higher class).
 - Sells his skilled labour (as compared to working class which is unskilled).

Evolution of Middle class in India

DL Seth

- Analyses four different phases
 - Colonial period , tax collectors etc (MNS - Primary, Secondary westernization). o Indian Renaissance , modern education , freedom movement.
 - Post-Independence, jobs, education, reservations, green rev, -- all these numerically increased MC (farmers also showed up).

- Post LPG , the salaried classes increased.

D.P. Mukherjee

- (Marxist) > Indian system (Thesis) > British system (Anti - Thesis) [Synthesis of Middle class.

Causes for the rise of MC

- Social
 - Sanskritisation (Education , Administrative jobs, LR/GR).
- Economic
 - Commercialisation and Industrialisation.
- Political
 - Democracy (Participation in Decision Making), universal adult franchise.

B.B. Mishra

- In his work on "the middle classes in India" concluded that the British rule resulted in the emergence of a class intermediaries serving as a link b/w the people and the new rulers.
- MC continued to increase in strength and prosperity with the progress of British rule.

Sanjay Joshi

- Articulated that definition and power of MC was from its propagation of modern ways of life and heterogeneity was an attribute of the MC.

AB

- AB Views MC in India as a part of a relatively new social formation based on caste and kinship.
- In his opinion the MC values are difficult to characterise because they are still in the process of formation i.e. transitional and have not acquired a stable form . As such they are marked by contradictions & oppositions.

Y. Singh

- Y. Singh differentiates b/w rural and urban MC.
- Similarity : Both share conservative & narrow utilitarian ethos.
- Difference : RMC harbour intense antagonism & conflict with UMC due to historical reasons (Like slowdown in agri. prod, post GR underdevelopment in agri.)
 - In contemporary times, MC is not yet modern while there is modernity in consumption patterns it is still in the transition phase w.r.t. interpersonal relation. > consumerism increased.
 - Man is still breadwinner , superficial emancipation of women - where they have freedom to choose their clothes but motherhood is still considered to be most important goal.

MC

- MC still not acquired stable form cannot be labelled as modern.

Rajesh Kochar

- Denationalised Middle class.

McDonald

- Serving Indian Menu.

Suhash Palshikar

- Bourgeoise class is dependent on Middleclass (because of spending power).

The Great Indian Middle Class

- Political Repercussions because of education, awareness.
- NCAER report
 - 2005 – 5%
 - 2015 – 20%
 - 2025 – 40% - It will have political repercussions.
- The Indian middle class is not just growing at a rapid pace, it has also become the segment driving consumption of “luxury” goods like cars and air-conditioners, according to a survey by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER).
- The “middle class” households numbered 10.7 million in 2001-2; by 2009-10, they’re expected to rise to 28.4 million. “The rich too are growing in numbers,” points out Rakesh Shukla, senior fellow and head of the survey team, NCAER. From 0.8 million in 2001-02, they’re expected to grow to 3.8 million by the end of the decade.
- Values Related to Family, Marriage and Women’s Status amongst the Middle Class • Even in the 21st century, marriage is considered an important traditional social institution that all are supposed to enter into. Choices available with individuals, specifically women, are very few as marriage and motherhood are taken to be the ultimate goals. A woman’s identity is seen to be largely dependent on her marital status.
- Marriage is still seen as a way of life through which an individual entered adulthood in both upper and upper middle classes of urban India, who outwardly appear to be modern. Particularistic criteria continue to provide the normative basis for the formation of intimate relations among people across all classes.
- Although arranged marriages, whereby parents choose the prospective mates for their children are the preferred form of marriage, in the upper and upper middle classes, certain changes are observable.
- Semi- arranged marriages, in which individuals choose their own life partners but marry only with the consent of their parents, are also taking place. In such marriages, inter-caste and inter religious marital alliances are being tolerated, albeit conditionally. Hindu-Muslim and Hindu Christian marriages are still taboo.
- Wedding ceremonies are performed in a traditional way. Choices available with individuals are very few.

- In case of the lower middle class, such values and norms are comparatively more deep-rooted. Certain ambiguities are quite evident in the attitudes of those belonging to the middle class as they seem to be more open to change while responding to the same queries in questionnaires but adopt a more traditional viewpoint while narrating their life histories without being too conscious during in-depth interviews. Such contradictions are inherent in the set of social norms and values upheld by them.
- Furthermore, the stereotypical roles of man being the 'breadwinner' and woman the 'nurturer' are perpetuated. In the upper and upper middle classes, certain changes are observable.
- There is 'superficial emancipation' as women are choosing clothes that are in tune with the latest in the world of fashion. Still marriage and motherhood are considered to be the most important goals, all decisions have to be in consonance with these.
- Although women in the upper and upper middle classes in the contemporary age appear to be more autonomous compared to those belonging to the previous generations, they are still considered to be appendages to men.
- Only in the realm of the size of the family, the former seem to have as much say as the latter. In the upper middle class, parents lay emphasis on their daughters excelling in their studies just as they would wish their sons to.
- However, emphasis is not laid on higher education as that is taken to be a hindrance in getting good matrimonial matches. A harmonious marital relationship is seen to be dependent on women occupying a sub-ordinate status to men.
- In the lower middle class, also, women appear to have limited choices in the sphere of education. Education is considered important in order to enable them to be better wives and mothers.
- Significantly, most women are gainfully employed but they are compelled to join the work force to meet the economic needs of the family. Women are essentially expected to remain within the domains of their households and cater to the needs of their families.
- This is viewed as a natural phenomenon. Women do not have absolute freedom to decide on matters concerning selves.
- Thus, it is quite apparent that women in the middle class, both upper and lower are still not self-determining individuals. Social roles continue to be defined in accordance with traditional expectations.
- Also, while forming friendships, particularistic norms continue to play some role as such relationships are usually based on class similarities i.e. with similar economic background and value systems.
- Thus, it is quite interesting to note that in contemporary times, the middle class in India has not acquired a stable form and cannot be labelled as 'modern'.

Conclusion

- Marriage, motherhood still an important goal.
- Man – breadwinner.
- Women
 - Nurturer
 - Arranged to Semi. Emerged, Inter caste allowed.

- Still considered appendages to men, Higher education still not emphasized.

Extra Discussions

- Old MC – Small manufactures, artisans, independent Professionals etc.

vs

- New MC – Related to technology (technocrats), bureaucrats, white collar employees, (managers).

Features of MC

- Tremendous grown in no.
- Changed the class structure (3 classes now).
- Role in P, E, S, T .
- Social transformation in policies.

Role of MC in social change – 3Is – Initiator

- Indicator, Integrator
- Indicator of social change.
- Agent of modernization.
- Stabilizing force (b/w top & bottom).
- Significant role in Freedom movement.
- Harbinger of social change through.
- Press, media, law, medicine, political ideology, social activism.

BB Mishra

- Member of MC predominantly higher caste (generally elitist) but due to protective discrimination policy of govt. > Increasing no. of SC/ST in MC.

Globalization & MC

- Size increased.
- Development Indicator increased.

Palshikar

- Increased Consumerism -> Bourgeoisie dependent on MC.

MNS

- MC an outcome of erstwhile globalization when British arrived.

Y. Singh

- Homogenisation of MC.
- But cultural Identity maintained.

Rajesh Kochhar

- Denationalized MC | Globalisation becoming Globalisation because of large MC (e.g. McDonald local menu).

NCAER

- Civil society will increase. Political impact.
- But: MC alienation because of ambitions. Nuclearisation. Denationalised. Consumerism of family.

Part - B5

Systems of Kinship in India:

- Lineage and descent in India.
- Types of kinship systems.
- Family and marriage in India.
- Household dimensions of the family.
- Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour.

Lineage and Descent in India

Lineage:

- It is the principle based upon which inheritance is chosen.
 - Example: Patrilineage, Matrilineage.
- It refers to a particular type of kin group in which a member has a common ancestor whose identity is known.
- Also, a body of people who are arranged together on the basis of common blood linkage. Patriarchal society-daughter not part of father's lineage group.

Descent:

- It is the principle whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his/her parents.

Classical Anthropologists

- Patrilineal-determining descent through the male line.
- Matrilineal-determining descent through the female line.
- Lineage system can be divided into 2 parts
- Unilineal - a system of determining descent in which someone either belongs to father's lineage or mother's lineage, both patrilineal and matrilineal are included under unilineal lineage system. Non unilineal- a system where exists multiple forms of relationships.

Indologist

- **Ghurye**- role of descent in defining marriage, family, kinship and India.
 - In Northern India- some one can't marry within extended kinship group - marriage is driven by rules of kinship and descent.
- **Ghurye indicated**- Gotra and Charna are exogamous groups-brings dispersed people together. The gotra and charna were kin categories of Indo-European cultures which systematized the rank and status of the people. These categories were derived from rishis (saints) of the past. These rishis were the real or eponymous founder of the gotra and charna.
- **Gail Omvedt** - Caste is an expanded descent system.
- **Andre Beteille**- kinship in India strong, so that Voting is driven by kinship rather than on merit. Primary source of political recruitment: kinship group.
 - Thus, Democratic political system in India is engaged in **social and cultural reproduction**.
- **Krishna Kumar** - Kinship in India is so intensive that- behind every corrupt man - there is an ambitious family- **Industrial recruitment** greatly takes place on the basis of kinship rather than on merit.
 - With modernity in India- kinship and descent have not changed a little also- so important to study under social transformation.
- **Role of descent and kinship** not only decides private spheres of life like marriage, family etc rather very well defines occupation, political activities etc.

Types of kinship system

- Irawati Karve - 4 different kinship zones
 - North
 - South
 - Central
 - East

North Indian Kinship System

- Areas of more aryan culture influence and Odisha, Bihar and West Bengal.
- Patrikins and Matrikins are different.
 - Within patrilineal system father's brother is distinguished from father's sister.
 - Fathers brothers are also distinguished in terms of age, so differential respect is attributed to them.
- **Rule of marriage is highly exhaustive**- One is not supposed to receive a woman from a group to which a woman is offered within 5 to 7 generations.

- One can't receive a woman from his mother's group, mother's mother group, father's mother group, and his own village.
- Marriage not in intra-family ties rather in **inter-village** ties.
- **Residential system** is **Virilocal**, same as patrilocal involves a series of presentational obligations.
 - (In social anthropology, patrilocal residence or patrilocality, also known as **virilocal** residence or virilocality, are terms referring to the social system in which a married couple resides with or near the husband's parents.)
- **Veena Das**- In north Indian kinship - **father son relationship** precedes over **husband wife relationship**-on analysis of Punjabi kinship system she said- the natural sexual **relationship** between husband and wife is **subdued** to socially established father son relationship glorifying patriarchy.

South Indian Kinship system

- Entire south India, some parts of MH and Odisha- No distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal.
- Father's brother is equivalent to mother's sister's husband- both their children, **parallel cousins**, so marriage among them.
- Father's sister group ~ mother's brother group => mother's brother= father's sister's husband.
- Specific patrilineal kins are equated with specific matrilineal kins.
- **Love for younger and respect for elders** cutting across generational principles- father ~ elder brother, mother ~ elder sister and younger brother ~ son, younger sister ~ daughter.
- Cross cousins marriage allowable- exogamy not exhaustive like north India.
- Husband wife relationship is not subdued to father son relationship unlike north India.
- Hostility of relationship between the laws driven by suspicion -weak in south India.

Central India Kinship system

- Gujarat, Maharashtra, MP- mixture of elements from NI and SI.
- **Rajputs**- marriage- on status of girls's family- no caste bar- girl of their choice.
- **Marthas**-32 divisions- primary, secondary, tertiary divisions- marriage accordingly.
- **Kumbi of Gujarat**- can't marry within one generations from father's side and within 3 generations in mother's side.
- **Rajasthan**- On Akshya Tritiya- massive marriage takes place- all age groups-relaxed norms.

Eastern India Kinship system

- Munda of Odisha, Manipuri of Manipur, Nagas, Kukis and Khasi.
- **Munda**- 6 different class- associated with symbols like- bamboo, lizards, teak, crocodiles etc each class many lineage group- son gets patrilineal grandfather's name, daughter gets patrilineal grandmother's name, divorce is common among them.

- **Khasi**- youngest daughter inherits property from mother- status of man ~ status of woman in north India.
- These variations of kinship system speaks about differential residential system, property relations, status of men, women and children, entitlements based on gender-pluralistic society unity is **not about destruction of plurality rather respecting the plurality**.

Family and marriage in India

- Study of family = debate on joint family vs nuclear family.
- **David Mandelbaum**: considers JF as one of 3 characteristics of Indian society (Caste System, Village)
- Henry Maine, O Mailey studied traditional Indian JF and termed it as patriarchal family.
- **Sir Henry Maine**- legal advisor to colonial govt- Indian joint family vs Roman and Greek joint family- based on textual material- based on 2 concepts- **common property holdings and Absolute authority of Karta**- corporate unit, everyone contributes differently but **takes as per need**- It's sustenance because of moral institutions and **rituals for common dead ancestors**.
- GS Ghurye- Product of Indian culture, that glorified classical values- universal presence of joint family across caste, religion and region.
- **PN Prabhu**-Individual's association with joint family is based on **moralism** - when moralism converts to individualism (tradition to modernity)- joint family converts to nuclear family.
- Irawati Karve- 3-4 generations people organically related to each other. - Common Kitchen
 - Common Residence
 - Common Rituals
 - Common Obligations To Kartas.
- Joint family= product of culture, so **economic transformations** can't change joint family system.
- **Yogendra Singh**- "Modernisation of Indian tradition"
- In urban India-
 - Inter Caste Marriage
 - Love Marriage
 - Nuclear Family
 - Guilt Free Sexuality In Pre Marital And Post Marital Life.
 - Industry-Occupational Mobility
 - Women Empowerment
 - Structural Break Down Of Joint Family System.

MN Srinivas and SC Dubey

Caste and joint family relation-

- Higher Caste Go For Joint Family
- Lower Caste Nuclear Family
- Joint Family Is Driven By Economics Logic Rather Than Cultural Logic.
- Contrast To Y Singh, Joint Family Is Not Breaking Down Under Influence Of Urban Living.

Alan Rose

- A study in Bangalore- 70% of families- either structural jointness-functional jointness or both.

MS Gore

- Study on Agarwals of Delhi
- **Mother son** relationship precedes over husband wife relationship- family strong support base for its members in selection of occupation- financial assistance and selection of mates also.

TN Madan-

- Residential Separation
- No Break Down Of Joint Family
- "Money Order Economy"
- Family Jointness Has Always Been Enduring In India.

Family transformation in India is different from western transformations.

Household dimensions of the family

AM Shah:

- Book "household dimension of indian family"-
- Fundamental question- joint household disintegrating or not
- Proportion of joint households more today as compare to past
- Reason
 - Rising population
 - Construction of houses costly
 - Migration for employments etc
 - Bigger households splitting into smaller households but strong emotional ties though not staying together
 - Joint household splitting not joint families.

Therefore, Household study important.

Dimension of study should be household based on :-

- Commensal
- Co-resident
- Coparcenary
- Co rituals (did field study).

Two types of household

- Simple
- compound (2 or more parents).

Pauline Kolenda

- After modernity, joint households and joint families still exist.
- No conclusion unlike Marxist scholars.
- She writes that number of Nuclear is more than JF.
- Avg size of household increasing (death rate less, life longevity).
- Household have lifecycle (fission - fusion - fission)
- Stem family - Parents residing with married child
- Rural household size > urban size
- Regional difference (North India JF > South)
- Shah, Kolenda helped break the myth of disintegration of JF in India.

Feminist view

- whether joint family or nuclear family transformation is not affecting status of women- sexuality, DOL, Reproduction based on patriarchy.

Classical sociologists-

- Modernity - Household residential place- family social institution.
- Rise of socialism and modernity
- **Family functions are being taken by** play schools, old age homes, marriage bureaus, child care centers - family importance down - household importance up- Scandinavian countries household study is important.
- From household study- **can find out changes** in Indian society.

Global migration

- Phillipines and India- married women- job outside- living in households with friends or alone.

In household-

- More importance to friendship than to kinship

- Immense individual liberty
- Sexual freedom
- Limited or **no liability** towards other members
- Suitable for fragile or mobile population

Scandinavian census - more importance to households than families.

Household study is taking place of family study, so as friendship study taking place of kinship study.

Patriarchy, entitlements and sexual division of labour

- Entitlement- form of individual right
- Driven by culture, rules of law, by society.

Modernist theory

- Various forms of entitlements- now extended to every section – gender not a criteria.

Talcott Parsons

- Industrialisation
- Urbanisation
- Migration
- Occupational mobility
- Empowerment of women and gender gap reduced.

Modernist theory in case of India-

- Relationship **Between Husband And Wife** Preceding Parent Child Relationship
- Conjugal Relationship More Imp Than Obligation Towards Kinships
- Irrespective Of Gender, Every Child Inherits Property From Parents
- **Selection Of Mates** No Longer Family's Responsibility
- **Child Birth Is Linked To Economics** And Mutual Agreement Between Spouse
- Modernity Has Broken Down Traditional Form Of Marriage, Hierarchical Form Of Relationship.

Hinduism emphasis

- Sexual purity, therefore, child marriage
- Sexual experimentation outside marriage and premarital sex is immoral and evil - Male child makes a woman complete
- Divorce is evil
- Widowhood is disaster

Culture defines sexuality, reproduction, DOL, Sexuality.

- **Modernist contradicted**- nuclear family, child birth by choice, individual control over sexuality.
- **Indira Jai Singh**- All laws of entitlements **based on patriarchy** than gender equality- Hindu marriage act- divorce can be based on adultery- but have to be proved in court.
- **Victims of rape** has to recast the same experience again and again in order to get justice. Inheritance rights over parents property to women recently made law.
- Legal laws based on patriarchy.

Tulsi Patel

- Women **consider it as sin** to prohibit their husbands from sexuality leads to **unwanted pregnancy**.
- Lose life during child birth, in bad healths also they accept to patriarchal convention- forgetting their entitlements.
- Wage payment – women's less than half compared to men, despite doing twice work than men in factories.
- **Family is a paradise** in a hopeless world
 - Where marriage, child birth, motherhood makes woman's life complete.
- **Feminist movements** is not rebellion against patriarchy rather asking **for equality**.

Overlapping Topics – B6 and C4

Religion and Society

Communalism

Definition:

Using social traditions to mobilise people, generally to satisfy some vested interests.

- India -> Religion
- USA -> Race
- West Asia -> Shia – Sunni (Sectarianism)
- Africa -> Tribal

Bipin Chandra

3 types of communalism (Communal communalism),(Extreme Communalism)

- **Liberal** communalism - Similar secular interests, different religions interests
- **Communal** Communalism - Different secular interests, different religions interests
- **Extreme** Communalism - Different secular interests, different religions interests but 2 communities cannot exist together.

Causes:

- Unhealthy Competition for opportunities

- Different perception of history
- Events in past -> Partition
- Vested interests
- Insecurity in religious minorities
- Perception of threat even majority
- International linkages

Consequences:

- Atmosphere of unrest
- Violent clashes
- Loss of life & property
- Hindrance to social change
- Continued distrust
- Forced migration
- Xenophobia
- Ghettoization
- Political Mobilisation

Problems of Religious Minorities

Religious Minorities:

- Significantly different Identity & in Minority.

Jagganath Pathy:

Four dimensions of Problems related with Religious Minorities

- Subordination (Physical | Economic)
- Deprivation (Material | Empl. | Education)
- Inferiority (majority culture gets celebrated)
- Distinctiveness (manifestly)

Otherwise, various other problems as well:

- Low literacy (ghettoisation, Terrorism)
- Identity (Suspicion, Housing Problems -> Kashmiri Pandit)
- Political representation
- Identity in Transition (eg. - Kashmiri Pandits)
- Ethnocentrism (Shown by majority)
- Problem of preserving culture

- Violence communal Tensions, Riots
- UCC

Religious fundamentalism

- Infallibility of texts + Selective usage of texts
- A movement or belief calling for **return to fundamentals or basic texts**. Consider certain original values to be pure
- This is in direct contrast to modernism can be traced back to Protestantism in 1920s in USA and recently in Islam

Reasons

- According to Giddens- reasons is high modernity and globalisation
- Whenever there is a period of drastic social change, which disturbs the order--> leading to loss of identity or rootlessness---> people clutch onto any support available
- Fundamentalism promises earlier better age (Taliban did so). The psychological appeal is difficult to resist for people
- Perception of threat
- Economic deprivation
- Vested interests
- Lack of modern education

Means

- To bring back the earlier better age- fundamentalists build rigid belief system and practice--> developing intense commitment among believers
- This belief system is so rigid that non-believers are denied their rights
- So very often fundamentalism takes aggressive militant stand, where killing is justified

Challenge lies in the balance

Secularism: 4 basic Tenets

- Tolerance
- Flexibility
- Rationality
- Coexistence

D.Smith -> India has strong secular credentials & makes all efforts to establish it.

Desacralisation

- Opposite of Sacred
- Means supernatural beliefs are no longer seen as controlling the world. Action is no longer controlled by religious belief

Consequences of fundamentalism

Negatives

- Orthodoxy
- Intolerance
- Hinders progressive social change
- Riots, wars
- Perpetuation of social evils (women at greater receiving end)

Positives

- Helps in checking abrupt social change
- Brings solidarity
- Political, social mobility

Clifford Geertz

- Ideology based belief system & phenomenon.
- Exists at Latent Level but becomes problematic when manifested.

Part - C1

Visions of Social Change in India

- Idea of development planning and mixed economy.
- Constitution, law and social change.
- Education and social change.

Idea of development planning and mixed economy

Debates on Modes of Dev

To follow: 3 options

- Capitalism with min. state control
- Socialism with state guidance
- Sarvodaya based on distrust of state

There were problems of:

- Refugee inflows
- Fertile are gone to Pak, B'desh
 - Gandhi -> Inclined to socialism but distrust of state.
 - Favored capitalism but of small scale, cottage.

Dev. Model Post Independence

- Welfare
- Broad Spectrum Approach to planning
- Based on Modernity
- Mix – Model: 5-year Plans

After 1970:

- Approach changed to Integrated -> Area specific Focus
 - Eg. GR in Certain areas.
- Central Planning -> State Plans -> District -> Block -> village

Recent Trends:

- Decentralized Planning + Delivery attempted (from imperative to indicative planning)
- Planning -> indicative + participative + ground work
- Imp. Of NGOs rising
- Community involvement in various policies (eg : education policy, women policy)
- Sensitivity to Global Problems (e.g., environment, terrorism, inclusion)
- Rural sector, co – op federalism, ICT, MNREGA emphasized
- Right based approach from earlier Role – based

Challenges:

- Devolution of funds
- Stagnant Agri.
- Rural – Urban gap of dev. In dev. Indicators
- Inclusion
- Inequality rising
- Demography → education, health, sanitation, skills, etc.

Constitution, law and Social Change

- Social Change: change in structure and function of the society (in FMCGRCR)

Constitution:

- is basic law of land,
- incorporates norms of equality, social justice, freedom and secularism
- recognises cultural pluralism, caste-based inequalities, economic & social backwardness of some sections
- tries to bring SC thru FRs and DPSPs

- social evils like untouchability, forced labour, trafficking in woman & children --> illegal
- equality thru reservations (affirmative action)
- has certain limitations

Rajeev Bhargava:

- constitution is expected to check the tyranny of a majoritarian democratic state & protect the vulnerable groups

Y. Singh:

- The legal system has been an imp source of modernisation in India (can also write **3 I'S**)
- Indian society
- complex and heterogenous ...law can ensure homogeneity and assimilation of divergent sections various laws:

Women:

- Hindu marriage act, Hindu succession act, dowry prohibition act, Equal wages, DV act, PNDT Act
- Backward sections: abolition of untouchability, reservation policy.

Rural poverty: MNREGA

Y.Singh : refers three function of law :

- as an indicator of change
- as an initiator of change
- as an integrator of change

Law alone cannot do much.

Andre Beteille:

- while law determines the direction in which society should go, the social structure determines the direction in which the society actually goes.
- Law gives only theory.

Upendra Baxi:

- Suggests civil society and social movements to bring about dynamic changes in society. Education and social Change.
- Civil society & social movements required for Social Change.
- Brown said " education helps in changing basic outlook of a person towards society. Education changes the established patterns of social relationships, attitude/values of a person and also structure of society".

Education changes → Established Patterns, Values, Structure of society.

Objectives of education:

- pursuit of man to know himself and the universe and to relate himself with the social world
- building bridges b/w past and future
- accelerating the process of human progress
- integral growth of personality traits like intelligence, skill
- development in terms of man's condition of life , i.e. , development of both individual and society
- generating and strengthening harmony and peace

It Involves both formal education and mass media (Informal)

- creates favourable attitude to acceptance of skills
- upgradation of skills
- focuses attention leading to change e.g. ecology book now-a-days will affect future • creates awareness
- brings change in terms of gender equality

Education in Past

- In British period, education aimed at producing mainly clerks.
- Education was student-centred rather teacher-centred. Christian missionaries engaged in imparting education gave considerable importance to conversion of religion.
- Education in school and colleges was not productive which could break down the social, regional and linguistic barriers.
- It never aimed at making people masters of technology. It also did not focus on fighting injustice, intolerance and superstition.

Education in Present

- Oriented towards promoting values of an urban, competitive consumer society.
- Education aimed at freedom of individual, excellence of individual, equality amongst all people, individual and self-reliance and national cohesion.

Education for future

- Emphasis must shift from higher secondary and higher education to primary and adult education.
- content at university level education needs serious consideration
- problem of accountability of teachers needs to be addressed
- greater seriousness regarding studies among students
- push to vocational / professional courses
- issue of making all illiterate literate
- reducing number of drop-outs
- present examination system needs to be improved

Change that have been brought can be understood at following levels (PESTEL) -

- Political change: values for democracy, equitable rights, duties
- Social Change: literacy, awareness for health and sanitation, decrease in superstitious beliefs
- Economical change: more employment, less burden on agriculture, more SMEs
- Environmental change: e.g., Chipko movement
- Technological change: defence, communication etc.
- Ideological change: anti - superstitious movements in Maharashtra

K. Ahmad (1974)

- Formal education can play a vital role in 'ideational' change through transformation of knowledge, attitudes and values of the people.
- Its effectiveness in bringing about structural changes in society is extremely limited. - This is because of the linkages between the existing practices and procedures in education and vested interests of the status-quoists.

Critical Analysis of Education

A.R.Desai

- He has questioned the validity of education as an instrument of social change.
- His contention is that after Independence, education has not been purposively geared to obtain the desired changes.
- He has criticised the policies and funding and financing of education to attain the goals of social mobility and equality.
- Examples:
 - Education of SC, ST, Women failed in uplifting their status
 - Unemployment and under-employment of educated youth.
- Presently, concern is not only about education but quality education (ASER reports)
 - Education plays both consecutive & Radical role.
 - Karl Mannheim → Education needs to be critical.
 - Steve Lukes → 3rd Power promoted through education.
 - Marx → Promotes dominant class ideology

Education Deprivations

- Caste related
- Gender (uneducated/undernourished)
- Class
- Elite ("Harijan Elite" -> Sachidanand Sinha "Tribal Elite" -> SD Badgaiyan)
- Taboo based - HIV parents' children

- Religion - Sachar committee, Rangnath Mishra committee - Muslim denied entry in schools in Ahmedabad

Changes brought PESTEL change

Criticism

- Education used as apparatus by state to propagate it's ideology
 - (Marx → Dominant class ideology.
 - Steve Lukes - 3rd Power.
 - Althuser - Ideological state apparatus)
- U without Q (focus only on numbers) (12th FYP)
- Pierre Bourdieu - Cultural Reproduction - Benefitting only top classes. Corroborated by MM Tumin: Top classes have culture of excellence.
- Tawney - Tadpole Theory - Only the "top of the bottom" get sponsorship from state. Dalit Elites, Tribal Elites - Sachidanand Sinha, Bagaiyyan

Govt. Actions

- RTE, SSA, MDM, RMS, RUSA, Articles - 15. DPSP
 - Eg. Ambedkar witnessed mobility of education.
- AR Desai → Education Promoting status-quoism
- NEP, 2016 → Skills, Cultural Heritage, Values. Contains vague terms.
- **Karl Manheim** → Education needs to be critical.

Part - C2

Rural and Agrarian transformation in India

- Programmes of rural development, Community development programme, Cooperatives, Poverty Alleviation Schemes.

Rural Development Definition

- Improving living standards of low-income rural population.
- Rural Development is much broader than Agriculture's Development.
- But since agriculture is the main source of employment, therefore, main focus is always on agriculture.

Rural Development aims to provide below mentioned aspects:

Economic Aspect	Social Aspect	Technical
Agricultural Productivity	Rural Housing	Transport

Land Improvement	Drinking Water	Communication
Minor Irrigation	Electrification	Small Scale Industries
Animal Husbandry	Education	Village and Cotton Industry
Fisheries	Family Welfare	
Minor Forest Produce		

Various Phases of Rural Development

1. First Phase

- Community Development Programme (CDP) - 1952:
 - Based on Gandhian concept of "Sevagram" → Self-sufficiency.
 - (Sevagram, meaning "A town for/of service" is the name of a town in the state of Maharashtra, India. It is located about 8 km from Wardha. It was the place of Gandhiji's ashram and his residence from 1936 to his death in 1948.)
 - CDP drew inspiration from some pre-independence rural development programs with Pt.Nehru being its main enthusiast.
 - Village seen as a common commodity with common interests.
 - Broadly speaking, CDP →
 - One abled body person to give free labour from every family. So as to have feeling of collectively built resources.
 - At Block Level, a BDO, a Political Leader and Media to work in tandem on a cluster. The idea was to create Gram Sevaks for achieving:
 - As Carl Taylor puts it-
 - Development
 - Caste Disappearance
- 3 phases of CDP -
 - National Extension phase - Areas selected with little govt expenditure
 - Intensive Community Development phase - Blocks selected high govt expenditure

- Post Development Phase - Previous phases assumed success, govt expenditure lessened, now more supervisory.

By 1957 - 4 Major categories -

- Constructional Programs (schools, roads etc.)
- Irrigation (wells, tubewells, pumps etc.)
- Agriculture (waste land dev, soil, manure etc.)
- Institutional Programs (youth, women, dispensaries, smokeless chulhas etc.)

But it Failed.

Reasons of Failure:

- Projects on Paper
- Upper caste, Upper class dominated
- Caste inequality rose
- VKRV Rao → Waste of money

Critique

- Created Community dependence on govt
- Interests of landed class not same with service and other classes
- Bureaucracy lacked social service ethos
- Development top-down. Slow.
- Land owners more benefitted.
- Great emphasis on Economic aspect. Little on social and technical.
- Dominant castes hijacked top positions and diverted subsidy benefits.

2. Second Phase

- Land Reforms (early 60s) - Already covered
- Green Revolution (mid 60s) - Done

3. Third Phase

- Post GR - Done
- Area Centric Prog (70s) -
 - Draught Area Dev Prog
 - Hill Area Dev Prog
 - Command Area Dev Prog
- Employment, Poverty Alleviation (80s) -
 - 20-point programme

- Comprehensive Child Dev Prog
- National Rural Employment Scheme
- Crop insurance etc.

Critique -

- Slogan - Growth with redistribution. But growth was missing.
 - (Slow economic growth)
- Class conflict took caste form. Politics re-focused on caste. Many parties came up.
 - (Caste in politics)
- Rural Labour Enquiry Commission - Half of the population is in perpetual debt.
 - (High debt)
- Social Work Research Centre - Agri workers employed for 3 months only.
 - (Seasonal employment)
- Subsidy approach increased dependence on state.
 - (Dependence)

Broadly:

- Govt. Dependence
- Caste not same
- Class not same
- Bureaucratic hurdles
- Seasonality of employment
- Urban - Rural Plans not synergized
- Top - Down

4. Fourth Phase - 90s

- Discussed in Post-Independence Post LPG Phase.

Cooperatives

Evolution of Coops in India

- Existed before Independence as well. Coop. started in Germany, 1890s.

First Plan

- Only recommendary in nature.
- Small and Medium farmers to be encouraged for coops.

- CDP had cooperativisation in agenda.

Second Plan

- More concrete.
- A 10 years horizon for bringing half of the agriculture under it.
- Myths created that China achieved tremendous success in agriculture because of coop. Myth broken after Mao's death in 1976, their agriculture growth rate less than India's.
- Still, India under Nehru emulated Chinese example of coops and envisioned institutional changes in agriculture which didn't ask for much financial outlay. Nehru pressurized but states wary.

Third Plan

- It mellowed down the ambition. 10 pilot projects per district.

Targeted coops in:

- Credit
- Marketing
- Distribution
- Processing

Structure and Significance of Coops

- Various type of coops.
- 80% with agri.
- 60% for credit only.
- Broadly, 2 groups:
 - Credit Societies
 - Non-credit Societies
- Both further into two:
 - Agricultural Societies
 - Non-agri societies

For supervision and financial assistance–

- State coop banks and Centre Govt. banks.

Coops essential because

- A B C D approach
 - A – Accessibility
 - B – Bureaucratic hassles to be decreased
 - C – Class conflicts to be decreased

- D - Development -> illiterate, Poverty, women
- Accessible by small and cottage industries.
- Reduces bureaucratic and political hassles.
- Softens class conflicts.
- An institution for illiterate, poor and unskilled.
- 97th Amendment -> 19 (1) (C)
- 243 (B) -> Cooperatives
- Coop. word added after Trade Urbans

Limitations

Daniel Thorner:

- Coops formed as a result of evading LR by rich and influential families. Evading ceiling and tenancy laws. Land tilled by bogus members, mainly wage labour. Also cornered subsidies - Evading LR
- State coop farms had poor quality land given to landless and lower castes. Extremely high cost of running them proved fatal for their success - Poor quality land's high cost Dominant caste Public money to -> Private
- Reinforced the unjust Indian social structure when dominant caste overtook leadership positions.
- A case of public money given to private investment.
- A very small percentage (less than 10%) of credit to small and marginal farmers - Very less small farmers
- A large bureaucracy crept into coops as well - Bureaucracy crept in Populist Policies
- Populist policies to write-off debts burdened exchequer and eroded the viability of rural credit instis.

World bank Study on Operation flood : Anand Pattern-

- Paid rich dividends. Need to replicate it elsewhere.
- Milk growth from 0.7% pa to 4%.
- 60% farmers small and marginal.
- "Self-Selection" - an imp observation - by focusing a project on a predominant activity of poor, "self-selection" is likely to result in a majority of the beneficiaries being poor thus reaching target groups.
- Milk coop reached poor irrespective of caste, religion or gender. A major politico economic implication.
- A by-product of Op Flood is creation of indigenous dairy equipment mfg industry and an impressive body of indigenous experts. Indigenisation considerably cheap.
- Women empowerment - along with SEWA Ela Bhatt and others 6000 Women Dairy Coop Socs.
- Demand driven education, schooling, infra etc.
- Impetus to various other brands, eg - Dhara (NDDDB effort in vegetable oils).

For writing in Essays or otherwise while highlighting diversity of India

Kurien

- A Syrian Christian from Kerala Working in Gujarat.

Poverty Alleviation Schemes

Many schemes, Important ones being–

- **20 points programme** – Controlling poverty, inflation, lending, crime control, irrigation, rural employment, SC/ST specific programs, women/children specific etc.
- **Integrated Rural Dev Program (IRDP)** – 1982. From 20 selected districts to entire country. Self-employment schemes. Targeted approach based on
 - Number of poor households.
 - Resources available.
 - Time-span for results.
 - Limitation –
 - Leakages.
 - Finding “guarantor”
 - Misallocation of loans.
 - Little knowledge of schemes.
- **TRYSEM** (Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment) – Age 18-35. Priority to SC/ST. But inadequate stipend and low level of skills given.
- Food for Work Prog
- **MNREGA** – (with social impacts)
 - **Right based** - Work given in time bound guarantee (15 days) (liability on State).
 - **Women Empowerment** – 1/3 persons have to be women.
 - Work Site facilities – Crèche, water, shade etc.
 - Work within 5 kms (otherwise 10% extra).
 - **Decentralised Planning** – 50% of the work to be allotted to Gram Panchayats.
 - **Labour Intensive Work** – 60:40 ratio of wage and material. Machinery prohibited.
 - Public Accountability – Social Audits.
 - **Transparency** – All records available to anyone on payment of a fee.

Evaluation of MNREGA–

- Low quality Asset created
- Policies generally arm chair. Does not resonate with ground reality.

- Populist approach. Less emphasis on 3Es. (Efficiency, Economy, Effectiveness)
- No focus on rural-industrialisation.
- No coordination among various programmes.
- Improper delivery of funds. / Ghosh Beneficiaries
- No effective awareness building measures.
- Increased dependence of masses on state
- Women given work (48% of total)

Green Revolution and Changing modes of production in Indian agriculture

Imagine the changing mode of production in Indian agriculture to be like this:

- The initial MoP of agriculture in Indian sub-continent can be imagined to have started as Asiatic MoP (Primitive communism)
- Then British arrived, changing it to Semi-feudalistic type. They commercialized the agriculture.
- Presently, LR, GR are moving it towards capitalism.

What happened in Green Revolution:

- Breakthrough in agricultural production in 1960s
- Application of HYV seeds
- Chemical fertilizers
- Assured Irrigation
- Agri machinery used

William Wiser:

- Indian feudalism different from European (Jajmani) (Dependencies were there)
- Indian agri -> feudalistic but changing to capitalistic

Multidimensional effect of GR:

- Increased agricultural productivity
- Self-sufficiency in food grain production

Andre Beteille:

- It created a new faith in the dynamism of Indian farmer to absorb technology

Rudolph & Rudolph

- Called GR Farmers to be Bullock Capitalists. That, GR farmers were "Progressive Farmers".

Sociological implications of GR:

- Increased inequalities (increased class-based division of society)
- Displacement of tenant cultivators
- Introduction of machinery led to displacement of service caste groups
- Rural – Urban migration
- Rich getting richer and poor getting poorer
- This economic influence got extended to political sphere also
- Search for exclusive political identity – Khalistan in Punjab
- Intensified Patriarchy; increase in dowry demands, increased female infanticide, great gender imbalance, cross regional demand for brides (Kerala, Orissa, Assam to Haryana)
- Worsening of regional inequalities (Bihar, E. UP, Telangana, Vidharbha → relatively undeveloped); resulted into inter caste conflict (Bihar), farmers suicide (Vidarbha & Telangana) and agrarian unrest

Some Views:

- PC Joshi: it has contributed for the rise of capitalist agriculture and offered an economic foundation for the rise of big bourgeoisie in the country side.
- Kathleen Gough: domination in economic base led to domination in the superstructure of social life
- JPS Oberoi: affluence gave rise to the search for an exclusive political identity – Khalistan
- Deepankar Gupta: GR contributed for the intensification of caste consciousness; W. UP – Jats, Punjab – Sikhs, Haryana – Jats
- Lakshmi Menon: worst victims Women – intensified patriarchy
- AR Desai: Indian Agriculture was:
 - Before British -> Semi Feudal
 - During British -> Peasantry
 - After Independence -> Agrarian
- Utsa Patnaik:
 - 1990 afterwards -> Indian agri became Capitalistic & Commercial.
 - Increase in Conspicuous income
 - Increase in Farmer Suicides.

Changing Powers structure in Rural Areas

- Earlier: In the hands of Zamindars.

After Independence:

MNS -> Dominant caste based on

- Numerical
- Economy

- Political Power

Y. Singh-

4 Phases

- Leadership based:
 - Pragmatism + Reconciliatory b/w castes.
 - Orenstein -> Mumbai village study
- Factions developed b/w castes:
 - Brothers contesting against each other
 - Studies to quote: Harper -> Tottagadi, A Beals -> Namhalli
- Regaining by Dominant caste:
 - Jaats in UP
 - Patels in Gujarat (Andre Beteille)
- PRIs & its Impact:
 - Empowering women, SC | ST

Jeffrey & Jeffrey:

Book "Dev. Failure & Identity Political"

- Class based identity
- Caste based identity
- Interest based identity
- Increasing Democratisation

Problems of Rural Labour

Composition

- Rural labour comprising of agricultural & non - agriculture labourers and artisans.

Earlier

- **Jajmani:** Traditionally upper castes dominated lower serving caste under patron-client relation via Jajmaani System (Willian Wiser - characterized by regulated frustration)

Then

- **Britishers:** Exploitation → Britishers introduced private property through land system and made system more exploitative. It created class of landowners, sharecroppers, land labourers (increased indebtedness, socio -economic exclusion)

After Independence

- **LR, GR:** Their own problems -> Patriarchy, Suicides, etc.
- Numerous measures by govt. including LRs, GR. But failed schemes further aggravated the problems of Rural Labourers.
 - Biggest sufferers were women and children.
 - Increased farmer suicide
 - Poverty, deprivation
 - Corruption in govt. schemes
 - Poor wages
 - Unequal land access led to conflicts
- **Anand Chakravorty** (Power faction) – hegemonistic domination by rich farmers.
- **Solution:** Needed comprehensive integrated targeted approach by govt.

Bondage

- Rudra + Bardhan:
 - Unattached
 - Attached
 - Extremely
 - Fully
 - Semi
- **Supreme Court** said in Asiad case, where there was use of child labour to complete the projects in time:
 - Anyone who's paid less than minimum wages are a bonded labour.

Also, Highlighted recently by Kailash Satyartho's Bachpan Bachao Andolan.

Types of Bondages Witnessed:

- Debt based
- Kinship based
- Widowhood based
- Marriage based
- Displacement based

Economic causes:

Main cause poverty

- Extreme poverty of people

- Inability to find work for livelihood
- Inadequate land holdings
- Lack of alternative small-scale loans for the rural and urban poor
- Natural calamities like droughts and floods
- Absence of rains
- Meager income from forest produce
- Inflation and constant rising prices

Social Causes:

- Unequal access to opportunities because of social disabilities
- High expenses on social occasions like marriage, death
- Caste based discrimination
- Lack of concrete welfare schemes
- Non-compulsory and unequal education system
- Indifference and corruption among govt. officials

Religious causes:

- Arguments used to convince the people of low castes that religion enjoins upon them to serve people of high castes.
- Illiteracy
- Ignorance & Immaturity
- Lack of skill and professional training sustain such beliefs.

Broadly Speaking:

- Bondage originates mainly from economic and social pressures.

T. Brass

- Deproletarianisation of agri. Workers
 - Workers are dispersed
 - Can't organize
 - Become Bonded.

S. Jodhka

- Workers keeping getting attached voluntarily
- Constantly into relations of mortgaging (and they keep returning the debt with their labour)

Policy Initiatives:

- Article 23 -> Forced Labour prohibited

- Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act -- it includes
 - Identification
 - Release
 - Action against offenders
 - Regular meetings of vigilance committees
 - Conferring of judicial powers to executives, magistrates

But there still lies problems in:

- Identification
- Economic rehabilitation

Migration

Definition

- Migration is a livelihood strategy and a means to cope with distress arising from drought, flood and lack of employment opportunities locally.
- It is a change of place of residence for a comparatively long period.
- Migration is Voluntary, whereas, displacement is Forceful, Permanent.
- Migration is a livelihood strategy.

4 Main streams of Migrating

- Rural – urban (most important, only this will be discussed)
- Rural – rural
- Urban – urban
- Urban – rural

Different types

- **Translocatory:** to settle down
- **Circulatory:** migrate repeatedly and for varying duration.
- **Step Migration:** Migrate in graded steps from small to large settlements.

Why Migrate: Reasons of Migration:

Ashish Bose explained it from demographic perspective.

- Push factors:
 - Economic
 - Natural

- Social -> Caste based disabilities, etc.
- Political -> Riots, conflicts
- Lack of resources, unemployment, overpopulation, droughts, floods etc.
- Pull Factors:
 - Better employment opportunities elsewhere
 - Better Education facilities elsewhere
 - Better trade opportunities elsewhere, etc.
 - A means to more freedom.
- Socio-Economic factors:
 - Small landholdings
 - Depressed economic conditions
 - Poverty
 - Failed LR's
 - Regional disparities
 - Failure of poverty alleviation schemes
 - Virilocal/Patrilocal pattern of residence -> Girls migrate to husband's home

Impact/Consequences:

- Family:
 - Functionally joint family arrived
 - **I.P. Desai:** Traditional joint families are replaced by functionally joint family.
- Caste:
 - Diminished caste identity
 - Weak caste solidarity and caste panchayats.
 - **Andre Beteille:** Class ties are much more important than caste ties
- Women:
 - Status improved
 - Divorce more
 - Remarriage
 - Increase in marriage age
 - **Karuna Ahmed:** Still women cluster in low status occupation.

- Mobility:
 - Increased
 - **Ashish Nandy:** Urbanization has supported caste mobility
- Ethnic Minority:
 - Increased
 - Society becoming multi-ethnic

Problems caused by migration:

- Pollution
- Crowding
- Corruption
- Unemployment
- Crime
- Juvenile delinquency
- Slums
- Drug addiction
- Alcoholism
- Begging due to population explosion in urban areas.

Migrants not a homogeneous group.

- Huge **variations** in:
 - Age
 - Gender
 - Educational level
 - Occupational status
 - Skills
 - Earnings
 - Linguistic and cultural background.
- As a result, different levels of vulnerability and inclusion exist.
- **For example:** North-Easterners often find it tough in Delhi, whereas Punjabis better fit in.
- Migrants with poor skills and education are hugely vulnerable and suffer from deprivations and exploitation in the places they migrate to.

Solutions:

- Restructuring of village life (PURA) (Rurbanisation – MS Ghurye)
- Improve agriculture as a means of livelihood
- 2nd Generation of Land reforms
- Taking GR to Eastern India - BGREI
- MNREGA (Providing employment opportunities)
- Better infrastructure, electricity, water, education in villages, Bharat Nirman, OFCN

Y. Singh

- In India this process of migration to urban areas is characterized by “over urbanization” where there is **Migration without Industrialization**.
- Migration has increased continuity between rural & urban Areas.

UNESCO Report:

- U.N. Report -> Social Inclusion of Internal Migrants in India
- Titled "Social Inclusion of Internal Migrants in India".
- It highlights that:
 - Internal migrants a neglected segment of population
 - A third of India's population categorised as internal migrant by the census - Half of them participate in the workforce
 - Visible everywhere in big and small cities, rural areas
 - Prominently employed in the construction and textile sectors, at brick kilns and salt pans - Also in commercial and plantation agriculture
 - Informal sector as vendors, hawkers, rickshaw pullers and daily wage workers, domestic workers
- They contribute to the rising GDP of India and send remittances to their families back home, to be spent on food, education and healthcare.
- Remittances by internal migrants amount to about Rs 60,000-70, 000 crore.
- But financial inclusion has not spread much among migrants yet – less than 50 per cent of the remittances are sent through formal channels.
- States like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Odisha and Uttarakhand are the major recipients of internal remittances.
- Social remittances (Urban Culture) - Returning migrants bring a variety of skills, innovation and knowledge to their areas of origin.
- In the long run, migration could play a positive role.
- Right policy could benefit both the areas of origin and the areas that receive migrants.

- Migration cannot be stopped. It is a historical process that shapes human civilisation, culture and development.
- Article 19 of the Indian Constitution grants citizens the fundamental right to move. Urgent need to issue a universally recognised and portable proof of identity. (UIDAI, a right step)
- So, imagine it like this:
 - Composition
 - Contribution
 - Financial resistances
 - Social resistances – Urban culture
 - Usage
 - Recognition

National Sample Survey (NSS)

- Internal Migrants are deprived of Political (voting) & Economic rights (Access to schemes).
- About 15 million seasonal and temporary migrants.
- Not able to exercise their political and economic rights because rights and entitlements are place bound.
- Lacking residential and identity proofs, barred from exercising their voting rights.
- Excluded from the PDS and other government programmes.

Imagining from a migrant woman's angle

- Vulnerable to sexual harassment (Domestic helps)
- Most women migrate along with their family members, many also move independently.
- Their statistical database is extremely poor.
- Usually, marriage as a reason for these migrations.
- Such women do work before and after migration.
- Migrant women vulnerable to sexual harassment and trafficking.
- Urgent need to ensure safe migration for women workers particularly those joining the domestic workforce.

Imagining from a migrant child's angle

- Affects regular and continued schooling
- Hampers Socialising
- Development of sub-cultural tendencies, leading to deviance
- These children could be kept in the source regional-seasonal hostels.
- Another option - set up work-site schools.

Problem of Urbanisation for Migrants

- Urbanisation inevitable. Shelter an important issue for the migrant and homeless population.
- Migration issues should be factored into city development plans - JNNURM & RAY.
- Night shelters as well as working women's and men's hostels could be incorporated in city development plans.

Problem of Labour Issues

- The Inter-state Migrant Workmen Regulation Act, 1979 deals with contractor-led movement of inter-state migrant labour, is not enforced.
- A segment of migrant workers moves along with contractors.
- Many move independently through the network of family, friends and kin.

Migration should not be seen merely as a law enforcement and governance issue. It must be integrated with development concerns.

Summarising

Problems of Migrants:

- Identity issue: No proof of identity
- Political rights deprived
- Economic rights deprived (schemes entitlement)
- Lack of acceptability host society (North Easterners)
- Homelessness
- Vulnerability of women as domestic help
- Generally, have to stay in slums
- Easy pray for criminals, traffickers, prostitution rackets
- Many become bonded labour
- Compromised family life.

Swaminathan

Important Point of Swaminathan Report

A Broad set of 11 recommendations

1. Total five reports submitted. Through December 2004 – October 2006.
2. 5th report focused on farmer suicides and farmer distress. It then recommends a National Policy for Farmers.
3. **Cause of Farmer's Distress**
 - Unfinished land reforms

- Quantity and Quality of water.
- Technology fatigue.
- Access, Adequacy and timeliness of institutional credit.
- Opportunities for assured and remunerative marketing.

Important Recommendation

- Agriculture be inserted in the Concurrent list of the Constitution.

4. Recommendation on Land Reforms

- Distribute ceiling surplus and waste lands.
- Prevents diversion of prime agriculture land and forest to corporate sector for non-agricultural purposes.
- Ensure grazing rights and seasonal access to forests to tribals and pastoralists, and access to common property resources.
- Establish a national land use advisory service, which have the capacity to link land use decisions with ecological meteorological and marketing factors on a location and seasons specific basis.
- Set up a mechanism to regulate the sale of agricultural land, based on quantum of land, nature of proposed use and category of buyer.

5. Recommendations on Irrigation

- Increase water supply through rainwater harvesting.
- Recharge of the aquifer should become mandatory.
- "Million Wells Recharge" program, specifically targeted at private wells should be launched.

6. Recommendations on Credit and Insurance-

- Reduce rate of interest for crop loans to 4 per cent simple, with government support.
- Moratorium on debt recovery, including loans from non-institutional sources, and waiver of interest on loans in distress hotspots and during calamities, till capability is restored.
- Establish an Agriculture Risk Fund to provide relief to farmers in the aftermath of successive natural calamities.
- Issue Kisan Credit Cards to women farmers, with joint pattas as collateral.
- Develop an integrated credit-cum-crop-livestock-human health insurance package.
- Expand crop insurance cover to cover the entire country and all crops, with reduced premiums and create a Rural Insurance Development Fund to take up development work for spreading rural insurance.

7. Recommendations on Food Security

- Implement a universal public distribution system. Total subsidy required for this would be one per cent of the GDP.

- Reorganise the delivery of nutrition support programmes on a life-cycle basis with the participation of Panchayats and local bodies.
- Eliminate micronutrient deficiency induced hidden hunger through an integrated food cum fortification approach.
- Promote the establishment of Community Food and Water Banks operated by Women Self-help Groups (SHG), based on the principle 'Store Grain and Water everywhere'.
- Help small and marginal farmers to improve the productivity, quality and profitability of farm enterprises and organize a Rural Non-Farm Livelihood Initiative.
- Formulate a National Food Guarantee Act continuing the useful features of the Food for Work and Employment Guarantee programmes.
- By increasing demand for food grains as a result of increased consumption by the poor, the economic conditions essential for further agricultural progress can be created.

8. Recommendations on Farmers' Suicides

- The National Rural Health Mission should be extended to suicide hotspot locations on priority basis.
- Set up State level Farmers' Commission with representation of farmers.
- Restructure microfinance policies to serve as Livelihood Finance, i.e. credit coupled with support services in the areas of technology, management and markets.
- Decentralise water use planning and every village should aim at Jal Swaraj with Gram Sabhas serving as Pani Panchayats.
- Ensure availability of quality seed and other inputs at affordable costs and at the right time and place.
- Have a Price Stabilisation Fund in place to protect the farmers from price fluctuations.
- Need swift action on import duties to protect farmers from international price.
- Set up Village Knowledge Centres (VKCs) or Gyan Chaupals in the farmers' distress hotspots.
- Public awareness campaigns to make people identify early signs of suicidal behaviour.

9. Recommendations on Competitiveness

- Promotion of commodity-based farmers' organisations.
- Improvement in implementation of Minimum Support Price (MSP).
- Arrangements for MSP need to be put in place for crops other than paddy and wheat.
- MSP should be at least 50% more than the weighted average cost of production.
- Availability of data about spot and future prices of commodities.
- State Agriculture Produce Marketing Committee Acts [APMC Acts] relating to marketing, storage and processing of agriculture produce need to shift to one that promotes grading, branding, packaging and development of domestic and international markets for local produce.
- Move towards a Single Indian Market.

10. Recommendations on Employment

- India must seek to achieve two things:

- Create productive employment opportunities.
- Improve the 'quality' of employment.
- The "net take home income" of farmers should be comparable to those of civil servants.

11. Recommendations on Bio resources

- Preserving traditional rights of access to biodiversity (access to non-timber forest products including medicinal plants, gums and resins, oil yielding plants and beneficial micro-organisms).
- Conserving, enhancing and improving crops and farm animals as well as fish stocks through breeding.
- Encouraging Community-based breed conservation.
- Allowing export of indigenous breeds and import of suitable breeds to increase productivity of nondescript animals.

Jan 09, 2021

Swaminathan Says MSP Better Than Loan Waiver

- The protesting farmers, apart from a repeal of the laws, have also demanded a law guaranteeing MSPs calculated using the C2 yardstick. The farmers will hold the next round of negotiations with the center on Friday.

UPSC & Swaminathan Report

- Countless Questions related with Agriculture in Mains and Prelims.

2018 Mains

3. न्यूनतम समर्थन मूल्य (एम० एस० पी०) से आप क्या समझते हैं? न्यूनतम समर्थन मूल्य कृषकों का निम्न आय फंदा से किस प्रकार बचाव करेगा? (उत्तर 150 शब्दों में दीजिए)

What do you mean by Minimum Support Price (MSP)? How will MSP rescue the farmers from the low income trap? (Answer in 150 words) 10

2019 Mains

5. जल इंजीनियरी और कृषि-विज्ञान के क्षेत्रों में क्रमशः सर एम० विवेकेश्वरैया और डॉ० एम० एस० स्वामीनाथन के योगदानों से भारत को किस प्रकार लाभ पहुँचा था? (उत्तर 150 शब्दों में दीजिए)

How was India benefitted from the contributions of Sir M. Visvesvaraya and Dr. M. S. Swaminathan in the fields of water engineering and agricultural science respectively? (Answer in 150 words) 10

Ministry of Co-operatives

Ministry of Cooperation

Context:

- The Narendra Modi government on 6th July 2021 announced the creation of a new ministry, named the Ministry of Cooperation to realise the vision of 'Sahkar se Samriddhi' or prosperity through cooperatives.
- This is the second ministry to be created during the second term of the Modi government, after it came to power in 2019. The first new ministry to be established was the Jal Shakti ministry in 2019. However, unlike the Ministry of Cooperation, it was created by integrating two existing ministries - water resources, river development and Ganga rejuvenation, and drinking water and sanitation.

Who creates Ministries?

- A ministry in the Government of India essentially overlooks one subject and comprises employed officials such as civil servants who oversee its functioning. Most major ministries are headed by a cabinet minister.
- Ministries or departments are created by the President on advice of the Prime Minister under the Government of India (Allocation of Business Rules) 1961, which is part of Article 77 of the Constitution.
- Under these rules, each ministry is assigned a minister by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Cumulatively, all cabinet ministers, ministers of state and the ministers of state who have an independent charge are called the 'Council of Ministers' that aids the Prime Minister in governance.
- The Cabinet Secretariat is responsible for coordination, smooth transaction of business and decision making among ministries and departments and is under the direct charge of the PM.

Past examples of new ministries

- The creation of ministries is also not new. In 2000, the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, which is now headed by Kiren Rijiju, was created.
- Another example was the creation of the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship in 2014.
- In 2017, the Modi government merged two ministries – urban development, and housing and urban poverty alleviation – to create the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs.

Role of Ministry of Cooperation

- The ministry will provide a separate administrative, legal and policy framework to strengthen the cooperative movement in the country. Further, it will work to streamline processes allowing cooperatives the ease of doing business while also enabling the development of multi- state cooperatives.

What are Cooperatives?

- According to the International Co-operative Alliance, cooperatives are people-centred enterprises owned, controlled and run by and for their members to realise their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations.
- British India first enacted the Cooperative Credit Societies Act, 1904. In 1919, cooperation became a provincial subject and provinces were authorised to make their own cooperative laws under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. In 1942, the British government enacted the Multi-Unit Cooperative Societies Act, intended to cover such societies whose operations extended to more than one province.
- In India, a cooperative society can be formed under provisions of the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912.
- The provisions state that at least 10 people above 18 years, having the capacity to enter into a contract with common economic objectives, such as farming and weaving among others, can form a cooperative society. Co-operative societies were also championed by India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.
- Post-Independence in 1958, the National Development Council (NDC) recommended a national policy on cooperatives with the setting up of co-operative marketing societies. In 1984, Parliament enacted the Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act to declutter different laws governing the same types of societies. In 2002, the then NDA government under Atal Bihari Vajpayee announced a National Policy on Cooperatives to support the promotion and development of cooperatives.

Informal Sector

- J. Keith Hart (Anthropologist) -> Working in Accra, Ghana, coined.
- Features
 - Low skill
 - Low wages
 - Migratory
 - Low entry barriers
- Informal Sector
 - Guardian to Poor
 - Provides employment
 - Provides uniform lifestyle
- Naila Kabeer
 - Informal sector not peculiar to developing countries. Vendors seen in New York, London.
- Indian Informal Sector
 - Agriculture (Maximum)
 - Self Employed (vendors, small shops)

- Contract Laborers
- Household Laborers (mostly women)
- Child labor (UNICEF -> Scorer in India)
- [If No DOL -> Informal.
- If beyond government's reguln. -> Unorganised]

Globalization & Informal Sector

- Sarath Dawala Report
- In India -> 1991 -> 91% Is
- 2005 -> 94%
- 2014 -> 96%
- Reasons why globalization is increasing Informal Sector are
 - Increase in contract Labour.
 - Downsizing in Organised Industries (Railways, PSUs) Bhowmik & SEWA -> These People found jobs in Informal Sector.
 - Lifestyle & Inflation made women work and most of them are concentrated in Informal Sector
 - Increase in MSMEs.
- Ela Bhatt (SEWA):
 - Sees positive of Globalisation -> women getting jobs, becoming decision makers, will attack Patriarchy, women given education now.
 - Therefore, Feminization of Labour happening.
 - Also
 - Street vendor's rights now debated and being legislated.
 - Insurance (Pension + APY) facilities. Health facilities for unorganized. (Swasth Bima Yojana)

Child Labour

Definition

- Person below 14 years, working for most part of day
- UN -> Below 18 years
- General Definition - One who ought to be in education system but working
- **Causes**
 - Poverty
 - Under employment of parents

- Vocational education weak
- Education -> Infra + Material missing
- Illiterate & ignorant parents
- Large families
- Unhappy homes – Dysfunctional families lacking social security
- Preference for child labour -> Nimble fingers -> carpet, Bidi factories prefer child labour because of intricate work
- Orphan Protection Failure
- Failure of education system to provide education - Loss of trust on education.
- Corruption: Grants, scholarships not reaching beneficiaries. Culprits not brought to books.

Constitutional provisions:

- Article 24
- Article 39 (e) and (f)

CL & Globalisation

Negatives:

- Competitiveness, Profit orientation
- Increased avenues to employ child labour
- Urbanization -> Migration. Difficult sustainability leading to employment of Child Labour
- Increased demand of Domestic child labour in households owing to Increased incomes because of Globalisation
- Sweatshops closing in B'desh Nepal, forcing children to work + Prostitution
- New forms -> child Pornography + Trafficking

Positives

- Increased awareness -> d reporting
- Global conventions -> Increased role of govt.
- Global Movements against Products made by children
- Global NGOs coming rescue
- Increased limelight because of Noble Prize (Kailash Satyarthi)

Legal Provisions

- Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act 1986 -> 2014 bill = 18 years Amdt. In 2016
- Juvenile Justice Act 2000
- The Factories Act 1948

- Ban on Child Labour from 2006

Institutional provisions

- National Authority for elimination of child Labour
- Special cell in ministry of labour
- Special committees at state level
- Ministry of women and child development

Programmes & policies

- Help from NGOs (BBA)
- National policy for child labour
- International programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
- Special Schools (Evening schools)

NGOs

- BBA
- IPEC - International programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
- UNICEF
- CREDA - Centre for Rural Education and Development Association.

Integrative Approach

- Employment to Parents,
- Banning CL is not enough, Parents also to be punished.
- Civil society - To not employ child domestic labour & report it whenever they come across any
- Media can highlight: TV Serials like Udaan.

Part - C 3

Industrialization and Urbanisation in India

- Evolution of modern industry in India.
- Growth of urban settlements in India.
- Working class: structure, growth, class mobilization.
- Informal sector, child labour.
- Slums and deprivation in urban areas.

Evolution of Modern Industry in India

- Early phase 1850s
 - Cotton and jute mills, Mines gradually flourished. Regulated to suit the needs of British capitalism.
- Between 1920s to 1940s
 - Phenomenal increase in demand of factory products in India.
 - No serious efforts by Britishers to foster the growth of capital goods industry.
 - There were however several business communities who were initially the collaborators and middlemen with the British, like the Parsis and Marwaris who ventured in to setting up industries.
 - The Marwaris of Calcutta moved from being traders to industrialist in the jute business. The transformation of a few Marwari families from 'traders to industrialists' was gradual.
 - This pattern can be described in the following steps:
 - They slowly increased their importance in the trade of raw jute and jute manufactures;
 - Some of the Marwari traders became members of the formal jute-trade organisations. Others became brokers to British managing agency houses, or, by buying shares got a place on the board of directors of British managing agency houses;
 - Finally, in the early 1920s, a few Marwaris entered the jute industries by setting up their own jute mills. The Birlas started their first jute mill in 1919, whereas Goenka and Bangur started theirs after World War II.
 - The Parsis on the other hand did not face stiff opposition from the British like the Marwaris.
 - They were the collaborators of the British and sympathized with them.
 - They partly financed the military defence of the Bombay fort.
 - They were loyal to the British during the Mutiny (1857), financing the British military apparatus.

- A part of the Parsee community was fast to recognise that it was very useful to learn English, to adopt British customs and to intensify their relation with the British in order to improve the socio-economic position of the community in West India.
- The Parsis were among the first to build up the Indian cotton textile industry in Bombay.
- Parsis owned nine of ten mills built in Bombay between 1854 and 1863. This included two mills of the Petit family.
- In the period between 1878 and 1915, the Parsis owned 30 per cent of the mills in the city.
- Apart from this communities the bankers of Ahmedabad without any British intervention or association started setting up mills. After this initial foray many trading families started to invest in industrial enterprise.
- This challenged the monopoly of British capitalist, the government started adopting discriminatory policies towards them.
- The tariff, taxation and transport policies were made favourable to the British capitalist.
- Thus, there was stiff competition in the marketing of goods as well.
- The Indian capitalist organized themselves in to Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI).
- The capitalists were aware that they would be better off in a free India and were active supporters of nationalist struggles.
- The leadership of the national movement were also aware of the need for industrialization of the country.
- **At the time of independence:**
 - Several jute and cotton textile mills, sugar factories and two major iron and steel plants existed.
- **After Independence**
 - Mixed economy, conscious and deliberative efforts for industrialisation through successive 5YP.
 - Industrial output grew till mid-sixties then faced recession leading to sharp fall in capacity utilization and in public investment
 - Post Independent India saw industrial policies being shaped by not only the aspect of colonialism but it was also informed by dominant paradigms of development discourse and by contemporary politics.
 - This history made Indian leaders wary of international free trade.
- Nehru who was inspired by Fabian socialism and by the Russian example decided to adopt a socialist pattern of economic development. Much of early economic activity in newly independent India was state induced, and state controlled.
- Nehru wanted to adopt Harold Laski's idea of mixed economy, which he did.
- The state controlled major industries and public related services.
- In setting a path for the economic policy after Independence, Nehru followed a development discourse and models which were current and popular at that time.

- He truly believed that like Russia India needed to develop its heavy industries which were capital intensive.
- Thus, in the initial phase of economic development saw setting up heavy industries and the construction of dams.
- Some critics of Indian economic development believe that the economy of the Nehruvian and post-Nehruvian era, with inefficient public sector entities on the one hand, and crony-capitalist private sector entities on the other, that used the so-called license raj to carve out lucrative niches for themselves on the other, was a product of economic policy foundations laid during Nehru's tenure.
- After independence, India opted to have a centrally planned economy to ensure an effective and equitable allocation of national resources for the purpose of balanced economic development.
- The idea of planning was taken from Russian centralized planning system.
- Indian Economy is based on the concept of planning. This is carried through her Five Year Plans, developed, executed and monitored by the Planning Commission.
- **Post Liberalisation**
 - LPG era
 - New technology
 - More investment
 - Service industry booming
- **Thus, after liberalisation**
 - Emergence of a market economy with a fast-growing private sector
 - Planning became indicative rather than prescriptive in nature.
- India followed policies of
 - Import substitution
 - Industrialisation and state intervention in labour and financial markets
 - A large public sector
 - Overt regulation of business
 - Central planning.
- Till 1980 this was the general tone of economy, the growth rate was steady but not substantially and it was generally referred to as the 'Hindu growth rate', because all other surrounding Asian economies, especially the 'East Asian Tigers' were growing at rapid pace.
- In 1980 the first steps towards liberalization were taken up by Indira Gandhi and followed by Rajiv Gandhi, this involved
 - Easing restrictions on capacity expansion for incumbents
 - Removed price controls
 - Reduced corporate taxes.

- The economic liberalisation of 1991, initiated by then Indian prime minister P. V. Narasimha Rao and his finance minister Manmohan Singh in response to a macroeconomic crisis did away with the Licence Raj (investment, industrial and import licensing) and ended public sector monopoly in many sectors, thereby allowing automatic approval of foreign direct investment in many sectors.
- Since then, the overall direction of liberalisation has remained the same, irrespective of the ruling party at the centre, although no party has yet tried to take on powerful lobbies like the trade unions and farmers, or contentious issues like labour reforms and cutting down agricultural subsidies.

Census of India 2011

- Provisional Population Totals
- Urban Agglomerations and Cities

Data Highlights

- This data release covers the total population, population (0 to 6 years) and number of literates for each UA/City with a population of 1 Lakh and above as per the provisional population totals of Census 2011.

Definitions:

- Towns
 - For the Census of India 2011, the definition of urban area is as follows
 - All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc.
 - All other places which satisfied the following criteria:
 - ❖ A minimum population of 5,000;
 - ❖ At least 75 per cent of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and
 - ❖ A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.
 - The first category of urban units is known as Statutory Towns. These towns are notified under law by the concerned State/UT Government and have local bodies like municipal corporations, municipalities, municipal committees, etc., irrespective of their demographic characteristics as reckoned on 31st December 2009. Examples: Vadodara (M Corp.), Shimla (M Corp.) etc.
 - The second category of Towns (as in item 2 above) is known as Census Town. These were identified on the basis of Census 2001 data.
- **Urban Agglomeration (UA):** An urban agglomeration is a continuous urban spread constituting a town and its adjoining outgrowths (OGs), or two or more physically contiguous towns together with or without outgrowths of such towns. An Urban Agglomeration must consist of at least a statutory town and its total population (i.e., all the constituents put together) should not be less than 20,000 as per the 2001 Census. In varying local conditions, there were similar other combinations which have been treated as urban agglomerations satisfying the basic condition of contiguity. Examples: Greater Mumbai UA, Delhi UA, etc.

- **Out Growths (OG):** An Out Growth (OG) is a viable unit such as a village or a hamlet or an enumeration block made up of such village or hamlet and clearly identifiable in terms of its boundaries and location. Some of the examples are railway colony, university campus, port area, military camps, etc., which have come up near a statutory town outside its statutory limits but within the revenue limits of a village or villages contiguous to the town. While determining the outgrowth of a town, it has been ensured that it possesses the urban features in terms of infrastructure and amenities such as pucca roads, electricity, taps, drainage system for disposal of waste water etc. educational institutions, post offices, medical facilities, banks etc. and physically contiguous with the core town of the UA. Examples: Central Railway Colony (OG), Triveni Nagar (N.E.C.S.W.) (OG), etc. Each such town together with its outgrowth(s) is treated as an integrated urban area and is designated as an 'urban agglomeration'.
- In the 2011 Census, 475 places with 981 OGs have been identified as Urban Agglomerations as against 384 UAs with 962 OGs in 2001 Census.

Number of UAs/Towns and Out Growths (OGs)

	Type of Towns/UAs/OGs	Number of towns	
		2011 Census	2001 Census
1	Statutory Towns	4,041	3,799
2	Census Towns	3,894	1,362
3	Urban Agglomerations	475	384
4	Out Growths	981	962

- At the Census 2011 there are 7,935 towns in the country. The number of towns has increased by 2,774 since last Census. Many of these towns are part of UAs and the rest are independent towns. The total number of Urban Agglomerations/Towns, which constitutes the urban frame, is 6166 in the country.

Population of UAs/Towns:

- The total urban population in the country as per Census 2011 is more than 377 million constituting 31.16% of the total population.
- **Class I UAs/Towns:** The UAs/Towns are grouped on the basis their population in Census. The UAs/Towns which have at least 1,00,000 persons as population are categorised as Class I UA/Town. At the Census 2011, there are 468 such UAs/Towns. The corresponding number in Census 2001 was 394.
- 264.9 million persons, constituting 70% of the total urban population, live in these Class I UAs/Towns. The proportion has increased considerable over the last Census. In the remaining classes of towns the growth has been nominal.
- **Million Plus UAs/Towns:** Out of 468 UAs/Towns belonging to Class I category, 53 UAs/Towns each has a population of one million or above each. Known as Million Plus UAs/Cities, these are the major urban centres in the country. 160.7 million persons (or 42.6% of the urban population) live in these Million Plus UAs/Cities. 18 new UAs/Towns have been added to this list since the last Census.

- **Mega Cities:** Among the Million Plus UAs/Cities, there are three very large UAs with more than 10 million persons in the country, known as Mega Cities. These are Greater Mumbai UA (18.4 million), Delhi UA (16.3 million) and Kolkata UA (14.1 million). The largest UA in the country is Greater Mumbai UA followed by Delhi UA. Kolkata UA which held the second rank in Census 2001 has been replaced by Delhi UA. The growth in population in the Mega Cities has slowed down considerably during the last decade. Greater Mumbai UA, which had witnessed 30.47% growth in population during 1991-2001 has recorded 12.05% during 2001-2011. Similarly, Delhi UA (from 52.24% to 26.69% in 2001-2011) and Kolkata UA (from 19.60% to 6.87% in 2001- 2011) have also slowed down considerably.

Child Population (0-6 years):

- Population of children in the age group is 158.8 million in Census 2011. In the urban areas there are 41.2 million children in this age group. In comparison to Census 2001, the number of children (0-6) in urban areas has increased (by 10.32%), while in the rural areas it has decreased by 7.04%.
- Of the 41.2 million children (0-6) in the urban areas in the country, the population in Class I UAs/Cities is 27.9 million, which is about 67.8% of the total Urban child population. In Million Plus UAs/Cities the Child Population (0-6) is 16.6 million constituting about 40 % of the total urban child (0-6) population of the country.
- Among the 53 million Plus UAs/Cities 16.6 million are children (0-6), of which 52.7% are boys and 47.3% are girls, showing
 - a preponderance of male children in these large cities.
 - Malappuram UA has the highest proportion of Children (0-6) (13.57%) in the Million Plus category, followed by Ghaziabad (13.09%). Kolkata UA has the lowest proportion at 7.54%.
- **Sex Ratio**
 - Sex ratio, the number of females per thousand males, in urban areas in India is 926 in Census 2011. It has registered an increase of 26 points over the Sex Ratio in 2001 Census.
 - Sex ratio in Class I UAs/Cities (population of 100,000 and above) is 921, which is 5 points lower than the total urban sex ratio in the country.
 - Among the Million Plus UAs/Cities the Sex Ratio stands at 912. The UAs, where population of females exceeds the total male population in this group are Kannur UA (Kerala) at the top with 1168. Surat UA (Gujarat) is at the bottom of the list with Sex Ratio at 754 where males outnumber females.
 - In the two of the three mega cities there is predominance of male population as they have returned low Sex Ratio (e.g., Greater Mumbai UA - 861, Delhi UA - 867). Kolkata UA has returned a better Sex ratio at 928.
- The Child Sex Ratio in the country has declined from 927 to 914 in Census 2011. This decline is more pronounced in rural areas than in urban areas of the country, where the decline is by 4 points from 906 to 902 in Census 2011.
- The Child Sex Ratio in UAs/Cities with 100,000 persons and above is 899 which is a shade lower than the national average for urban areas.

- The combined Child Sex Ratio in Million Plus UAs/Cities is 898. Thiruvananthapuram UA (Kerala) has returned the highest Child Sex Ratio (971) in this group. The lowest slot is occupied by Agra UA (780).
- Child Sex Ratio in the three Mega Cities are 946 (Kolkata UA), 900 (Greater Mumbai UA) and the lowest in 868 (Delhi UA).

Literacy Rate

- The literacy rates among both males and females have shown improvement in Census 2011 compared to the last Census. The literacy rate in the country as a whole is 74.04%. In the rural and the urban areas, the literacy rates are 68.9% and 84.9% respectively.
- The female literacy rate in rural and urban areas shows wide variation. In the urban areas of the country the female literacy rate is 79.92% in the rural areas it is only 58.75%.
- In the 468 UAs/Towns the progress in literacy has been quite encouraging. In 89 UAs/Cities the total Literacy Rate has crossed the 90% mark. The corresponding number of UAs/Cities in Census 2001 was only 23 in Census 2011. In another 288 UAs/Cities, the Literacy rate ranges between 80% to 90%, improving from 197 in Census 2001.
- The total Literacy Rate in Greater Mumbai UA is 90.78%, the highest among the mega cities. The Literacy Rate in Delhi and Kolkata are 86.43% and 88.33% respectively. The female literacy rate is also the highest in Greater Mumbai UA (87.19) the top three megacities.

Growth of Urban Settlements in India

Settlement is a cluster of dwellings where pop of society resides

- Prehistoric – Mohenjodaro, Harappa
- Historic – Pataliputra, Vaishali, Kanauj etc.
- Medieval
 - Political and military towns – which were agri surplus
 - Trading and manufacturing towns – termed as nagar
 - Education and Temple towns – Nalanda, Dwarka, Puri

Features:

- Political, Demographic & spatial features
- Economic
- Religious and socio – cultural: Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Hyderabad

Colonial – ports cum trading centres developed

- Post-independence – mixed character, centres of trade and commerce, core areas of old inhabitants (Srinivas) and on its fringe, new immigrants. E.g., Mumbai, Kolkata etc.
- Currently – overcrowding, increased pop density, increased slums population, over urbanization.
 - Administrative towns – Chandigarh, Srinagar, Bhopal

- Industrial – Mumbai, Bhilai
- Commercial – Kolkata,
- Mining towns – Raniganj, Jharia
- Garrison Cantonment towns – Ambala, Jalandhar
- Education Towns – Roorkee, Aligarh
- Tourist Towns – Nainital, Mussoorie

Working Class

- Marxian terminology: " those who sell their labour " in class-based societies - - proletariat
- WC is a complex, contradictory and constantly changing entity. i.e., the composition, the size, and the character of a WC changes over a period of time.
- TWO counter views
 - WC is expanding as students, teachers, blue collar, white collar, salaried all comprise WC
 - WC is disappearing with the automation of industry and apparent displacement of blue-collar jobs.
- Holmstorm
 - 'People commonly refer to industrial workers and sometimes other kind of wage earners and self-employed workers as WC'.
- Growth
 - Worker's phase (1850 - 1880): modern industry got established
 - Philanthropic phase (1890s - 1915s): heavy industries, expansion of WC, deterioration of agriculture, Shashipada Banerjee in Bengal started welfare activities in 1870s, a monthly magazine 'Bharat Shramjivi' started in 1874. L.M.Lokhande was active in Bombay and published 'Deenbandhu'
 - Trade union phase (1915s - 1947): formation of ILU in 1919, AITUC in 1920, later at the time of independence 4 main trade unions: AITUC, INTUC, HMS, UTUC.
- WC during pre-independence time
 - Geographically localised
 - highly exploited
 - mostly unskilled without any formal edu
 - at bottom of the pyramid
- Mobilization
 - In pre-LPG era

- Role of welfare state
- Trade unions
- NGO
- In post LPG era
 - Recognition of problems in unorganised sector
 - Social security measures
 - Microfinance initiatives
 - Right to education
- Nature and Structure of WC today
 - On the basis of wage, there are four types of workers
 - First, those workers who are permanent employees of the large factory sector and get family wage. (By 'family wage' it is meant that the wage of the worker should be sufficient to maintain not only the individual but also the worker's family. They are mostly employed in the public sector enterprises and modern sectors of petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and engineering.
 - Second, there is a large and preponderant section of the working class that does not get a family wage. This includes workers in the older industries like cotton and jute textiles, sugar and paper. Even the permanent workers in the tea plantation come in the same category because the owners refuse to accept the norm of family wage for an individual worker.
 - Third, there is a section of the working class at the bottom of the wage scale – the mass of contract and sometimes casual labourers in industry, including construction, brick making and other casual workers.
 - Fourth, below all these lie a reserve army of labour, who work in petty commodities production in petty trading, ranging from hawking to rag-picking. They are generally engaged in the informal sector and carry on for the want of sufficient survival wage.
- Not only is there wage differential among the working class, there is also variation in the terms of working conditions.
- Better paid labour has also much greater job security. However, the workers on the lower end of the wage scale have not only job security but also considerable extra economic coercion and personal bondage which leads to lack of civil rights.
- Similarly, working conditions for the low paid workers are uniformly worse than for high paid workers. So, in the same plant or site there is a clear difference in the safety measures for the two groups of workers. The situation worsens further with regard to women workers. For example, women are not allowed to work in the steel plants for safety reasons, but are not prohibited to be employed on the same site as contract labour.

Social Background of Indian Working Class

- Indian working class came from diverse social backgrounds in which primordial identities such as caste, ethnicity, religion and language played very important roles. In recent years, the significance of these elements has been reduced but they do persist nonetheless.

- In this regard, the Ahmedabad study (1973), points out that where jobs are secured through introduction by other workers, the latter was a blood relation in 35 per cent of the cases, belonged to the same caste in another 44 percent and belonged to the same native place in another 12 per cent.
- Friends helped in 7 per cent of the cases. Several other studies have pointed out the role of kinship ties in getting employment (Gore 1970). Kinship ties not only play a significant role in securing employment, but also in the placement in the wage scale.
- Five studies of Pune, Kota, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Bangalore covering large number of industries found that 61 per cent of workers were upper caste Hindus (Sharma 1970). The dominant position of the workers from upper caste was also brought out in a study of Kerala. This study points out that in higher income jobs upper castes dominate whereas Dalits/adivasis have preponderance in low wage jobs.
- The middle castes are concentrated in middle to bottom ranges. Even in public sector, the representation of backward castes, schedule castes and tribes are not up to their proportion in the population. Moreover, it seems that caste-based division of labour is followed in the class III and IV jobs in government and public sector enterprises. So, the jobs of sweepers are reserved for dalits and adivasis.
- In coal mines, hard physical labour of loading and pushing the coaltubs is done by dalits and adivasis. In steel plants the production work in the intense heat of coke oven and blast furnace is mainly done by adivasis and dalits. This is because, as Deshpande (1979) points out, of 'pre labour market characteristic' such as education and land holding. So those who possessed more land and education ended up in a higher wage sector.
- Caste serves the function of ensuring the supply of cheap labour for different jobs with the fact of not paying more than what is necessary. In other words, the depressed conditions of adivasis and dalits helps in ensuring a supply of labour, who can be made to work at the mere subsistence level (Nathan 1987). Hence, caste on one hand plays a role in keeping the lower sections of the society in the lower strata of the working class, on the other hand, the upper caste get a privilege in the labour market. Further, caste is not only a matter of marriage and to an extent residence, but more so a continuing pool of social relation for the supply of various kinds of labour for the capitalist mode of production.

Slums and deprivation in urban areas

Slums

- A concomitant of urbanization in India has been in the continuous growth of slum population, as most internal migration has been concentrated in the slums.
- Although India is a large heterogeneous country whose diversity often makes generalization difficult.
- Slum conditions can still be characterized in general terms
 - The streets, lanes and open drains in typical slum areas are filthy.
 - The Indian slum, are far more complex than the mere aggregate of these appalling physical condition; it is a way of life.
 - Rates of diseases, chronic illness and infant mortality remain high and there is little knowledge of health and sanitation, nutrition or childcare.

- Illiteracy is exceedingly high
- Cultural and recreation activities are almost entirely lacking except those provided by such commercial enterprises as the cinema and gambling.
- little community pride or even consensus, and they often blame the local authorities for their plight.
- They have become antagonistic towards authorities, seldom co-operating with municipal personnel in efforts to improve their immediate areas or the city as a whole.

A little Extra

Constitution and Slums

- Our Constitution has laid down the right to property, which is basic and fundamental, but not the right to work or right to adequate housing, education and employment.
- The Constitution also proclaims certain freedom and rights to citizens viz. right to move throughout the country, right to life and security and freedom to search for earning and prerequisites needed for that search within legal limits but at the same time Constitution does not ensure the right to have resources for securing livelihood, source of earning, of adequate facilities for stay and other things essential, for mobile jobs for citizens to ensure a better purchasing power to live adequately.

Defining the City

- The city is not merely the point at which great numbers are concentrated into limited space, but it is also a complex heterogeneity in almost every characteristic in which human beings can differ from one another. In this respect the city represents perhaps the most striking contrast to the social entities that we call primitive, folk, and peasant societies.
- Consequently, the methods adapted to the understanding of the population of the metropolis are strikingly different from those suited to simpler and more homogeneous societies.
- This accounts for the fact that in attempting to understand the city we have had to resort to extensive statistical inquiries to determine the human elements of which it is composed.
- They differ, as do all societies, in sex and age, but they show peculiar distribution of age and sex groups and great variations in these respects as we pass from. area to area.
- They differ widely from one another in occupation, in view of the more extensive division of Labour, which the growth of the market has made possible. They differ in wealth and in income, ranging from the extreme of affluence to the depths of the direst poverty and insecurity.
- The city, moreover, by virtue of its focal position in the complex of capitalistic civilization, has attracted within its confines the racial and ethnic stocks of all the world and has more or less amalgamated them and blended their traits into a new aggregate of hybrids, here mingling with one another and there segregating themselves from one another, here collaborating and there at war, but in any case building a complex of cultures unprecedented in human history.
- This heterogeneity of the human materials in the city is at once a source of ferment and stimulation and of the frictions and conflicts that characterize modern society" (Louis Wirth 1940).

Slums and deprivation in urban areas

- **Louis Wirth:** Slums is a way of life which is predominantly unhygienic.
- **Oscar Louis:** Culture of poverty leads to people not striving to change their lives and continue living in poor conditions.
- According to a report prepared by government committee headed by Dr Pranob Sen, principal adviser, erstwhile Planning Commission, India's urban slum population is registering an alarming rate of growth and was expected to cross 100 million by 2017 from the estimated 75.2 million in 2001.
- The committee set up by the Ministry to study the slum definition and estimate urban slum population in the country has also revised the census 2001 figure which predicted India's slum population at 52.4 million.

Definition

- The new definition of slum states that **even small clusters of 20-25 households living in a contiguous area** and exhibiting slum like **characteristics like:**
- *"Little or no access to basic civic amenities like water, sanitation and sewerage" should be categorised as slums.*
- Earlier the cluster size for identification of slums was 60 households.
- **GOI defines** slums as any area which is:
 - Dilapidated
 - Overcrowded
 - Faulty arrangement of buildings
 - Lack of ventilation, Light, Sanitation facilities,
 - or combination of these factors which are detrimental to safety health and morales.

Sociologically,

- Slums are a sub-standard, haphazard, housing system
- Slum is a relative term.
- Slums are a way of life, with:
 - Low Sanitation
 - High Crime Rate
 - Apathy
 - Social Isolation
 - Anonymity

Trilok Singh: Slums put pressure on urban infra. Slums also have an inherent sense of relative and absolute deprivation wrt the prosperous neighbours.

Causes of Slum Formation:

- Original Slums as a result of land squatting by migrants
- Slums created because the erstwhile Middle Class moved away
- Slum created because of Occupation (slums created around sources of employment, which is usually of low remunerations)
- TB Ramachandran: Indian cities are unplanned
- MSA Rao: Mohalla Culture
- Demographic dynamism: Expansionist modernity and declining agriculture.

Functions of Slums:

- Labour Supply
- Small industries
- Housing for low-income migrants
- School to newcomers of urban life
- Place for anonymity

Deprivation:

- Economic: housing, power cuts, transport, unsafe water
- Environment: pollution
- Social: exclusion, poverty, education, health, alcoholism, riots

Way Out

There **are four main objectives** of urban community development programme applicable to the slums are-

- Development of **community feeling**
- **Self-help** improvement of a person or a group by its own contributions and efforts and largely for its own benefits
- **Indigenous leadership**
- **Cooperation between government and the people** in the use of services.

The approach to the problems of the city slums **through urban community development** involves the following elements:

- Creation of a sense of **social cohesion** on a neighbourhood basis and strengthening of group interrelationship.
- Encouragement and **stimulation of self-help**, through the initiative of the individuals in the community.

- **Stimulation by outside agencies** where initiative for self-help is lacking.
- **Reliance upon persuasion rather than upon compulsion** to produce change through the efforts of people.
- Identification and development of **local leadership**.
- Development of **civic consciousness** and acceptance of **civic responsibilities**.
- Use of **professional and technical assistance** to support the efforts of the people involved.
- **Coordination of city services** to meet neighbourhood needs and problems.
- Provisions of **training in democratic procedures** that may results in **decentralization** of some govt. functions.

Broader approaches to eradicate slum:

- **Marxist:** Slum is a conscious creation of political and economic dominant class. Need to give entire population similar homes.
- **Welfarist:** Tear down slums -> Remake them (Rajiv Awas Yojana)
 - **Geeta Diwan Verma** refutes this approach because the remade houses are sub-let by the people and also paves way for corruption.
 - **Louis Wirth** says - Need is of changing Culture.
- **Community Development Approach:** Identify leader, change way of life & occupation. Kalpana Sharma found in Dharawi, Mumbai that CDA is successful in long term.
- **Humanitarian Approach:** Give people assurance of tenure, they'll develop good practices.
- **Modernisation Approach:** Slums are temporary. With modernity slum dwellers will become landowners.
- **Supreme Court says:** Approach shall be **slum dweller oriented and not slum oriented**.

Government measures:

- Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
- Smart Cities
- Decentralisation of Urban
- Rural reconstruction (PURA)
- JNNRUM

Urbanisation

Almost all contemporary social problems have been associated with the process of urbanisation.

- Thus, a diverse set of problems such as those relating to
 - Crime
 - Mental illness
 - Broken family life
 - Poor housing
 - Poverty
 - Unemployment –
 - Class conflict
 - Racial and ethnic conflict
 - Drug addiction
 - Pollution
- and a host of others are often grouped together under the ominous title of "the urban crisis".
- But to do so is misleading, because the city is much more than a simple compilation of its recognised social problems.
- To describe cities in terms of their problems is akin to trying to describe human being in terms of their diseases!
- Neither it is accurate to suggest that urbanisation is the main cause of most contemporary social problems.
- Nevertheless, the city and the metropolis are the settings in which many social problems have developed or intensified, and to understand these problems in their urban context is important.
- India is being increasingly judged by the stature and condition of its great cities, where lie the core of its commercial and industrial power and the strength of its transportation, distribution and communication system.
- The cities of India have played an important role in
 - Breaking away from tradition-bound social practices
 - It is from the cities that most of the modernization processes in the country radiate
 - Political and social reform movements have largely originated in the cities and have then spread out.

Concludingly

- Impact of Urbanisation on Environmental Quality
 - Physical Environment.
 - Air Quality
 - Water Quality
 - Solid Waste Generation
 - Noise Levels
 - Social Environment
 - Urbanisation and Slums
 - Crime in Cities
 - Environmental Infrastructure
 - Housing and Housing Amenities and Infrastructure
 - Energy
 - Transport

Urban Poverty

- Urban Poverty makes poverty more visible.
- Particularly in the industrial towns and cities where large numbers of labouring poor were to be found, in and out of ill-paid and insecure employment.
- Poverty and overcrowding are the two most visible features of the industrial slum.
- Segregation and exclusion were governed by caste in India just as they were governed by race elsewhere, but poverty has a large part to play in these operations.
- Social disability and economic disadvantage went hand in hand in the past as they still do to a great extent.
- Income and expenditure were important, but others factors such as
 - Security of livelihood
 - Disconnection from family and community
 - Overcrowding
 - Sanitation and health were also important.
- Sociological accounts of poverty tend to lack precision but they aim at a rounded picture.
- Individuals and families may suffer from a chronic sense of loss and deprivation even where there is an increase in their average earning and expenditure. It is often accompanied by social and cultural dislocation.
- Poverty studies would remain incomplete unless they took some account of this sense of loss and deprivation.

- The new settlements that emerge often have a makeshift character, and there is laxity in the rules for the regulation of conduct.
- Often, women and children become victims of new forms of social abuse.

Part - C4

Politics and Society

Regionalism

- Regionalism means to **situate the approach and sentiments towards the particular region.**
- It is argued that **regionalism can be a form of resistance against the imposition of a particular cultural ideology that is linked to the integration of a nation.**
- Regionalism is found to have connections with the cultural patterns that exist as a part of the dominant culture.
- Sometimes, it does become a **threat to the nation state** by regional groups who struggle for their particular sectional interests and at others it acts like **a force that brings people together, their grievances for the broader nation to address, thus, reinforcing unity in diversity.**
- Regionalism is **an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions.**
- As a process it plays role **within the nation as well as outside** the nation i.e. at international level. Both types of regionalism have different meaning and have positive as well as negative impact on society, polity, diplomacy, economy, security, culture, development, negotiations, etc.

Regionalism in India

- India emerged as an independent nation state and later regionalism became part of the different states in India. It is linked to the politics of **ethnocentrism.**
- For instance, natives of a particular region foreground their **ontological and epistemological priorities** over a particular region. Natives presume that they possess the authenticity over the issues and construction of subject related to that region.
- They imagine a sort of **body politics that includes themselves and excludes the 'other' as outsiders.** It is a process of **"othering"** for outsiders.
- At the same time, it is the **return to 'self' for the natives.** We can analyze the **tangible and intangible forms of regionalism** through the behavioural and social aspects of the diverse sections of people from the different parts of India.
- The Indian state was confronted with demands for the reorganisation of the states (provinces or federating units) immediately after independence.
- Upon the **recommendation of the States Reorganisation Committee (SRC) of 1953**, headed by Fazal Ali, the **provinces were recognised on the basis of language.**
- By the 1960s, the provinces seemed to have settled down within the redrawn boundaries.
 - The larger province of **Bombay was divided into Marathi-speaking Maharashtra and Gujarati speaking Gujarat.**
 - **Punjab was trifurcated** into a Punjabi speaking Punjab, Hindi-speaking Haryana, and Pahari speaking Himachal Pradesh.

- **The Kannad-speaking areas of Bombay were transferred** to the state of Mysore/ Karnataka.
- **Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras province** were transferred to Andhra Pradesh.
- The linguistic reorganisation looked complete and the **first phase** of reorganisation of the states within the Indian union was over.
- **Then** came the demands for **autonomy in the north-eastern region**.
- The aspirations of the tribal groups were soon recognised by the Indian state.
- The states of **Manipur, Tripura, and Meghalaya** were formed in the late 1970s.
- The **North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA)** was granted statehood under the name of Arunachal Pradesh in 1987.
- The restive **Nagas and the Mizos**, however, were granted statehood only after **violent encounters** with the Indian state.
- The Naga insurgency continues until the present day, even after the formation of the state of Nagaland in 1956.
- The Mizo insurgency subsided after the 1973 agreement which declared the Mizo district of Assam as a Union Territory.
- Mizoram was later granted full state status after the 1986 agreement with the rebel leader Laldenga.
- However; this did not completely exhaust the aspirations for autonomous administration or statehood by many groups.
- The cultural differences within the overarching linguistic unity, in many cases, led to demands for statehood within the primarily language-based federating units of the Indian union.

Today, even the states often get entangled in violent clashes as was seen in **deadly clashes of forces of Assam and Mizoram in 2021**.

Factors related with emergence of Regionalism

- The existence of **relative deprivation** is one of the most important aspects in constructing the argument for regionalism.
 - For instance, if the people from any particular region feel that they are more deprived than others in terms of distribution of resources, infrastructures and so on, then it may create regional affiliation.
 - For example, **Gorkha Nationalist Liberation Forum (GNLF)** started its movement in the Darjeeling. In the view of GNLF, Darjeeling was the most underdeveloped region in comparison to the southern part of West Bengal.
 - **Growing regional inequalities** in terms of income and consumption in the **post-reforms period** have accentuated the perception of neglect and discrimination.
 - **Coastal regions/developed regions have invariably benefited more** from the flow of private investment as compared to the regions at peripheral locations, those with disturbed law and order situations, and those with poor economic and social infrastructure.

- The second significant factor for the emergence of regionalism is **the issue of language and culture**. Every individual's identity is based on the categories of language and culture which, once politicized, play an important role in the formation of region.
 - **Edward Sapir**, according to language plays a vital role in the creation and determination of a region. Thus, the idea of region has to be explored in the context of language debates.
- Unequal access to political power.
 - The local **elites complain of "reverse" discrimination** as often the elites from the other politically dominant regions manage to corner financial grants/deals/lucrative portfolios.

Besides the above factors, **there are also many other factors responsible for the growth of regionalism** like:

- Regionalism made its appearance **as a reaction against the efforts of the national government to impose a particular ideology, language, or cultural pattern on all people or groups**.
 - Thus, the States of south have resisted imposition of Hindi as official language because they feared this would lead to dominance of the North.
 - Similarly, in Assam anti-foreigner movement was launched by the Assamese to preserve their own culture;
- Continuous neglect of an area or region by the ruling parties and concentration of administrative and political power has given rise to demand for **decentralization of authority** and bifurcate of unilingual states.
 - On occasions "*sons of soil theory*" has been put forth to promote the interests of neglected groups or areas of the state;
- The desire of the various units of the Indian federal system to maintain their **sub-cultural regions** and greater degree of self-government has promoted regionalism and given rise to demand for greater autonomy;
- The **desire of regional elites to capture power** has also led to rise of regionalism. It is well known that political parties like DMK, AIADMK, Akali Dal, Telugu Desam, Asom Gana Parishad etc. have encouraged regionalism to capture power;
- The **interactions between the forces of modernization and mass participation** have also largely contributed to the growth of regionalism in India.
 - As the country is still away from realising the goal of a nation state, the various groups have failed to identify their group interests with national interests; hence the feeling of regionalism has persisted;
- The **growing awareness** among the people of backward areas that they are being discriminated against has also promoted feeling of regionalism.
 - The local political leaders have often fully utilised this factor and tried to feed the people the people the idea that the central government was deliberately trying to maintain regional imbalances by neglecting social and economic development of certain areas.

A Short Note on Why son of the soil?

- There remains a **competition for job** between migrant and local educated middle-class youth.
- This theory **works mostly in cities**, because here outsiders also, get opportunity for education, etc.
- In such theories, major involvement of people is due to **rising aspiration**.
- **Economy's failure to create enough employment** opportunity.

Important Outcome of various Regionalist Movements

- **Regional identity, culture, and geographical differences now appear to be better recognised** as a valid basis for administrative division and political representation.
- **Separate statehood movements are no longer being stigmatised as parochial, chauvinist and even antinational** as was done in the past.
- The shift is visible in the way the **new states are now being proposed on the grounds of good governance** had development rather than on the language principle that had, ostensibly, guided state formation during the first phase of the reorganisation of states.
- The **dialect communities** of late have been asking for their own **"territorial homeland"** while **underlining the cultural and literary distinctiveness and richness** of the dialectic, i.e., Bundelkhand, Ruhelkhand, and Mithilanchal.

What could be the criteria, then, for recognising a region?

- **SR Maheshwari** writes quoting the **criteria used by the MP Rasheeduddin Khan** (who has examined this problem quite deeply):
- To promote discussion and further classification it is suggested that the criteria for determining a socio-cultural sub-region in India can be formulated as follows:

"Maximum homogeneity within and maximum identity without"

- Where **homogeneities are to be established on ten counts**:
 - language dialect;
 - social composition (communities/jatis);
 - ethnic regions;
 - demo-geographic features;
 - area (geographic contiguity);
 - cultural pattern;
 - economy and economic life;
 - historical antecedents;
 - political background;
 - psychological make-up and felt consciousness of group identity.

- A **Kumar** writing in Exploring the Demand for New States says that the **underlying principle in various accommodations of identity in India has remained internal self-determination**.
- **Internal self-determination has remained the predominant form in which regionalism, and even sub-regionalism, has sought to express itself.**
- The regional and sub-regional **accommodation of identity** in India has **served to weaken the bases of political secessionism and separatism while not defeating the principle of (internal) self-determination** (of nations).

To Conclude

- Regionalism is a **dynamic, pragmatic concept**.
- It **seldom sustains itself on one single factor**: a coalition of factors and circumstances, including politicisation of the region and sense of economic retardation is the basis of regional revival and assertions.
- But the specific factors fostering regionalism are apt to **vary from place to place**, and even in the context of the same place, the precise mix of them and their individual potency do not remain unaltered over a period of time.
- The peculiar historical processes have a bearing on regionalism.
- Ashok Behuria says that the **Indian federation has temperamentally behaved as a “union” and not a “federation”**. However, the leadership in the country has to take care to adopt federal principles to judge such cases of autonomy and gradually develop powers (especially financial powers) to the units if it is to contain various ethnocultural assertions.
- Among all these explanations there is a common thread of argument that says that the **shrinking capacity of the state, underdevelopment, and the politicisation of plural peripheral identities, together with the search for power by neo-elites at the margins, have snapped the interethnic and intercultural bonds that have so far drawn them together**.
- This has **created new identities** and led to an overwhelming craze for autonomy or self-legislation.
- It is interesting to note that the concessions of statehood in the recent cases seem to be **conditioned by sheer electoral calculations and not by considerations of economic viability**. And these concessions in no way altered the basic constitutionally guaranteed relationship between the federation and the units, which is **lopsided in favour of the federation**.
- **Creation of “dependent” states will in no way improve the conditions, and the passion for a greater degree of autonomy will haunt the Indian states until a genuinely developed refederalized system of governance grows out of the present system of Unitarian federal democracy in India.**

Important Example:

Formation of Jharkhand

- The demand for the separate state of Jharkhand, shows the dynamics of the politics of regionalism in India. It was demanded by the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. The struggle for the separate state of Jharkhand took almost fifteen years. All the political parties have played an active role in it.
- The **rationale for creating this state is also based on the uniqueness of its tribal cultural heritage.**

- However, the distribution of resources and the politics of development remain significant in the socio-economic structures in Jharkhand due to the **continuing construction as relatively deprived and backward**.
- Hence, we can understand **that whenever any state formulation happens with the people's struggle, it has certain aspirations and demands, which may or may not be incorporated in or accommodated by, the formation of the state**.
- It is true that **regionalism and sub-regionalism are unavoidable in a vast and plural country like India**. It is not always correct to consider every attempt to **support or defend regional or sub-regional interests as divisive, fissiparous and unpatriotic**.
- The problem begins when these interests are politicized and regional movements are promoted for **ulterior political motives**. Such unhealthy regional or sub-regional patriotism could be cancerous and disruptive. The continuing regional imbalances have **given rise to militant movements in certain parts of our country**.
- Separatist demands in Jammu and Kashmir or by ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) in Assam or by different groups in the North-Eastern region are matters of grave concern for Indian polity.

Political Parties

Political party forms an important component of a political system.

- A **political party is an institution which consists of leaders, followers, policies and programmes**.
 - Its followers **may have formal membership** of the party or may support it without being formal members. There are different parties.
 - Parties can be differentiated on the bases of leaders, policies and programmes, ideologies and internal functioning.
 - The principal feature of a political party which distinguishes it from other organizations is that its **main purpose is to capture power**.
 - Political party is only one of so many social agents associated with or responsible for political participation.
 - There are **other agents** such as voluntary organisations, institutional groups and socio-cultural communities.
 - Political parties are the important links between individuals, state and society.
 - Political parties provide the **crucial connection between social process and policy-makers, and influence debates and policies** on issues affecting the interests of various social groups in a political system.

Types Of Political Parties In India

There is a **criterion given by the Election Commission** of India to categorize the political parties as national, state/regional and registered/ unrecognized parties.

1. National Party

- According to the Election Commission, for being considered as a national party a political party should at least have **one of the following qualifications**:
 - It has to win a minimum of **two percent of the seats in the Lok Sabha from at least three different States**;
 - In general elections, the party must manage to win **six percent of the votes and win at least four Lok Sabha seats**;
 - It should be **recognised as a state-level party in four or more states**.
- **Examples:** In 2020, there were seven national Parties in India: Indian National Congress (INC), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India Marxist (CPI(M)), Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) and All India Trinamool Congress.

2. State Party/Regional Party

- **Election Commission does not use the concept of regional party.** Instead, it uses the notion of state party.
- However, in academic discourse and general parlance, state and regional parties are used interchangeably. But there are differences in ways the Election Commission and academic discourse define state and regional parties.
- The election commission identifies a regional party on the basis of its electoral performance in a number of states.
- Academic discourse defines a regional or state party in terms of its policies, activities, support-bases and leadership in specific regions or states.
- According to EC, **to be considered as state party**, a party should have one of the qualifications to be acknowledged as a state party:
 - It must have engaged in **political activity for at least five years**;
 - It must have **won either four percent of the seats in a general election or three percent in a state election**;
 - In addition, it must have had the **support of six percent of the votes cast**;
 - The status of a state party can still be bestowed upon an entity **even if it fails to win any seats in the Lok Sabha or the Assembly** if it manages to win at least eight per cent of the total votes cast in the entire state.
- In 2020, there are 36 recognized state parties in India that represent their respective states.

- Some of the recognised state parties include Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Biju Janata Dal (BJD), Janata Dal (United) JD(U), Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD), Samajwadi Party (SP).

3. Registered / Unrecognized Party

- Registered party is a party that is neither recognised as a state nor a national party, but it is registered with the election commission. It is also called unrecognised party. At present, there are more than 2000 registered parties in India.

Political Parties: Functions And Role

- Political parties are essential for the proper functioning of representative democracy. They perform vital functions in every political system.
- The functions performed by the political parties, especially in the context of India, are as under:
 - They **nominate candidates** during elections (to act as people's representatives in the legislature);
 - They **campaign** to obtain support for their candidates in the elections;
 - They place **objectives and programmes** before the voters through their **manifestos**;
 - Those securing the majority in elections **form the government** and enact and implement the policies;
 - Those not in power form **opposition and keep a constant check** on the government;
 - They form **opposition** when they are in minority in the legislature and constantly put pressure on the government for **proper governance**;
 - They **educate people** and help in formulating and **shaping public opinion**;
 - They **articulate peoples' demands** and convey them to the government; and
 - They **provide a linkage between people and governmental institutions**.
- In India political parties have been performing the above-mentioned functions quite effectively since independence. **They have made representative governments in India both possible and successful for over past seven decades.**
- They provide effective links between the citizens and the governments on the one hand, and the electorates and their representatives on the other. **They try to cater to people's demands on public matters, and mobilize political participation.**
- Elections without parties would have almost been impossible. In fact, **democracy needs strong and sustainable political parties with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices that demonstrate their ability to govern for the public good.**
- The experience of functioning of political parties in India during the last several decades indicates that by and large they have been instrumental in **shaping public opinion, creating political awareness, and imparting political education to the people.**
- They have contributed towards making the **institutions and processes of government truly democratic and people centric**. We can, therefore, say that **democracy in India has been strengthened by a competitive and multi-party system.**

- As **India has a multiparty system where coalition governments have been a norm**, the regional and registered parties have been playing a crucial role, especially after the late 1980s, in formation of coalition of government both in the centre and the states.
- **Regional Parties are becoming important determining factors in electoral politics.** Regional parties represent the aspirations of people at state or local levels.

Rajni Kothari's Perspective on Politics in India and The Congress System

- Rajni Kothari, in the year 1970, published a book with the title '**Politics in India**'. The book was inspired by the System Theory developed by David Easton and the concept of power as developed by Robert Dahl.
- It **described the political processes in India and their impact on Indian society.**
- Its opening lines are manifesto-like, putting politics at the centre stage of human activity and treating politics as a force of nature.
- He examined issue from the **functional point of view.**
- In a **plural society like India, with cleavages and divisions both on horizontal and vertical lines, the western models to assess political development are often inadequate** and that makes him search for a new model to understand the complex nature of Indian polity, by analyzing the key concepts like '**kind of political parties and interest groups**', '**social and national integration**' and '**infrastructure of the society**'.
- He successfully showed the **response of traditional society to modernization.** In Indian society, there had always been a secular element and it survived to this day due to its '**cultural unity**'.
- Starting with the search of factors in nation-building and the meaning of political development, especially in India, he identifies "**administrative-governmental process**" with the "**political process**" as factors of development in India.
- It is one of his views, that the **greatest failure of India throughout its long history was its inability to function politically, to construct a viable political authority and that it failed to build a strong centre.**
- He observed that, "**factionalism and caste cleavages, patterns of alignment and realignment amongst the various strata, and a continuous striving for social mobility have always been prominent features of the caste system.**"
- He also says that "**the unavailability of a nation-wide and united opposition party or parties forced the leadership of the Congress Party to admit to its organization an active and virulent factionalism without any significant reference to ideological or pragmatic issues.**"

The Congress 'System'

Rajni Kothari writes:

- The Indian system can be described as a system of **one-party dominance** (which, it may be noted, is very different from what is generally known as a one-party system).
- It is **a competitive party system but one in which the competing parts play rather dissimilar roles.**
- It consists of a party of consensus and parties of pressure.

- The **latter function on the margin** and, indeed, the concept of a **margin of pressure** is of great importance in this system.
- **Inside the margin are various factions** within the party of consensus.
- **Outside the margin are several opposition groups** and parties, **dissident groups from the ruling party, and other interest groups and important individuals.**
- In India, the **Congress**, which is (used to be then) the party of consensus, **functions through an elaborate network of factions which** provides the chief competitive mechanism of the Indian system.
- In 1947, the **Congress**, which functioned as a broad-based **nationalist movement before independence, transformed itself into the dominant political party of the nation.**
- Although a number of opposition parties came into existence, it was recognized that the **Congress** was the **chief party**, representing a historical consensus and enjoying a **continuing basis of support** and trust.
- Under the circumstances, **political competition was internalized and carried on within the Congress.**
- There developed an **elaborate system of factions** at every level of political and governmental activity, and a system of coordination between the various levels through **vertical "faction chains".**
- Structurally, such a party system displays **two features:**
 - There is **plurality within the dominant party** which makes it **more representative, provides flexibility,** and sustains internal competition.
 - At the same time, it is **prepared to absorb groups and movements from outside the party** and thus prevent other parties from gaining in strength.
- It is a system that **concentrates strength within the dominant party** and then builds **internal checks to limit the use of this strength.**
- In this way the party representing a historical consensus also continued to represent the present consensus. This ensured the legitimacy of the system and of the institutional framework under which it operates.
- The **role of the opposition in this system** is to constantly pressurize, criticize, censure and influence it by influencing opinion and interests inside the margin and, above all, **exert a latent threat that if the ruling group strays away too far from the balance of effective public opinion, and if the factional system within it is not mobilized to restore the balance, it will be displaced from power** by the opposition groups.
- By posing a **constant threat, it ensures the mobility and life of the internal power structure** of the Congress. On the other hand, its own strength is continuously conditioned by the strength of the Congress, gaining where the latter loses, and sometimes gaining substantially when the latter has lost grip over the situation or its internal thermostat has failed.
- **Electorate-wise, the Opposition can only hope to function effectively at the local and regional levels.**
- **Legislature-wise, however, it also functions at the national level and performs a very useful role in the maintenance of the system.**

- He also mentioned **five important points about Congress**:
 - The Congress, when it came to power, **assigned a positive and overwhelming role to government and politics in the development of society.**
 - It made the **power of the central authority the chief condition of national survival.** This power was not only **consolidated but greatly augmented.**
 - It made **legitimacy the principal issue of politics** and gave to the government and the ruling party an importance of great symbolic value. "Only the Congress could be trusted." This is why only the Congress was the party of consensus.
 - The Congress in power made for a **concentration of resources, a monopoly of patronage and a control of economic power** which **crystallized the structure of its power and made competition with it a difficult proposition.**
 - By adopting a **competitive model of development**, it made **mobilization and public cooperation a function of political participation rather than of bureaucratic control and police surveillance.**
- He adds that a **significant trend in political development in India is the growth of built-in constraints in the political system which has led to a containment of conflicts** at points where excessive conflict is likely to disrupt the intricate balance on which the Congress system is based.
- Hence, there developed over the years a **conciliation machinery within the Congress, at various levels and for different tasks, which is almost constantly in operation, mediating in factional disputes, influencing political decisions in the States and districts, and not infrequently backing up one group against another** and utilizing the electoral and patronage systems in confirming the former in a position of power.
- He writes that the Congress has also shown **great sensitivity on the question of respect for minorities, including political minorities**, accommodating them whenever possible, and in general, pursuing a broad-based consensus on national politics.
- He also believed that the **delicate balance on which the legitimacy and power of the Congress system rests may be rudely disturbed, and a more authoritarian system might emerge.**
- **Political systems do change in their nature over time**, and there is no particular sanctity in one particular system.

Historian Ramachandra Guha writes in one of his articles about Rajni Kothari as follows. It can also be seen as a criticism of Kothari's model:

- The bulk of the book by Kothari ('Politics in India') was devoted to the then dominant Congress party. Kothari argued that before and after Independence, the Congress was successful in presenting itself as the "authoritative spokesman of the nation as well as its affirmed agent of criticism and change".
- Towards the end of his book, Kothari offered one judgement and one prediction.
 - This was the judgement: "Because the Congress managed to be in power continuously and there was no united or effective threat to its authority, the country's political process gained incomparable advantages of continuity and unity."

- And this was the prediction: “The Congress still needs to be an organized political party in the country, with a nationwide following and considerable depth in the localities.
 - This has two consequences central to the system’s functioning:
 - ❖ It can continue to enjoy plurality at the centre and thus a dominant voice in coalition-making;
 - ❖ It can continue to control widespread local presence and patronage even where it is no longer in power at the state level.”

Contemporary Political System

- The BJP’s victory in 2014 ushered in a debate among political scientists and political analysts over whether the country’s **electoral politics was experiencing a paradigm shift**.
- Indian politics was synonymous with **coalition politics** between 1989 and 2014, **following decades of Congress Party dominance** at the national level; but for that quarter century, no single party was strong enough to earn a parliamentary majority on its own, relying instead on dozens of pre and post-election allies to form a governing coalition.
- The **debate was therefore about whether India had left the era of multipolarity, fragmentation, and coalitions behind** in favor of a new, dominant-party system in which the BJP assumed the role of central pole that the Congress had once played.
- There were scholars who were less hesitant in asserting that India was witnessing the birth of a new party system. In the **Journal of Democracy**, E. Sridharan wrote: “**The results were dramatic, possibly even epochal. The electoral patterns of the last quarter-century have undergone a sea change, and the world’s largest democracy now has what appears to be a new party system headed by a newly dominant party.**”

2014

- The BJP’s victory in 2014 relied on near-total sweeps of a relatively small number of states in the Indian union; in fact, 75 percent of the BJP’s parliamentary tally in 2014 came from just eight states in the north, west, and central regions of the country.
- Second, although the BJP clinched a majority in the Lok Sabha, it was nowhere close to a majority in Rajya Sabha.
- Finally, the BJP’s reach was limited at the level of India’s states. Prior to the 2014 election, the BJP ruled just five (of twenty-nine) states.

2019

- India ushered in a new, **fourth party system**—one that is premised on a **unique set of political principles** and that shows a clear break with what came before.
- In the 2019 general election, the BJP clinched a second consecutive majority in the Lok Sabha, a feat last accomplished by the Congress Party in 1980 and 1984.
- By June 2019, the party **controlled twelve states** while its **allies controlled another six**. And made **significant gains in Rajya Sabha**.

Third Party System

- In the third-party system, **no national party served as the central gravitational force** organizing politics.
- Electoral politics was marked by **increasing party fragmentation, intensifying political competition, and a federalization of national politics.**
- Furthermore, national **voter turnout appeared to be relatively stagnant**, painting a stark **contrast with rising turnout in state elections**—a signal that states had become the **primary venues of political contestation** as opposed to national-level politics.
- Finally, the third-party system was characterized by **a changing composition of political elites in which lower castes—Dalits (Scheduled Castes, or SCs) as well as Other Backward Classes (OBCs)—gained political representation**, largely at the expense of upper and intermediate castes.

Today, many of these principles stand altered, and 2014 represents a key structural break.

Some less quantifiable traits suggest Indian electoral politics is operating according to a new set of rules. These factors include the **BJP's ideological hegemony, its organization and fundraising prowess, and its charismatic leadership.**

India's Electoral Systems

- There is broad consensus that **India's electoral history**—from the inaugural post-independence general election in 1952 until the sixteenth Lok Sabha elections in 2014—can be roughly divided into **three electoral orders.**
- **Yogendra Yadav** has argued that a new electoral system commences whenever an observer can “detect a destabilization of [an old system] and its replacement by a new pattern of electoral outcomes as well as its determinants.”

1952 TO 1967: CONGRESS DOMINANCE

- Between 1952 and 1967, the **Congress Party dominated** Indian politics, both at the center and across her states.
- As the party primarily responsible for winning India her **independence** and home to many of the most respected **nationalist leaders**, the Congress benefited from widespread popular appeal as the umbrella organization under which India would establish its post-independence identity.
- **The inadequacies of the other players** on the political scene fueled that dominance. **Opposition** forces were badly **fragmented**, which limited their ability to mount a serious campaign to unseat the Congress.

1967 TO 1989: GROWING OPPOSITION AT THE STATE LEVEL

- With the **exception of the election of 1977**—when the Congress suffered due to autocratic excesses during Emergency Rule between 1975 and 1977—the **party remained the default choice** for governance at the center.
- But **new expressions of caste and regional identities** chipped away at the party's monopoly of subnational politics.
- The year **1967** proved to be a **critical inflection point**, ushering in the dawn of **India's second party system.**

- Although the **Congress's grip on power in New Delhi** remained firm, its hold on **India's state capitals** began to fade.

1989 TO 2014: DAWN OF COALITION POLITICS

- **Congress dominance** that remained after 1967, **came to an end** in 1989, which denoted the **start of coalition governance** in New Delhi and the third-party system.
- Three powerful forces—often termed **“Mandal, masjid, and market”**—disrupted Indian politics, prompting a realignment in politics:
 - **Mandal Commission**, a government task force that recommended that **OBCs be given access to quotas** governing higher education seats and civil service posts.
 - It was on the backs of the agitation around Mandal that India witnessed what **Yadav dubbed a “second democratic upsurge,” or the catapulting of traditionally disadvantaged groups into the corridors of political power.** During this period, many caste-based parties representing Dalit and OBC interests firmly entrenched their position among the representative class.
 - The second force was the demolition of the **Babri Masjid** in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, by pro-Hindu forces associated with the BJP. This **ethno-nationalist mobilization** helped fuel BJP's sudden rise from a party that won just two seats in the 1984 general election to the only **national alternative to the Congress.**
 - The third and final factor was the market, due to India's decision to **liberalize its economy in 1991**, embrace the forces of globalization, and welcome global economic integration.

BEYOND INDIA'S THIRD-PARTY SYSTEM

- In order to evaluate whether India has truly entered a new era of politics with the BJP's recent general election victories in 2014 and 2019, it is necessary to clarify the **precise attributes of the third party system** against which any future change can be measured.

PRINCIPLES OF THE THIRD-PARTY SYSTEM

There are six defining attributes of the third-party system:

- First, **the absence of a central pole in national politics** between 1989 and 2009 is the central feature of the third-party system.
- Second, the third-party system was an era of **political fragmentation.** The number of parties contesting elections surged after 1989 as the Congress order broke down.
- Third, electoral contests became markedly more competitive. **Victory margins came down** and the share of candidates winning an **outright majority of votes in their constituencies dropped.**
- Fourth, the entire **political system became highly federalized.** National-level outcomes were directly influenced by the state level verdicts that preceded them, but the intensity of the effect depended on the proximity of the two polls. **Honeymoon and anti-incumbency effects at the state level directly impacted national polls.**

- **Fifth, voter turnout surged at the state level while national political mobilization cooled.** As states became the primary venues for political contestation, voter turnout patterns shifted in kind. **In the third-party system, the gap between voter turnout at the state and national levels saw unprecedented divergence.**
- Finally, there was **a clear change in the social composition of the representative class.** For instance, in northern Hindi belt states, the combined share of OBC and SC legislators superseded that of upper caste and intermediate castes for the very first time.

FROM MULTIPOLARITY TO UNIPOLARITY

In terms of aggregate electoral outcomes, the **2014 and 2019 elections stand apart.**

- First, the **BJP won India's first single-party majority** in the Lok Sabha since 1984, the year the Congress Party under Rajiv Gandhi won an overwhelming mandate in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination.
- Second, 2014 was the first time in post-independence history that **a single party other than the Congress** had claimed a majority of seats in parliament.
- Third, although the **BJP** won a majority of seats, **it exceeded its previous best performance** by a significant margin.

Headed into the 2019 race, **many election analysts doubted the BJP's ability to replicate its 2014 feat** for at least **four reasons:**

- The BJP's victory was fueled by virtually running the tables in **a select set of states.** For the BJP to match its 2014 benchmark, analysts thought the party would have to once more sweep this relatively limited swath of territory – especially given its **limited presence in the south and east of India.**
- Second, BJP relentlessly campaigned in 2013 and 2014 on a pledge to usher in **acche din** (good times) for the Indian economy by generating rapid economic growth, creating millions of jobs, and revitalizing India's moribund investment cycle. Yet **large parts of the economic narrative simply did not materialize** during Modi's first term in office.
- In the 2014 election, many opposition parties chose to fight the BJP on their own, as opposed to forming constructive alliances. As a result, in several pivotal states, divisions within the opposition served to fragment the anti-BJP vote, leading to the former's electoral marginalization. In 2019, the opposition adopted – at least rhetorically – a strategy of cooperation. In several key states, such as Uttar Pradesh (India's biggest electoral prize with 80 parliamentary seats), long-time rivals joined forces not due to any common ideological commitment or adherence to a unified leadership, but rather as an existential impulse to prevent their marginalization.

An additional sign of the **BJP's** pan-Indian dominance is the fact that, in 2019, it **contested more seats than the Congress Party for the first time** in history. In 2019, the BJP fielded candidates in 436 parliamentary constituencies, compared to 421 for the Congress.

- **In 2014, BJP, for the first time, surpassed the Congress in the numbers of MLAs.** As of June 2019, the BJP boasts 32 percent of MLAs compared to 21 percent for the Congress and 47 percent for all other parties.
- Another metric of the BJP's hegemonic status is **the party's significantly improved standing in the Rajya Sabha.** From a paltry 5 percent of Rajya Sabha seats in 1984, its representation grew to 22 percent in 2008 before falling back to 17 percent in 2014. Since then, its share has shot up and in **2017, for the first time, the BJP's tally surpassed that of the Congress.** As of July 2019, the BJP's share stood at 32 percent as compared to the Congress Party's 20 percent share.

REDUCTION IN POLITICAL FRAGMENTATION

- As the dominant-party era gave way to the onslaught of coalitions, there was a surge in the number of political parties contesting elections.
- In India's inaugural general election in **1952**, **fifty-five parties** fielded at least one candidate. That figure grew exponentially in the mid-to-late **1980s** as **117** entered the fray in 1989.
- There were **two factors** behind this growth:
 - First, **regional and caste-based parties multiplied** in proportion to the degree of **popular disenchantment with the Congress Party**.
 - Second, as **coalition governance became the default** position in New Delhi, **political entrepreneurs** had every incentive to strike out on their own and form new political parties. With just a small clutch of seats, a single party could be the pivotal party required to form a parliamentary majority – making the party leader the ultimate kingmaker.
- By **2009**, **candidates from 370 political parties contested** parliamentary elections.
- Political fragmentation in India today appears to be as strong as ever. The number of **parties represented in Parliament has remained in the upper thirties** for two decades: thirty-six parties are currently represented in the Lok Sabha.
- In order to derive a **more accurate measure of political fragmentation**, political scientists prefer to calculate the effective number of parties, which essentially weighs **parties by the number of votes (or seats) they actually earned**.

WEAKER, NOT STRONGER, POLITICAL COMPETITION

- One way of measuring the degree of competition is to look at the average margin of victory – that is the difference in the vote share of the winner and the immediate runner-up – across parliamentary constituencies in a general election.
- In **1962 and 1967**, the average margin of victory was **between 13 and 15 percent**.
- **After 1977**, margins steadily came down over a period of several decades. By **2009**, the average margin of victory sunk to its lowest level in the post-independence era: **9.7 percent**.
- The average margin in **2014** grew to **15.2 percent** – the highest level since 1989, the first year of the coalition era.
- In **2019**, margins touched **17.3 percent**.
- **Another way** is to examine the **vote share of the winning candidate**.
- Between **1977 and 1989**, the average vote share of the winning candidate **never once fell below 50 percent**.
- After falling to a **historical low of 44 percent in 2009**, the average winner's vote began to creep back up – first to **47.1 percent in 2014** and once more cracking the **50 percent threshold in 2019** for the first time since 1989.

WEAKENING FEDERALIZATION OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS

- In the third-party system, **general election verdicts often resembled a collection of state-level verdicts**. This interaction had several components, as laid out by **Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar**:
 - **National-level political competition in each state** was a **reflection of the dynamics associated with that state's politics**.
 - **National elections** were regularly **influenced by state level political calendars**.
 - The **degree of political participation in Lok Sabha elections** largely mirrored participation in state-level politics.
 - Finally, the **performance of state governments** was an **important determinant of voter behavior in national elections**.
- As Yadav and Palshikar pointed out, **this does not mean that national political choices were "duplicative" of choices made in the state political arena**; however, it does mean they were **"derivative."**
- With respect to the electoral calendar, **a certain pattern** had taken root in the third-party system, as documented by **Nirmala Ravishankar**:
 - **If a national election is held in the first year of a state government's tenure, the ruling party in the state has a greater probability of performing well** when that state votes.
 - This **honeymoon effect lingers** through the state government's **second year in office, after which incumbency becomes a liability**.
 - **In year three** of a state government's tenure and beyond, the **shine wears off**.
 - The **party then begins to underperform in national elections** and this **anti-incumbent "penalty"** grows as the distance from the state election grows.
- **Recent data** points suggest that state and national verdicts have become **partially decoupled**.
- This leads to the second **important break with the past**.
- In both the **2014 and 2019 elections**, BJP managed to **presidentialize a parliamentary election** by making the election principally a vote on his **leadership**.
- Here, there was **not a single opposition leader who had the stature or popularity** to favorably compete head-to-head with Modi.
 - A central component of what **people were voting for is Modi's leadership** – the belief that he is a decisive leader, is incorruptible, and operates with the **national interest at heart**.
 - On the campaign trail, Modi was **explicit in rallying supporters** with the plea that a **vote for the BJP is a vote for Modi**, irrespective of whose name actually appears as the local candidate on the ballot.

- Another **aspect of weakening federal character** of elections is **the change in the balance of power between national and regional parties**. Between 1996 and 2014, voters in India have been evenly divided between the two big national parties – the Congress and BJP – and other regional parties.
- As a general rule of thumb, 50 percent of the vote has traditionally gone to the two national parties while the remaining 50 percent has accrued to hundreds of regional players. In 2009, the share of the regional party vote peaked at 52.6 percent. In 2014, that share dipped to 48.6 percent
- While the **Congress earned roughly 20 percent** of the vote in each of the past two elections, the grip of **regional parties has declined** sharply – and this has **redounded to BJP's benefit**. In 2019, the regional party vote share plummeted to 43.2 percent.

Regional parties are a highly heterogeneous category.

- Broadly, they can be divided into **two groups**:
 - On the one hand, **parties that are only electorally relevant in a specific region but may have larger national ambitions**.
 - E.g. caste-based parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Samajwadi Party (SP), and the Janata Dal (United) (JD[U]) – **largely concentrated in the**
 - On the other hand are **“regionalist parties”** that may have a geographically circumscribed catchment area but whose political **mobilization rests on appeals to their state's regional pride, culture, language, and customs**.

HEIGHTENED VOTER MOBILIZATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

- A **fifth characteristic of the third party system** was the **relatively subdued level of voter turnout** in national elections, especially compared to the level of voter interest activation in state elections. Voter turnout in India's first party system averaged 60.1 percent, with high turnouts in the first two general elections.
- Turnout over this period (1967–1984) averaged around 59.6 percent. In the third party system (1989–2009), turnout averaged around 59.1 percent.
- From this perspective, **2014 exhibits a clear break in voter turnout, when India recorded its highest turnout, at 66.4 percent**.

This degree of voter mobilization was undoubtedly a reflection of **two factors**:

- **Widespread frustration with the incumbent Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) regime and**
- **The excitement around the candidacy of Narendra Modi.**

In 2019, according to data provided by the Election Commission of India (ECI), **67.2 percent of eligible voters cast** their ballots. An average turnout of 66.8 percent in the past two elections demonstrates **a clear break with the third-party system** and what came before.

- **Narrowing gap between national turnout and state turnout.**
- **Before** the start of the third system, national turnout regularly exceeded state turnout.
- In the **coalition era**, **state turnout skyrocketed** while national turnout remained steady. By the **mid-2000s**, **state turnout was exceeding national turnout by an average of 10 percentage points**. This gap shrunk, to less than 4 percent between 2013 and 2017.

A final aspect of voter turnout is the gender breakdown.

- Since electoral statistics began accounting for gender in 1967, there has been a clear gender gap in turnout whereby women's participation has lagged far behind men's.
 - From 1967 to 2004 : Women's turnout 8-12 percent points lower than men's.
 - As the third party system waned, the gap between 2004 and 2009 decreased by 50 percent.
 - The decline grew more intense in 2014, when the gap shrank to 1.8 percent.
 - In 2019, for the first time in Indian electoral history, male and female turnout rates were virtually at parity (the gap was a negligible 0.1 percent).
 - This change is likely a combination of demand-side and supply side shifts:
 - Growing female education and empowerment
 - A more dense information environment
 - ECI's stepped-up efforts to reduce the gender turnout gap
- However, conditional on being registered, women are now turning out to vote at rates equal to men.
- This is having important **impacts on the nature of political campaigning** in India as parties are increasingly tailoring their outreach and messaging to cater to female voters.

CASTE AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION

- As Yadav points out, in the **first electoral system**, the most salient social category for politics was jati (one of thousands of discrete caste groups that reside within the umbrella categories of upper caste, OBC, SC, and so on).
 - In the **first party system**, **jati** was highly embedded within a particular local context.
 - **Second party system**- as Yadav notes, jati-level identities retained their importance, but changes in the political environment meant that political parties worked to build state-wide alliances of individual jatis in order to construct a minimum winning coalition.
 - **Third party system**- jatis lost their salience as the debate shifted to the umbrella-like varna groupings in the wake of the Mandal Commission report and its aftermath. During this period, categories of "OBC" and "Dalit" took on newfound importance.

- **The fourth party system-** these larger umbrella groupings consisting of multiple jatis appear to have lost their import. Instead, politics has returned to the construction of jati-level alliances, as in the second party system – but with a twist. One of the BJP's great successes in many north Indian states, including Uttar Pradesh, has been to undermine the larger caste categories in an effort to create a wedge between dominant jatis and subordinate groupings.
- But the fourth party system **also heralds a shift on a second dimension of social identity.** The rise of Mandal politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s, along with pro-Dalit parties like the BSP, had a clear effect on the sociology of power.
- What is also striking is the **dwindling numbers of Muslims elected to the Lok Sabha from these states.** In 2019, the BJP did not give a single ticket to a Muslim candidate in the Hindi belt (for comparison's sake, the Congress nominated eleven Muslims from the same set of states).

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE BJP'S POWER

- **BJP AS SYSTEM-DEFINING PARTY**
 - One of the **defining characteristics of the second party system** in which the Congress featured as the dominant power was that national election verdicts functioned as referenda on Congress rule.
 - As **Yadav** explains, “[a] typical verdict in this period took the form of a **nation-wide or sometimes state-wide wave for or against the Congress.**
 - The **local specificities** of the constituency simply **did not matter.”**
 - **Major parties contesting the 2019 elections,** with relatively few exceptions, positioned themselves as **either supportive of Modi and the BJP or vehemently opposed** to them.
 - While the **opposition did not succeed in either creating a nationwide coalition** to tackle the BJP, it **did forge** a series of **state-specific alliances** that were explicitly constructed on an anti-BJP platform.
 - In the end, the opposition's machinations utterly failed to contain the BJP's rise, but the political formations on display were largely in reaction to the **BJP's own standing- The very definition of a system-defining party.**
 - State elections held **between 2014 and 2019- For the BJP,** the party more often than not refused to project a chief ministerial candidate, instead preferring to **campaign on the backs of Modi's personal popularity** as prime minister.

IDEOLOGICAL HEGEMONY

- **Suhas Palshikar** characterized BJP under Modi as a classic example of a hegemonic political party.
- He defined **hegemony** as having **two components:**
 - **Ideology**
 - **Electoral Performance**

- According to Palshikar, **BJP's twin emphases on Hindu nationalism** and what he calls a **"new developmentalism"** have allowed the party to **saturate the political space in India**.
- This has been made possible, in part, by the fact that the **Congress Party's legacy of secular nationalism appears to have fallen out of favor** and that the **BJP has adopted many of the Congress Party's welfarist policies**.
- The party has **developed a new, nationalist narrative**. To reduce this narrative to one of **Hindu nationalism would be inaccurate**; the party's pro-Hindu views are but **one element of its overall nationalist discourse**.
- Broadly, this narrative has **three elements**:
 - In the 2014 and 2019 general election campaigns, the party **selectively deployed Hindutva** (Hindu nationalism) in parts of the country where the party felt it would help **consolidate their electoral base**. Over the past two decades, the BJP has made sincere efforts at broadening its demographic base beyond a small sliver of Hindu upper castes and trading communities to include Dalits (Scheduled Castes), OBCs, and Adivasis (Scheduled Tribes) by using memes such as **Ram Mandir, cow protection, and illegal immigration to transcend caste divisions among Hindus**.
 - In recent years it has made use of a **more amorphous nationalism centered on territorial sovereignty, loyalty to the nation, and resentment towards traditional liberal elites**.
 - Devesh Kapur noted, **"Its nationalism is unapologetic about India's Hindu roots, and it is prepared to be more assertive in defense of what it regards as its national interests - even if it means redefining the idea of the 'nation.'"**
 - Modi, towards the conclusion of the 2019 campaign, boasted of his independence from the elite **"Khan Market gang"** that had dominated the corridors of power for decades.
 - The **final strain of nationalism** has to do with a **muscularity abroad and a reclaiming of India's rightful place in the world**.
 - For the first time in recent memory, voters on the campaign trail routinely told reporters that this **election was more than a battle between partisan contenders, it was a battle "desh ke liye"**
- **Aside from nationalism**, the BJP has also managed to dominate the **discourse on the economy and economic development**.
 - **Three ideas** have been central to the BJP's posture:
 - First, the Modi government is **unabashedly pro-business** and the prime minister has contrasted this with the Congress' record – particularly in the final years of its second stint in office between 2009 and 2014 – of **policy paralysis and burdensome regulation**. Although Modi has not emerged as the pro-market reformer, he has been much more consistent about hewing a pro-business line, especially with regards to indigenous Indian business.
 - Second, Modi has **brandished his bona fides as the ultimate anticorruption reformer**. The hallmark of this fight was his government's decision in November 2016 to invalidate 86 percent of India's currency in an effort to squeeze black money circulating in India.

- Third, he has also refashioned his own image as the **architect of India's modern welfare state**. If Modi's first pivot was to transition from Hindu strongman to *vikas purush* (development hero) in the latter years of his tenure as Gujarat chief minister, his second pivot has been to shift from a leader who talked incessantly about the middle class, jobs, investment, and growth to one whose main message centers on welfare.
- **Modi's pro-welfare emphasis** has placed the **Congress on the back foot** for a simple reason: many of the schemes he has invested in were **essentially schemes the Congress set up**. What **Modi** did was **rebrand** them, scale them up, and give them priority status in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). At root, many of these welfare schemes emerged from Congress Party blueprints.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND FINANCIAL PROWESS

- A political machine gave the BJP the ability to project Modi as a **leader with unimpeachable credentials**, to deliver its nuanced messages of nationalism to different target audiences, and to parry the opposition's jibes.
- Under the tutelage of BJP President Amit Shah, the party has built a **well-oiled party machine** that is organized down to the level of the **panna pramukh**—literally a party worker who is in charge of **an individual panna (page) of the voter roll linked** to a neighborhood polling station.
- Furthermore, the BJP owns a first-mover advantage insofar as **integrating technology with campaigning** is concerned. E.g.: **Facebook to SMS to WhatsApp** to build cohesion among its workers, between voters, and between workers and voters.
- **BJP's financial advantage**- BJP's advantage over Congress when it comes to corporate funding stood at twenty to one in 2018.
- In 2018, the government also formally unveiled a new mechanism of political giving, known as **electoral bonds**. Based on information acquired through a Right to Information Act request, 95 percent of the bonds purchased in 2017–2018 accrued to the BJP's accounts.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

- It could be argued that both the **2014 and 2019 elections were Modi's victories rather than the BJP's**.
- In the **2014** race, the BJP encountered a perfect storm of **anti incumbency against the ruling Congress, economic malaise**, a pervasive sense of **policy paralysis**, and **lackluster leadership** on the part of the Congress.
- At that time, **Modi** also enjoyed (apart from being a charismatic opposition leader) a well-regarded **reputation as a no nonsense, pro-business economic reformer**—was able to take the country by storm.
- Modi's favorability has to be seen in the context of **a general dearth of popular, charismatic leaders among opposition forces**.

CONCLUSION

- Since 2014, India has embarked on a new chapter in its political evolution.
- Gone are the days of Congress dominance, but **India's grand old party has clearly been replaced by a new, formative political force** in the BJP.
- With the **2019** general election, it is now clear that India is in the midst of a **new, dominant-party system**.

- The dawn of this **fourth party system** raises **important questions** that deserve greater exploration by political scientists in the years to come.
 - First, **how do economic indicators shape voting behavior** For decades, it was believed that good economics did not make for good politics in India.
 - A second issue that deserves greater scrutiny is the **role of caste**.

There are broadly **two conceptions of Indian electoral politics**:

- First- is that **elections are mainly about arithmetic**, or the ability of political parties to amass support from a sufficient number of castes or communities to get a minimum winning coalition.
- The second conception is that **elections are about chemistry**, rather than arithmetic. In other words, leadership, messaging, coalition dynamics, and so on trump purely identity-based calculations in which a party's popularity can be measured merely with reference to the vote banks that have traditionally supported it.
- A third area relates to **role of political campaigns**. Both the 2014 and 2019 elections suggest that campaigns have a material impact on voter behavior. For instance, it is indisputable that the **tensions between India and Pakistan helped bolster the BJP's case for re-election** even while it is very much disputed how significant this factor was in terms of votes and seats.

Part - C5

Social Movements in Modern India

- Peasants and farmers movements.
- Women's movement.
- Backward classes & Dalit movement.
- Environmental movements.
- Ethnicity and Identity movements.

A social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either formal or informal organisation that is generally oriented towards bringing about change either partial or total in the existing system of relationship, values and norms.

- Social movements
 - Integrate
 - Highlight
 - Safety valve | Mediator

Peasants and farmers movements

- Eric Wolf considers that peasants are population that are extensively involved in cultivation and make customary decisions regarding the process of cultivation
- Peasant movements
 - When people living in village communities practicing small time subsistence agriculture cutting across caste; rebel against taxation policy, nature and form of land control, introduction of new technology, eviction of land etc.
 - Such kinds of organized protest are identified as peasant movement.
 - Therefore, social mobilization centering on the question of distribution of land, land related taxes, problems of rural labour comes under the jurisdiction of farmer and peasants movements.

Teodore Shanin

- Paradoxical social identity. Usually subordinate, marginalized. Culturally unsystematic, unreflective, little tradition. Subsistence Economy. Politically driven by outsiders. Caste obstructs Farmer Movements.

AR Desai

- Before Independence -: Peasant movement | After Independence -> Agrarian Movement.

K.K. Sarkar

- Tebhaga, AP + Land grab, UP
- Caste gave death to movements

Barrington Moore

- Supports the view that caste obstructs Peasant movements.
- (People fight for own castes only).
- Peasant Movement in India can be broadly categorized into 3 schools of thought
 - Peasant movement absent- (Barrington Moore and Hayke)
 - Peasant movement in India is absent and social change in India is different on that of feudal Europe and Socialist China.
 - Believes that Peasant Movement would never be possible in India because Indian peasantry is not driven by objective class consciousness.
 - The subjective consciousness driven by religion, caste and language divide the Indian peasantry ---> many peasants consider that terms and condition imposed by landlords acceptable.
 - Therefore, Indian agriculture prior to or after independence is neither feudal nor capitalist.
 - Critics
 - ❖ communal consciousness is elastic in nature
 - ❖ Champaran Satyagraha e.g.

- No objective class consciousness
- Only subjective class consciousness Driven by Religion caste Language.
- Landlords' conditions acceptable
 - Similar to Europe- (e.g.; Marxist like Gail Omvedt, Hardiman, Ashok Rudra and others)
 - ❖ Peasant Movement in India is more or less similar to Proletarian movement as in case of feudal Europe.
 - ❖ different Peasant Movement in India prior to Indian independence emphasized on common economic agenda like abolition of intermediaries, improvement in infrastructural conditions for agricultural pursuits, rebellion against excessive taxation. Formation of village cooperative, abolition of forced labour, fixation of rent on the basis of produce and other related economic issues. They also argue that excessive exploitation leading to marginalization of millions of peasants, in India offer conducive platforms for the mobilization of peasantry in Indian society. Therefore, Peasant mobilization in India carrying different names, organized by different leaders, appearing in different geographical regions unified the deprived sections of society. Hence it is a form of organized class movement.
- Similar to feudal Europe
- Common Economic agenda against -> Intermediate, Bad agri Infra, Excessive Taxation
- Movement organized
 - Nationalist perspective- (Nationalist perspectives of Dhanagere, Ashok Gadgil).
 - ❖ Indian peasantry is not an economic class. Therefore, peasants are microscopic unit of macroscopic Indian society. Peasant Movement should be considered as a foundation to national movement than being a struggle for procuring right over land or produce
 - ❖ They consider that nationalist movement in India started with agrarian question and ultimately contributed for making independence India This school of thought indicated that anti-colonial work started from villages and expanded to macrostructure of Indian social and political life.
- Peasantry not an eco. Class
- Micro. Unit of Macro Indian soc.
- Foundation to INM (Not fight for land or Produce)
- Anti - colonial work started in villages
- Transition from peasant to farmer movements
 - Most of the Peasant Movement from 19th century to 1920 --> reflexive, issue based, temporal and community-oriented movements which demanded concession than asking for structural change.
 - These movements cannot be considered as class consciousness in Marxian sense of the term as not driven by crystallized ideology asking for complete breakdown of economic structure.

- However, after 1920 integrative, articulate, issue-based farmers movements demanded complete social change and alternation in control are Mode of production.
- A shift from subclass movement to class movement'. P.C. Joshi indicates that a shift from Peasant Movement to farmer movements speaks about change of feudalist India to capitalists India.

From Peasant to Farmer Movements

Before 1920	After 1920
- Issue based	Integrating
- Temporary	change structure
- Community based (less spread)	Alter control, MoP

- Post-Independence movements

- 1. Gadgil --> Rising farmer Movement in India that can be attributed to capitalist adventure like green revolution and growth of co - operative in Indian agriculture.
 - Green revolution has consolidated rich and middle classes. These classes have developed frontal organization to protest safeguard their interest. One such of is the rise of 'Bharathiya kisan union' as pressure group extracting varieties of benefits in favour of privileged section of Indian Peasantry.
 - Kannan finds out most co - operative movements have offered privilege to the rich and middle peasants who have larger share of cooperative holding and ultimately got benefitted i.e., justified by their frontal political organization.

Farmer Movements

- GR - Growth of co op. in agri.
 - In contemporary, India farmers are committing suicide in different parts of country as the targeted benefits for the farmers are pocketed by the rich peasantry
 - ❖ Chakravarti calls this hegemonic domination is persistent in India is reacted by the landless masses in terms of popular mobilization like people's union for civil rights. Peoples union for democratic rights and Maoist movement in different parts of country
- Suicides by Margined farmer.: benefits pocketed by rich Peasant (Hegemonic Domination)

Women's Movement

- Gender Equality: 4 dimensions (by oxford university)
 - Redressing Disadvantage
 - Countering stigma & violence
 - Transforming Institution (social)
 - Facilitating Political Participation
- Neera Desai: WM is sustained, collective action for achieving quality.

Women's Movement

- Pre-Independence
 - Led by males
 - Lacked participation of women
 - But were meant for women -> RRMR, ICV, Malabari (exceptions - Pandita Ramaba; Sarojini Naidu)
- 1920's
 - Women's India Association
 - Emergence of Gandhi & Non-violence
 - All India women's conference
 - Increased participation of women in outside activities related to freedom struggle
- After Independence
 - Constitution ensured protective discrimination
 - But far below expectation.
 - Led to movements in 1960s
 - Various conference in UN related to women's empowerment
 - Started people's movement along with activities of the state
- Gail Omvedt
 - ◦ ideologies
 - Women's equality movement -> Equality in P, E, S
 - Women's Liberation movement - wants change of structure -> Challenges P, E, S
- 1960's -> Intellectual liberation movement
 - 3 heads (Economic)
 - Developmental movements -> Eco. + Education status (SEWA, Lijjat Papad, coir movement worker)

- Ecological women movement Eco-Feminism - Women Problems related with ecological degradation (Chipko, Vesa Virar)
- Issue based (mainly launched by NGOs, civil society)
- Anti - Dowry Anti - Liquor (Andhra Pradesh) | Intendence rights
- Anti - rape, Safety movement | Anti-feticide
- India still fighting for Equality.
- Other points -> SHG, SEWA, MFIs, MNREGA
- Impact of these movements
 - Increased participation in employment
 - PNDT Act - DV Act
 - Increased awareness of ecology
 - Increased political participation in PRIs | ULBs
- Post - 1990s
- Participatory movement
 - Better Socio - economic indicators of women
 - Increased women leadership (reservation in parliament, corporates)
 - Increased participation in higher education.
 - MFIs, MNREGA.
- Honourkilling
 - Honour & shame are vested in the bodies of women, through which communities of men interact.
 - Case studies: Alex Miller -> Jordon | Sind -> Jajma Noor | Caste, Gender, Patriarchy -> Nikunj Gupta
- Reasons
 - Cultural Lag - Ogborn, Nimk off - Nouveau Riches because of GR, LR but no change in tradition, patriarchy.
 - Attempt to oppose Modernity
 - Gunnar Mydral -> Normative vs Instrumental
 - Parsons: Institutionalized vs internalized
 - AB improvisation -> caste + class + Party + Gender

Backward caste & Dalit Movement

- Backward caste & Dalit Movement: Varna gives Backward, forward castes.
- MSA Rao: 3 types of BC Movements
 - Brahmins vs Non – Brahmins (South India) (Shudra – Dalit together) (Justice Party DMK)
 - Brahmins & upper Non – Brahmins vs lower Non – Brahmins (excluding Dalits) (OBC movement)
 - Dalit vs All
 - Pure Dalit Movement: Radical by Dalits themselves. SNDP
 - Sanskritisation specific (to get higher status) (Nadir Movement, TN, Ramgarhian, Pb)
 - Socio – Religious Reform (leadership outside) (Arya Samaj, Gandhi, Sikhism, Bhakti, Buddhism,
 - Conversion mvments (Islamic, Christian, Buddhist)

Q. Is there a rise of consciousness of being exploited?

- Yes:
 - Status diff. b/w converts & non – converts
 - Western education bringing ideas of equality
 - New occupations (leading to sharing of spaces with upper castes, them protesting)
 - Modern Institutions professing equality
 - Urbanization
 - INM, Socio – Religious Monmt. Brought consciousness
- Methods used
 - Protests
 - Agitation
 - Violence
 - Parallel Legitimacy (SNDP)
 - Changing cultural Practices (sanskritisation)
 - Acquiring Political Power (Justice Party DMC)
 - Getting Govt. jobs
- Post-Independence Fund of BCM
 - Disappearance of sanskritisation in ritual sense.: of reservation (though continued in lifestyle ways)
 - After Mandal: Skt. Even ceased in OBCs

- Relevance of socio-religio Mvmnts decreased
- But law failed to bring social change -> New BCMs, Acquiring Political Power as aim
- Rise of Dalit Panther, RPI, BSP (Social Engg.) (vertical + horizontal fusing of castes)

Other important things to know about BCM

- Backward Classes generally refers to all socially and economically deprived sections of the society.
- British used the term depressed classes later supreme court classified that the term classes can be equated with caste and hence depressed classes refers to SC and ST while other depressed sections refers to OBCs.
- Backward Class movement are mostly found in West and South while in North India there has been Backward Class mobilisation but not movement ---> because
 - The traditional caste Hierarchies in North was not so rigid as it got weakened after Bhakti movement and Islam
 - Brahmins did not rule the secular hierarchy as well (Islamic rulers)
 - They were rarely the dominant landlords while Jats and Ashraf Muslims were economically dominant. Also, Vaishyas were largely the owners of commercial capital.
 - Hence dispersed inequality was present in north.
- In case of South India ritual hierarchy was very rigid.
 - Stratification was cumulative as brahmins dominated the secular as well as ritual hierarchy 2
 - Most graduated from Brahmins in Madras presidency (consisting only 3% of the population and 66% graduates)
 - Even freedom struggle leaders- mostly all came from Brahmins (Iyengars)
- Backward Caste movement concentrated in two areas
 - Bombay Presidency
 - Madras Presidency
- Satya Shodhak Samaj
 - Jyotiba Phule belonging to a gardener caste launched Satya Sodak Samaj as an anti caste ,anti Brahmin movement.
 - Brahmins were mainly outsiders and non brahmins were original inhabitants who could be united. (Aryan invasion theory?)
 - He advocated for Shudra, Adi Shura unity.
 - He said that upliftment of Shudras and Adi Shudras is prime importance than freedom from British rule.
 - This strategy was that two enemies cannot be fought at same time.
 - So he was ready to align with British to fight against Brahmins.

- But he also criticised British for they caused indebtedness of the farmers.
- Gail Omvedt says that Phule's solution for the upliftment of the marginalized is strikingly modern for example as he recommended bio tech, watershed development dams, inter breeding of animals for HYV of milk, and woolen which are far ahead of his time.
- He also emphasized on Vidya (secular education) and not on Shastra (religious education)
- However, Omvedt and Herald Gould consider that Sathya Sodak Samaj was not a reform movement rather it is a transgressive movement (transformation through aggression) and this is the foundation to dalit movement initiated by Ambedkar
- David Hardiman--> argues that Sathya Sodak Samaj and subsequently the initiatives undertaken by Ambedkar has been instrumental for the rise of sub altern movement in West India.
- Self-Respect Movement
 - Political Education of low castes Tamil
 - Do away with superstitious & beliefs
 - Women rights
 - Homes for orphans & widows + their education
 - Found support from Reddy, Kammar (AP) + vokkaligas, lingayats (Kain)
 - Also, Muslim, Christians supported, ∴ they also disprivileged.
- "Swayam Maryada" - More concessions to non - brahmins, Swayam Maryada
 - Unlike socio religious reform movement -->self-respect movement was initiated as a sub altern movement.
 - Brahminic domination was absolutely exclusive in Tamil Nadu as they got the best from both spiritual and material world
 - Some enterprising educated middle caste non - Brahmins published the non - Brahmin manifesto in 1916 followed by a formation of South Indian Association in 1917
 - After Montague - Chelmsford reform South Indian Association was converted into "Justice party" to counter the political influence of congress.
 - Justice party
- AB -> SRM, Justice Party advocated Privileges
- Power through secular means
- Anti-hindu, Anti Brahmin
- First Justice Party then came
- EV Ramaswamy Naicker
- Asked for reservation

- Congress opposed
- Became anti – Brahmin, anti – congress, anti – Gandhi
- 1944
- Justice party + SRM
- Dravidar Kazhagam
 - No farmer attached to Brahmin should think that his life is a grace of brahmins rather it is the Brahmins who are dependent on non – Brahmins for their sustenance
 - Also focussed on family planning and education
 - Captured power in Madras province in 1920- Beginning of backward caste mobilisation as a political force
 - However, being a party of urban educated professional middle class was elitist in nature and failed to build a mass base.
- Coming of E.V. Ramasamy Naicker
 - He demanded special reservation for non-brahmins in assembly which was rejected by congress, so he came out with his own manifesto opposing Brahmins, Congress and Gandhi
 - He found self-respect movement in 1925 and advocated for denouncement of brahmins' supremacy
 - Hindu culture should be abandoned as it legitimizes the social hierarchy
 - In 1944 self-respect movement and justice party were merged into Dravidar Kazhagam under Periyar. He adopted a militant mass agitation strategy and advocated an equalitarian ideology condemning caste system.
- Gail Omvedt considers that self-respect movement exhibits protest against the Socio-cultural economic domination of brahmin through hinduism. Therefore, it is an anti – Hindu and anti-Brahmin sub altern movement.
- T.K. Oommen considers that self-respect movement is an attempt of the non-Brahmin in search of progressive modernity.
- M.N.Srinivas considers that when Brahmins monopolized over Sanskritisation the non-Brahmins wanted to capture secular power.
- T.N. Madan argues that self-respect movement is symbols of protest by numerous lower classes that are coming together asserting that Indian society can no longer stay hierarchical. It must cherish the values of democratic and equality but ultimately their consolidation gave way to linkage between caste and politics in India.
- M.S.A. Rao advocates that self-respect movement is a new start in the field of study of social movement because all caste movements prior to self-respect movement were reformatory and revisionary but self respect movement emerged as a reactionary movement with revolutionary ideology. (Pure Dalit Movement)

- Limitations
 - Contributed for intensification of regionalism, consolidation of caste politics nexus and strengthening of cultural consciousness
- It finally ended as a reservation movement that was later subjected to horizontal and vertical extension of reservation policy talking about how politics of reservation is predominating over sociology of reservation.

SNDP Movement: (Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalan)

- Parallel source of legitimacy
- MSA Rao - Not reformatory but a protest movement change in structure not change of structure of caste
 - In later part of 19th century with the spread of modern secular ideas, Izhavas under Narayanaguru reacted against the domination of Brahmins
 - Narayana Guru adopted a new ideology based on new interpretation of Hinduism ◦ M.S.A Rao argues that they adopted the strategy of caste withdrawal and self-organization.
 - He established parallel sources of legitimacy by creating new institutions like temples, priest, monastery etc
 - It also demonstrated that it was possible to remain within the fold of hinduism and yet escape from the stigma of untouchability.
 - The new awareness created among Izhavas by SNDP movement motivated them to take to modern education, in the long run enabled them access to modern occupation which carried high secular rewards.
 - Utsula Sharma in the book "The Dynamics of Caste" considers, SNDP is not a reformatory movement rather it is a protest movement
 - M.S. Rao argues that SNDP movement contributed for change in structure than change of structure of the caste.

Backward class movement in North India

- AB:
 - Yadavs with the help of myths -> Traced their genealogy
 - Mandal commission mobilized BCS
 - David Hardgrave - Class mobilization driven by caste interests
- Gandhi -> change heart of upper caste (Love)
- Ambedkar -> change the social structure (Law)

- Beteille in his book Backward Class and New Social Order advocates that unorganized Yadavs taking the supports of myths, forging their genealogies going for instituted mobilization and ultimately capturing the state power. He believes that Mandal commission has further led to the consolidation of mobilization of backward classes in north India.
- David Hardgrave, a Marxist, considers that backward mobilization in north India can be best understood as a form of class mobilization driven by caste interest. The BC's specifically the Yadavs speak more about their economy, education and social deprivations than speaking about caste injustice like dalit but ultimately the benefits reaching them is contributing for their secular consolidation both within and outside the power structure
- Pre independence
 - During freedom struggle Gandhi started Harijan movement in 1930s. He favoured a peaceful and gradual abolition of untouchability through introspection and change of heart on the part of upper caste.
 - To its contrast Ambedkar viewed untouchability as a political and economic problem, believed that caste-based inequality couldn't be rectified without changing the social structure itself. Further he adhered to the view that it was in the power of the state and its legislative instrument to start social change.
- Post-independence
 - Trust placed in new Indian government
 - But by the end of 1960s disillusionment among the dalits were obvious due to the failure of governmental reforms like land reforms and also party politics dominated. Hence dalits realised that reformist agenda of those in power would in no way alter the plights of dalits.
 - Ambedkar in 1954 formed the SC Federation--> Federation was converted it into Republican Party in 1956 to counter the congress. Also, Ambedkar assumed the leadership of Mahars movements to uplift the Mahars
 - Dalit Panthers movement
 - In 1970s Dalit Panther movement was launched by dalits of Maharastra led by educated Mahars following the Black Panther movement in USA. Dalit Panther Movement tried to build an alternative socio-cultural identity for the oppressed. Most of their activities were limited to publication of their ideas only. Hence it did not alter the social conditions of dalits drastically.
 - By 1980s and 90s socio cultural deprivation has declined due to the constitutional guarantee of abolition of untouchability under Article-17
 - Dalits moved on to fight against political exclusion
 - 1980s and 1990s dalits adopted the strategy of horizontal mobilization of depressed classes
 - Today due to their numerical strength and political empowerment they have become equal to brahmins

- Their status and political empowerment has also contributed for the softening of their militant struggle
- However economic empowerment of dalits is yet to come though political empowerment started as is seen in case of Bahujan Samaj Party
- Lancy Lobo considers that dalits are so powerless that they cannot defend themselves and they are so powerful that every political formation in India is skeptical about dalit mobilization.
- Herald Gould says that the rise of new India which respects democratic justice can best be explained in terms of dalit mobilization. He makes a comparison between dalit mobilization to working class movement considering that the former is driven by ideology and self-respect while the latter driven by time bound interest.
- Gail Omvedt considers that dalit movement in India is instrumental in promoting true social revolution. India there are present two kinds of poor - those who are incidentally suffering from poverty and those who are historically pushed into state of poverty. Dalit mobilization is addressing to the needs of culture-historical poor who are made poor for no faults of their own. Hence their self-assertion speaks about the protection of human right.
- Still
 - Nevertheless, political improvement of Dalit never does mean the mass Dalit empowerment rather it is only elite Dalit empowerment.
 - Dalit mobilization today is only in the formative stage. Once it matures it will have a major impact on the democratic politics of India.
 - Economic empowerment is still to come.
- (Poems recitation
- Politically empowered not economically
- Dalits -> Socially Powerless + Politically Powerful
- Rickshawallahs Of Lucknow
- Dalits vs working class -> Ideology, Interest
- 2 kinds of poor
 - Incidental
 - Historically pushed (With imposed Disabilities) → Dalit Movement for them
- Caste clustering, Dalit Elite, Tribal Elite.

Environmental movements

- Started with Bhopal gas tragedy.
- Pallakur District (Drought Prone)
- Anti – exploitation of natural resources
- Anti – dam
- Anti – Polythene
- Anti – Global warming
 - Environmental and public health have been struggles in India. The environmental movement in India began in 1980s. The biggest event that developed the movement was the Bhopal gas leakage on December 3, 1984. It released 40 tons of methyl isocyanate, killing 3,000 people and ultimately caused 15,000-20,000 deaths.
 - India has a national campaign against Coca Cola and [Pepsi Cola] plants due to their practices of drawing ground water and contaminating fields with sludge. The movement is characterized by local struggles against intensive aquaculture farms.
 - The most influential part of the environmental movement in India is the anti-dam movement. Dam creation has been thought of as a way for India to catch up with the West by connecting to the [power grid] with giant dams, coal or oil-powered plants, or nuclear plants.
 - Jhola Aandolan a mass movement is conducting as fighting against polythene carry bags uses and promoting cloth/jute/paper carry bags to protect environment & nature.
 - Activists in the Indian environmental movement consider global warming, sea levels rising, and glaciers retreating decreasing the amount of water flowing into streams to be the biggest challenges for them to face in the early twenty first century.
- Chipko, N.B.A., Mitti Bachao Andolan, Koel-Karo Andolan etc.
- Tawa Dam, MP - Salinity because of water Logging

The Reasons for Emergence of Environmental Movements in India?

- PESTE
- Eco – Feminism

Control Over Natural Resources. - (Economic)

- Control over natural resources is an important reason for emergence of environmental movement in India.
- Some good examples of these kinds of movements are like Chipko and N.B.A.
- In the first case, the reason for conflict was control over forest; whereas, in the second the reason was control over water.

- Chipko Movement
 - The movement started in the Garhwal Himalaya in April 1973. Between 1973 and 1980, over a dozen instances were recorded where, through an innovative technique of protest, illiterate peasants, men, women and children- threatened to hug forest trees rather than allow them to be logged for export.
 - Notably the peasants were not interested in saving the trees per se, but in using their produce for agricultural and household requirements. (Sustenance, survival)
 - In later years, however the movement turned its attention to broader ecological concerns, such as the collective protection and management of forest, and the diffusion of renewable energy technologies.
 - Inspired many other movements
 - Most of these conflicts have pitted rich against poor: Logging companies against hill villagers, dam builders against forest tribal communities, multinational corporations deploying trawlers against traditional fisher folk in small boats.
 - One important factor is that those poor peoples are solely dependent upon those natural resources for their survival hood. So, the changes in control of resources directly hamper their subsistence economy due to which their survival hood came in danger. Therefore, the protest of the people rises against those outsiders, which had ultimately taken the shape of environmental movement in many instances.

Political Reasons

- Displacement
- Promoting industrialization at the cost of people's discontent
 - After independence in 1947 --> it was assumed that the new government which was more aware of the Indian problems and was equally concerned for the people would definitely seek to eradicate all problems,
 - Observations of industrializations raised hopes but the government policies -- > only for industrialization without looking the environment and equal sharing of natural resources.
 - Displacement of people
 - Lot of displacement of people due to large projects such as dams like Bhakra – Nangal and many others.
 - These policies pushed the local people on the edges more often than not, the agents of resource intensification are given preferential treatment by the states through the grant of generous long leases over mineral or fish stocks, e.g., or the provision of raw materials at an enormously subsidised prices, with the injustice so compounded local communities at the receiving end of this process have no recourse except direct actions, resisting both the state and outside exploiters through a variety of protest techniques.
 - These new struggles are waged over gifts of nature such as forests, and waters, gifts that are coveted by all but increasingly monopolized by a few.

Socio-Economic Reasons

- Most of these areas are tribal dominated. (Niyamgiri [Niyam raj god])
- These people have strong beliefs regarding their forests, land and water.
- At the same time, they are also totally dependent upon these resources for their survival hood. • Ultimate recourse is the movement against those people who were harnessing those resources.

Environmental Degradation/Destruction

- Kundankulum's warm water will affect fish.
- Pollution due to thermal.

Environmental Awareness and Media

- The spread of environmental awareness and media has also played pivotal role in emergence of environmental movement.
- People were previously unaware of the importance of the environment. But as the environmental awareness increased due various reasons people started protecting their environment.
- Some e.g., are the local movements to protect the purity of different rivers such as Ganga and Yamuna.
- The greening of many Indian cities also comes under this category.
- The Bhagidari movement of Delhi is a good e.g. Of this kind of environmental movement.
- Media has also played an important role in sustaining theses movements.

Ethnicity and Identity movements.

- How an individual identifies itself with the group or society.
- Language, region, religion, caste, history
- Follows tradition when followed from generation to generation becomes ethnic identity
- Ethnicity & Nationalism: Equality is somewhat individualistic source of identity Nationalism is a rears of "we" feeling.
- Ethnicities may become a source of nationalism. (Khalistan, Dravid movmt)
- Ethnic movements: Mobilisation based on ethnic identities. In India -> Real, Imagined ethnicity. • Real -> comes naturally | Imagined -> People made to Believe.
- Reasons
 - Threat perception
 - In security
 - Discrimination
 - Marginalization
 - Contradiction ideologies.
- Paul Brass: 3 types

- Intra -> ethnic group: of sria - sunni, Protestant - catnous (not in India)
- Inter: Natinstic movement (shivsena, J&K -> Muslims & K.....)
- State vs Ethnic group: Most common in India | Multiple ethnic groups still not merged as one ration.
 - Identity is a flexible concept derived either from ascription or achievement.
 - Wilbert Moore --in traditional societies identities are drawn from primordial institutions (caste, religion, race) but modern societies identities are drawn from one's class or occupation
 - Societies Identity Tradition -> Primordial (caste, religion, race) Modern -> Class (Occupation) Ethnocentrism -> WG summer
- 2 schools of thought
 - Modernisation theory --> with the rise of modern societies common identities will be developed in terms of citizenship, nationalism, and patriotism
 - Primordialists--> primordial identities never die out at any point of time they are simply hidden in modern society.
- Indian experience with Identity movements
 - Dipankar Gupta says that identity focused movements can be arrested by time frames during independence
 - ❖ Initially
 - ❖ Linguistic
 - ❖ Tribal
 - ❖ Religious
 - Movement to creation of Pakistan on the basis of religious identity
 - Movement to create of separate state of Tamil Nadu on the basis of linguistic identity
 - Movement to create Nagaland the basis of Tribal identity
- During 1940s and 1950 these three movements used language, religion and ethnicity as a foundation to the identity-based movements over a period of time it was believed that these Identity Focussed Movements will die out by the acceleration of democracy
- It was expected that Democracy will weed out identity movements
- But still we have -> NE then Khalistan then Gorkhaland
 - But
 - ❖ Till 1970s Identity Focussed Movements were greatly concentrating in North East India manifesting as Naga, Mizo Kasi movements what gave rise to creation of new status, special central assistance and finally gratification of political dreams of local population.

- ❖ During 1980s Identity Focussed Movements got a new dimension in a form of Khalistan movement which is not a manifestation of economic deprivation
- ❖ After 1980s the other forms of Identity Focussed Movements articulated in India includes linguists movement in Assam started by AGP (Assam Gana Parishad) what consequently got transformed into a political party and Gorkhaland movement by Subhash Ghising

○ Conclusion

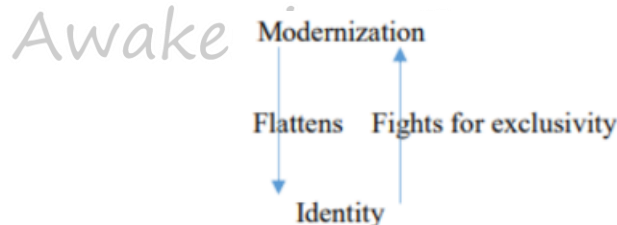
• Identity movements

○ Protection

○ Glorification

○ Revitalization

- Identity Focussed Movements may be driven by Protection, glorification and revitalisation of cultural identity
- Identity Focussed Movements may be driven by gratification of community interest or it may intend to replace old order by new order bringing new dominant class against old dominant class.
- Ashish Nandhi advocates that modernisation tries to flatten culture and communities of the group. But every culture wants to retain to exclusivity and uniqueness. Therefore, cultural revivalism is taking place. Religion, language, tribalism, and traditional culture are re-emerging as prime source of identity for men today. Hence more India goes for modernisation more Identity Focussed Movements are getting momentum.



- T.N. Madan considers that in India traditional identity cannot be forgotten due to the influence of modernity because dress, food, inter relationship, behavioural patterns are driven by culture. Therefore more India goes modern more elements of tradition will enter into the life of man from backdoors resulting in glorification of traditional identity by modern man of India who is a part of Indian politics, bureaucracy or academics and that is testimony to a the fact that Indian modernity is more Indian than modern.
- In India: Ethnic movements (Paul Brass)
 - Autonomy movement (Ladakh, Gorkhaland)
 - Separate state (Punjabi subba, Telengana)
 - Secessionist (Threat to national integration) (often violent) (Khalistan, Dravidian, Naga) ○ Samuel P. Huntigton (Clash of Civilisations)
 - War of ideologies is over.
 - All future wars -> based on identity.
- TN Madan + Ashish Nardy -> Both criticise secularization & elimination of Identity movements

Why the farmers are protesting

Why are farmers protesting against law which will supposedly 'help them'?

And why is no one talking about the details of implementation?

- The fear among farmers is that the next step in the agriculture reform process will be the doing away of government procurement process as well as the MSP
- Over the last week many of you have asked me to write on this particular topic. One gentleman even suggested on Twitter, perhaps sarcastically, that I was slacking. (I guess after this 3,800 word piece, he will clearly not say that).
- Well, I wasn't slacking. This is a complicated topic with multiple issues and because of that I was trying to read as much as I could, before offering my views on the issue. (Also, I might be writing more on the issue in the days to come).

What do the Bills which have been passed by the Parliament seek to achieve?

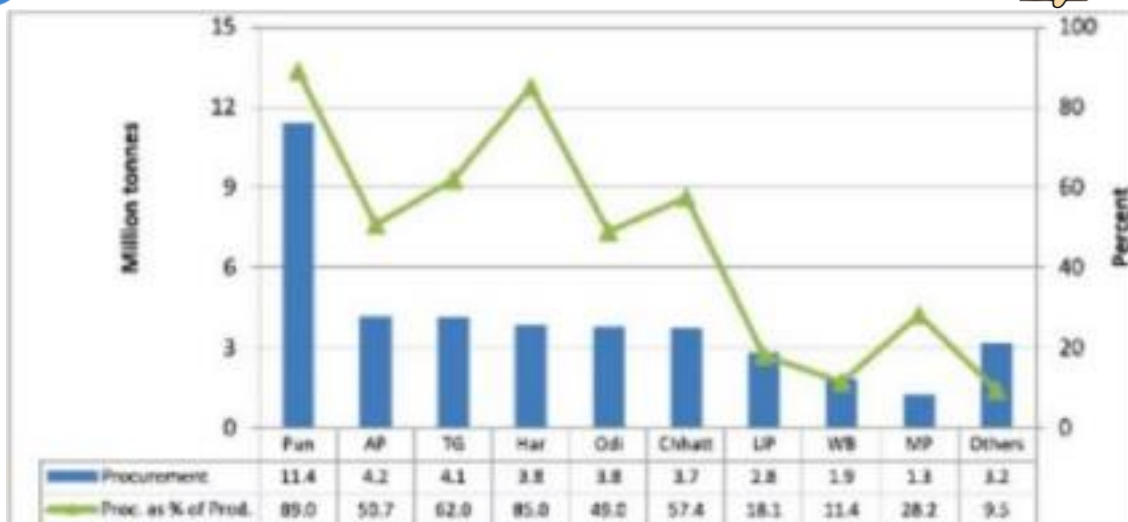
- Yesterday, the Rajya Sabha passed two out of the three Bills being referred to as the Farm Bills. These two Bills are the Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020, and the Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Bill, 2020.
- The Lok Sabha had already passed these Bills. There was some ruckus in the Rajya Sabha where the Bill was passed through a voice vote.
- The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020, allows the farmers to sell their produce outside the Agricultural Produce Market Committee (APMC) regulated markets. The APMCs are government-controlled marketing yards or mandis.
- This law allows farmers to sell their produce to cold storages, warehouses, processing plants or even directly to the end consumer (you and I, restaurants, hotels etc.) The state government is not allowed from levying any market fee, cess or any other levy in these other market places (or trade areas). In short, anything that the state government can do is limited to the physical area of the APMCs. The Bill allows intra-state trade and inter-state trade.
- So, the farmers clearly have more choice on who they want to sell. But they are still unhappy about it? Why? This is a question that will get answered in the piece.
- Now let's take a look at the other Bill. The idea behind Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Bill, 2020, is essentially to create a framework for contract farming. This needs an agreement between the farmer and a buyer, before the production happens. Of course, this hasn't gone down well with the farmers either.

Why are the farmers protesting?

- The passage of both the Bills hasn't gone down well with the farmers. In fact, farmers in Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, had been protesting even before the Bills were passed by the Parliament. Why has that been the case? Let's take a look pointwise.
- As mentioned earlier, the farmers of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, are the ones, primarily protesting. Hence, farmers across the country are not protesting against these Bills.

- The farmers of these states are primarily protesting because the government procurement infrastructure in these areas is very good. This is primarily because the Green Revolution of the 1960s started here. In order to encourage farmers to adopt a new variety of wheat, the government offered procurement through the Food Corporation of India and a minimum support price (MSP) to farmers, which was declared before every agriculture season. Since then, the system has evolved and the government sets an MSP on 23 agricultural crops, though it primarily buys only rice and wheat. In the recent years, it has bought some pulses and oilseeds as well.
- The fear among farmers is that the next step in the agriculture reform process will be the doing away of government procurement process as well as the MSP. This is going to primarily hurt the farmers from Punjab and Haryana, who benefit tremendously from this.
- The farmers who benefit from the government procurement process and MSP are medium and large farmers. As the document titled Price Policy for Rabi Season – The Marketing Season of 2020-21, published by the Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices 2020-21, which is a part of the Agriculture Ministry points out: “As indicated by data received from some states, medium and large farmers occupy a major share in total procurement in the State and share of small and marginal farmers, though improved during last few years, remain low.”
 - Hence, it's the bigger farmers who are protesting against the passage of these Bills. (It is important to make this distinction because the media is largely using the word farmers).
 - The government and Prime Minister Narendra Modi have assured that there are no plans to do away with government procurement or the MSP policy for that matter. The trouble is the protestors don't seem to be buying these assurances and there is good reason for the same.
- Why are the big farmers not buying the government's assurances? The answer perhaps lies in the fact that it is but natural that the next step in the process of reforming agriculture is reforming government procurement and the MSP policy.
 - As NITI Aayog's occasional paper titled Raising Agricultural Productivity and Making Farming Remunerative for Farmers published in December 2015, points out: “There is a need for reorientation of price policy if it is to serve the basic goal of remunerative prices for farmers. This goal cannot be achieved through procurement backed MSP since it is neither feasible nor desirable for the government to buy each commodity in each market in all region.”
 - This paper essentially had the philosophical underpinnings on which both the Bills we have been talking about are based. Also, if the government purchases and the MSP are done away with, there will be further danger of free power, fertiliser subsidy etc., being done away with as well.

- The MSP policy has led to excess production and excess procurement of rice and wheat by the government over the years. As of September 2020, the Food Corporation of India had 700.27 lakh tonnes of rice and wheat. As per the stocking norms for food grains, FCI needs to have an operational and strategic reserve of 411.2 lakh tonnes as of July and 307.70 lakh tonnes as of October. These massive stocks of rice and wheat are despite the government deciding to distribute a lot of rice and wheat for free to bring down the negative impact of the covid pandemic.
 - It has also led to farmers growing rice and wheat at the cost of other agricultural crops. As the NITI Aayog research paper referred to earlier points out: “Per capita intake and availability of pulses in the country has declined to two third since early 1960s. During the 50 years between 1964-65 and 2014-15, per capita production of pulses declined from 25 kg to 13.6 kg.”
 - Now, you cannot fault farmers for doing this. If they are incentivised to grow something, with a regular buyer available in the form of the government, they are bound to do that. Why take a risk, when a safer option where the government increases the price of rice and wheat every year, and buys what is produced, is available.
 - In fact, it is safe to say that if the government procurement is lowered (even without the MSP being done away with), the price of rice and wheat will fall. If private markets are established, it will fall even faster. This is something that the big farmers of Punjab and Haryana, don't want, hence, the protests. It is worth remembering here that the marginal and small farmers, who own land of less than two hectares, are largely consumers of food, and food inflation tends to hurt them.
- Let's look at how strong the incentives of big farmers of Punjab and Haryana are. As the document titled Price Policy for Kharif Season – The Marketing Season of 2020-21 points out:
 - “For example, more than 95 percent paddy farmers in Punjab and about 70 percent farmers in Haryana are covered under procurement operations while in other major rice producing States like Uttar Pradesh (3.6%), West Bengal (7.3%) Odisha (20.6%) and Bihar (1.7%), very small number of rice farmers benefit from procurement operations.”
 - In total, the procurement system reaches around 11.8% of the rice farmers. This explains by the protests are limited largely to Punjab and Haryana.
- Punjabis themselves eat very little rice. But the solid procurement system in place ensures that the Punjabi farmers grow a lot of rice.



- As can be seen from the above chart nearly 89 percent of the rice produced by the farmers in Punjab is procured by the government. In Haryana, it is 85%. Clearly, the farmers in Punjab and Haryana have a huge incentive in growing rice and doing away with price risk.
- The government procurement system and the MSP have essentially ensured that semi-arid areas like Punjab and Haryana, grow rice, a crop which needs a lot of water. And this has created its own set of problems. "Continuous adoption of rice-wheat cropping system in North-Western plains of Punjab, Haryana and West Uttar Pradesh has resulted in depletion of ground water and deterioration of soil quality, posing a serious threat to its sustainability." It also creates the problem of stubble burning during the winter months.
- How do things look for wheat, the other crop procured majorly by the government? Take a look at the following table

States	RMS 2017-18		RMS 2018-19		RMS 2019-20*	
	Procurement	Proc. as % of Production	Procurement	Proc. as % of Production	Procurement	Proc. as % of Production
Punjab	117.1	71.2	126.9	71.2	129.1	72.6
Haryana	74.3	64.4	87.8	81.6	93.2	80.0
MP	67.3	37.5	73.1	46.0	67.3	38.8
UP	37.0	12.3	52.9	16.6	36.4	11.3
Rajasthan	12.5	13.9	15.3	16.4	14.0	14.6
Bihar	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Others	0.2	0.2	1.6	2.0	0.6	0.9
All India	308.2	31.3	358.0	35.8	340.6	33.7

- As can be seen from the above table Punjab and Haryana are again the major beneficiaries when it comes to procurement of wheat. Uttar Pradesh is the biggest producer of wheat but only around 11-12% of its production gets procured by the government.

- As the NITI Aayog paper referred to earlier points out: “The pricing policy has also discriminated against eastern states where procurement at the MSP is minimal or nonexistent. With part of the demand in these states satisfied by subsidised PDS sales of the grain procured in other states, prices of wheat and rice in these states end up below what they would be in the absence of price interventions of the government. The price policy has thus also created a regional bias in crop pattern as well as incomes of farmers.” The fact that inequality has gone on for years is disturbing. But this does not mean that the government should procure more rice and wheat from these states as well.
- The other big fear among farmers, those representing them and many economists, is that large corporates will take over contract farming. The politicians suddenly want farmers to trust corporates and the market process, after spending decades abusing them. This is not going to happen suddenly, especially in an environment where there is big fear of large corporates taking over many other areas of business. All this is happening precisely at a time when the government has banned the export of onions. The messaging just isn't right, given that if the government trusted the market process, it wouldn't have banned the export of onions.
- Another reason that farmers don't trust corporates is the rise in their input costs. As the document titled Price Policy for Rabi Season points out: “The increase in cost of production was mainly driven by rise in farm input costs such as human labour, machinery, seeds, fertilisers, fuel, etc.” The belief is that this rise in prices is primarily because of the increasing corporatisation of the agri-input sector.
 - To conclude this section, the government procurement and the MSP were introduced in a certain time when India didn't produce enough food grains to feed itself. These are policies of a bygone era and help only big farmers in certain states, and hence, they are the ones protesting, despite the assurances by the government.

Will the government be able to do away with procurement and MSP?

- This is a tricky question. The procurement and the MSP system are one side of the equation, the supply side. On the demand side, the government sells the rice and wheat thus procured at heavily subsidised prices under the aegis of the Food Security Act, through lakhs of ration shops under the public distribution system.
- So, while the big farmers of Punjab and Haryana might feel that the government will do away with procurement and MSP, it is not possible at one go. What is possible is that the government can cut down on procurement, in order to ensure that FCI does not have to maintain excess stocks like it has over the last few years.
- The food subsidy system is a system which has been in place and which is much more complicated and much more spread across the country, than just the big-farmers of Punjab and Haryana. Also, with the covid pandemic, the importance of the food security system has clearly come to light. Actually, only once the government does away with the food security system can it do away with MSP and procurement. This is too big a challenge for any government.
- Theoretically, it's possible to do this and give cash handouts to people so that they can buy rice and wheat, but the political repercussions of doing away with food security the way it currently exists, is not something any government will be able to handle. It's too big a risk.

- This problem of government assuming something and farmers believing the opposite, can only be solved if the two sides talk it out. But that is unlikely to happen, given that the Bills have already been passed.

Reform by stealth

- Like has been the case with economic reforms in India in the past, this time was no different as well. The government resorted to reform by stealth and aggressively pushed the Bills through the Parliament, without either talking to the Opposition parties or farmer organisations.
- This has led to the firm farmer belief that MSP and government procurement will go in the next round of reform. If the government had tried to talk to the farmers before pushing through the Bills that might perhaps have helped.
- Secondly, if contract farming and trade markets other than APMC have to pick up, the state governments need to be on board as well. No corporate or businessman is going to attempt contract farming or setting up trade markets where agricultural produce can be sold by farmers, unless the state government is on board as well.
- Hence, some talking would have helped. But then that's not this government's style.

My views

- Let's take a look pointwise.
- There are multiple problems with the way the APMC markets across the country have been functioning. As the Sixty Second Report of the Standing Committee on Agriculture (2018-19), stated, highlighting some of the problems:
 - "Market Committees are reportedly democratic institution but in fact... [the] Committee is dominated by politicians and traders not by farmers as required."
 - "The provisions of the APMC Acts are not implemented in their true sense. For example, market fee and commission charges are legally to be levied on traders, however, same is collected from farmers by deducting the amount from farmers' net proceed."
 - "Market fee is collected in some States even without actual trade-transaction has taken place and simply on landing the commodity at processing units. While in other States trade transaction outside the market yard is illegal."
 - Once we take this into account, there is a clearly problem with the way APMCs function. Also, they restrict competition and tend to assume that the farmers are not smart enough to do their own thing (something that many politicians have made a career of). In that sense the freedom that these Bills provide the farmer are great.
 - Having said that, the absence of any regulation in non-APMC trade markets is not a good sign.

- Are the farmers going to benefit almost overnight, as is being projected on the social media in particular and media in general? The simple answer is no. It needs to be pointed out here that as per the Agricultural Census of 2015-16, 12.56 crore or 86.2% of India's operational holdings are small and marginal that is less than two acres in size.
 - Hence, most of the farmers really don't produce enough to be able to deal with any marketing system, the old one or the new one, in a direct profitable way. For such small farmers to be able to benefit and get a better price for their produce without selling to a middleman, all kinds of other infrastructure is needed. These include everything from more cold storages to improved roads connecting villages to the newer markets that come up, power supply which can be relied upon (so that a cold storage can function like one) and traders who compete to get
 - All of this is very important if farmers are to get a better price for their produce. A survey carried out by the Reserve Bank of India and published in the central bank's October 2019 bulletin found:
 - "The survey findings revealed that farmers' average share in retail prices vary across crops between a range of 28 per cent and 78 per cent [across 14 crops]. The traders' and retailers' mark ups were generally found to be higher for perishables than nonperishables." The Survey also found that "retailers' margins were generally higher than the traders' margins in consumption centres across commodities, possibly due to significant product loss at the retail stage, particularly for perishables."
 - In fact, the state of Bihar did away with the APMC Act in 2006 and didn't get anywhere near higher incomes for farmers, given that the basic infrastructure to get market transactions going was not available.
 - This is why all the other infrastructure mentioned earlier becomes important. And it can't be achieved without the active participation of the state governments.
 - Hence, communication between the central government and the state governments on this issue is very important. And that hasn't happened. Also, as usual, the central government hasn't gone into the details. It has talked about how the farmers will benefit and is driving home that narrative aggressively, without really talking about the all the practical issues that will keep cropping up. (Remember demonetisation? Remember GST? Why does this feel like déjà vu?).
- It is worth remembering that arthiyas (commission agents) who buy produce from farmers at APMCs, are locally influential people. Hence, assuming that parallel systems of buying and selling in the form of new trade markets, will come up automatically, is rather stupid. It is worth remembering that many arthiyas are themselves big farmers and can ensure that the system continues to work as it is. They might just move out of APMCs to avoid paying levies (which are very high especially in states of Punjab and Haryana at 8.5% and 6.5%, respectively). Everything else might continue to be the same. This depends on whether creation of new infrastructure is worth not paying the levy.

- This is why, at the cost of repetition, proper healthy communication between state governments and the central government becomes very important. Also, it will be interesting to see whether the central government continues to procure rice and wheat through the Food Corporation of India (FCI) at the APMC mandis in Punjab and Haryana, using arthiyas and paying levies amounting to 6.5-8.5%? Or will it choose to move out, thereby hurting the revenue stream of the state governments? (Did someone say cooperative federalism?)
- It is being assumed that buyers who currently buy from big commission agents, will start buying directly from farmers and let go of the middleman. There is a reason why these buyers buy from agents. It is convenient for them to do so. Do they want to take on the headache of building a new system right from scratch? Is it worth their time and money?
 - These are questions for which answers will become clearer in the days to come. But prima facie given the abysmal ease of doing business in most states, I see no reason why the buyers won't continue buying from the agents, instead of having to deal with many farmers. As mentioned earlier, a bulk of India's farmers are too small to benefit from any marketoriented system, unless they organise themselves in the forms of cooperatives and farmersproducer organisations.
 - Also, if governments really want to help these small and marginal farmers, they need to reform the change in land usage norms, and let farmers who want to sell their land be able to sell it anyone else and not just other farmers.
- There is great fear of Big Business taking over agriculture. As per the Agricultural Census of 2015-16, the number of medium and large operational holdings is at 63.16 lakh (A medium sized operational holding has an area of 4 hectares to up to less than 10 hectares. And a large sized operational holding has an area of 10 hectares or more). These are huge numbers we are looking at. Just imagine the kind of scale needed to deal with these many numbers of farmers. If just take a look at large operational holdings, they are at 8.31 lakh. Hence, it's not going to be easy for any corporate to do anything without involving middlemen.
 - If businesses just concentrated on states which have a higher proportion of medium and large operational holdings, they are looking at Punjab (33.21% of the total operational holdings), Rajasthan (19.47% of the total operational holdings) and Haryana (14.35%). Not surprisingly, farmers of Punjab and Haryana are worried. They would rather deal with the known devil, the government, who, they can always vote out in the next election. But how do you vote out a corporate?
 - To conclude, the central government clearly hasn't gone into the details of what will it take to really make the life of an average farmer better. As usual it is only interested in selling the narrative that the passage of these Farm Bills will ensure that farmers get a better price for what they produce. (Remember, the 50% higher MSP story they tried selling sometime back?)
 - When it comes to the opposition parties, they have managed to get low-hanging fruit to put the government on the mat after a while, and not surprisingly, they are cashing in on that.
 - Meanwhile, nobody is really worried about the farmer.

Part – C6

Population Dynamics

- Population size, growth, composition and distribution.
- Components of population growth: birth, death, migration.
- Population policy and family planning.
- Emerging issues: ageing, sex ratios, child and infant mortality, reproductive health.

Population size, growth, composition and distribution

Population size

- India second most populous country. 1.24 billion. ~17% global popln in 2.4% world area. • Growth rate not always high.
- 1901-51 ~ 1.33%pa
- 1911-21 = -0.03% (influenza epidemic)
- Substantially rose after british rule ended – 1961-81 = 2.2%
- Since then decreasing.
- (For religious still 2001 census is used)
 - Hindus – 80.5%.
 - Muslims – 13.4% etc.
- Sex ratio slightly improved.
- Every year a whole malaysia and australia is add to india's population.
- The problem of population growth is really a serious one as the increases in employment opportunities and other resources cannot keep up with increase in population.

Composition

- Gender Wise - The sex composition of india population shows that there are fewer females than males.
- Age-Group Wise - Nearly 40 % of india's population consist of those below 15 you're of age and about 5-6% of 60 years and above.
- This shows that nearly half of india's population is dependent upon those who are earners.
- The dependency of such a large part of the population adversely effects economics and social development.
- Saving and investment become almost negligible.

Components of population growth: birth, death, migration.

Components of population growth

- Demographic
 - Natural Growth (Birth rate, Death rate)
 - Artificial (In migration, out migration)
- Natural Components
 - Soil Fertility
 - Environment
 - Region (Push-Pull Factor)
- Socio-Cultural Components
 - Conscious Restrictions (late marriage because of education, employment, aspirations)
 - Unconscious Restrictions (Incest Taboo, widow Remarriage protest, Taboo on grandparents procreating)
- Before 1931 both death rates and birth rates are high whereas after this the death rates fall sharply.
 - The principal reasons are
 - Increased level of control over famines and epidemic diseases. The later cause was the most important.
 - Lack of adequate means of transportation and communication.
 - Amartya sen - famines were not necessarily due to fall in food grains production they were also caused by a failure of entitlements or the inability of people to buy or otherwise obtain food. (AAA)
 - Improvements in productivity of Indian agriculture.
 - Improved means of communication and
 - More vigorous relief and preventive measures by the state
- Nevertheless, starvation deaths are still reported from some backward region of the country.
- The NREGA, FSA are the latest state initiative to tackle the problem of hunger and starvation in rural areas.
- Unlike the death rate, the birth rate has not registered a sharp fall.
- This is because
 - the birth rate is social cultural phenomenon that is relatively slow to change.
 - by the large increased level of prosperity exerts a strong downward pull on the birth rate. (once infant mortality rates decline and there is an overall increase in level of education and awareness family size begins to fall.)
 - More working hands, because people are agrarian

- Less awareness about contraceptives.
- High IMR led people to go for high birth rate
- Taboo related to sterilization, abortions.
- There are very wide variations in the fertility rates across the state of India. Some states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu have fertility rate (TFR) of 2.1 and 1.8 respectively.
- This means that every woman in Tamil Nadu produces only 2.1 children which is the 'replacement level'.
- Some states notably Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh still have very high TFR of 3 or more. (NFR – only girls born).

Causes of High Birth Rate

- Customs of early marriage
 - It has been observed that persons who are married at an early age have more children.
 - Laws have been made from time to time to stop the practice of child marriage. It is illegal for a girl to marry before she attains the age of 18 years and for a boy the age of 21 year.
- Illiteracy
 - Education of woman is very important. It has been found that the families of illiterate women have more children.
 - Lack of Contraception knowledge
- Poverty
 - For the poor people more children mean additional hands to earn. These children remain illiterate and unskilled labour throughout their life.
- Preference for Male Child
 - This kind of attitude is found not only in the illiterate family but also among the literates. The desire for a male child results in having more children.
 - Rites & rituals in name of male child property inheritance.
- Unmanageable growth in population creates many problems
 - The country cannot provide nutritious food to its people.
 - Space and housing.
 - Unemployment grows
 - Standard of living decline.
 - Slum formation leads to sanitation issues
 - Increase in crime

- The problem is more acute in the rural area where the majority of our people live

Age Structure of The Indian Population

- Definition- The age structure of the population refers to the proportion of persons in different age groups relative to the total population.
- The structure changes in response to changes in levels of development and the average life expectancy. • Structure of Population is directly proportional to Development which leads to increased life- span. • Overall Global Population Growth Model
 - In a country, Initially
 - Lack of Medical facilities
 - Prevalence of disease and other factors make for a relatively short lifespan.
 - High infant and maternal mortality rates also have an impact on the age structure.
 - With development
 - Quality of life improves and with it the life expectancy also improves.
 - Relatively smaller proportions of the population are found in the younger age groups and larger proportions in the older age groups this is also referred to as the ageing of the population.
 - The dependency ratio rises. A rising dependency ratio is a cause for worry in countries that are facing an aging population.)
 - On the other hand, a falling dependency ratio can be a source of economic growth and prosperity due to larger portion of workers relative to the non-workers. This is referred to as the demographic dividend. However, this benefit is temporary.
 - India has a very young population. In future –
 - Age composition of the Indian population is expected to change significantly in the next 2 decades.
 - Most of this change will be at the 2 ends of the spectrum as 0 -14 age group will reduce its share by about 11 % while the 60 + age group will increase its share by about 5 %.
 - Right now, It needs to consciously exploit its demographic dividend through appropriate policies.
- Does the Changing Age Structure Offer A Demographic Dividend for India?
 - In 2020 the average indian will be only 29 years old compared with an average age of 37 in china 48 in japan.
 - A large and growing labour force which can deliver unexpected benefits in terms of growth and prosperity.
 - Increase in the proportion of workers relative to non-workers in the population. Changes in the its structure due to the demographic transition lower the dependency ratio thus creating the potential for generation growth.

- This potential can be converted into actual growth only if the rise in the working age group accompanied by increasing levels of education and employment.
- If they remain unemployed then they are unable to at all and become dependents rather than earners.
- Census of india reveal of sharp fall in the rate of employment generation creation of new jobs across both rural and urban area. The rate of growth of employment in the 15 to 30 age groups which stood at around 2.4 % of a year between 19 87 and 1994. Fell to 0 .7 for rural men and 0.3 % for urban men during 1994 to 2004.

Migration

- The vast majority of the population of India has always lived in the rural areas. Around 70 % of our population still lives in villages. (About 89% at the beginning of the twenty first century).
- Why Migration
 - Processes of modern development ensure that the economic and social significance of the agrarian-rural way of life decline and it is true in india as well.
 - The relative economic value of what they produce has fallen drastically. (Agriculture used to be by far the largest contributor to the country total economic production but today it only contributes about one-fourth of the GDP.)
 - Mass media and communication channels are now bringing images of urban lifestyles and patterns of consumption into the rural area.
 - Mass transit and mass communication are bridging the gap between the rural and urban areas.
 - Migration is no more a taboo now.
 - Accelerated by the continuous decline of common property resources like ponds forest and grazing lands. (Turned into pvt property or are exhausted).
 - Have to buy many things in the market that they used to get free like fuel fodder or supplementary food items.
 - Opportunities for earning cash income limited in the villages.
 - Also fragmenting of land.
 - Shrinking of land holdings.
 - The city may also be preferred for social reasons specially the relative anonymity it offers.
 - For the socially oppressed groups like the schedule caste and scheduled tribes.
 - Also, allow the poorer section of the socially dominant rural groups to engage in low status work that they would not be able to do in the villages.
 - While urbanisation has been occurring at a rapid pace it is the biggest cities the metropolises that have been growing the fastest.

Population policy and family planning.

- **Definition** - According to the UNEP - "POPULATION POLICY is an effort to affect the size structure and distribution OR characteristics of population".
- It includes "efforts to regulate economic and social conditions which are likely to have demographic consequences".
- UN Environment Program
- NO. of People (Population)
- Age - Group distribution
- Regional urban or rural
- Population Policy (Presently):
 - Short term target: Focus on IMR, MMR
 - Mid Terms: TFR = 2.1
 - Long Term: NFR = 1.0
- Amartya Sen: Population control 2 models
 - Chinese → Strict Political control
 - Kerala → Sound Education women Empowerment (Social + Eco)
- Population Policy Aims At
 - Decreasing birth rate
 - Limited the number of children in family or two
 - Decreasing mortality
 - Creating awareness among the masses
 - Procuring necessary contraceptives
 - Enacting acts like legalizing abortion
 - Giving incentives as well as dis-incentives
 - Checking concentration of people in congested areas
 - Providing necessary public services for effective settlement in new areas
 - Re location of offices to less populated areas
- Initially - the policy was adhoc in nature flexible and based on trial and error approach.
- Gradually - Replaced by a more scientific planning.
- **Various Committees**
 - The subcommittee on population appointed in 1940 under the chairmanship of Radha kamal mukherjee by the national planning committee (appointed by INC in 1938) laid emphasis on self control. It also recommended raising the marriage age, discouragement of polygamy.

- The Bhore committee of 1943 appointed by the government criticized self-control approach and advocated deliberate limitation of families.
- After independence
 - A population policy committee was created in 1952.
 - A family planning board was created in 1956 which emphasized sterilization.
 - During 1960s a more vigorous family planning programme was advocated for stabilizing the growth of population of a reasonable period.
- In 1976 the minister of health and family planning karan singh presented before the parliament the national population policy:
 - Raising the statutory age of marriage
 - Introducing fiscal incentives to states which perform well
 - Improving female literacy
 - Public education through all available media
 - Direct monetary incentives for adoption of vasectomy and tubectomy operations.
- It was planned at a time when the emergency was in operation.
- So many excesses
- In the sterilization campaign under the leadership of sanjay gandhi that it came to be regarded with hostility by people.
- These excesses became an important election issue the congress lost the election at the centre.
- When in 1980's indira gandhi returned to power she became extremely cautious and unenthusiastic about reviving her commitment.
- Since then the policy of almost all governments in the states and at the centre has been so lopsided that the growth rate of population which was expected to have fallen below 2 % marks is till around 2.3 %.

Family Planning

- India was the first country to evolve a government backed family planning programme in the 1950's.
- But india is still trailing behind in population control.
- They devised ambitious program and carried them out against popular wishes and even used such harsh and coercive methods of sterilization that today one is ready to talk of planning to the populace.
- In fact for all practical purposes the country is without an effective program of an effective target.
- In 1977 family planning was the rechristened family welfare.
- China
 - Adopted 1 child per couple in the urban centres
 - A ceiling of 2 children per couple in rural.

- Several incentives for the planned child as also the parents.
- Those who violated the norms penalized.
- China is encouraging late marriage and late child birth.

Attitude Towards Family Planning

- The attitude of a woman towards family planning is influenced by her
 - Education
 - Age
 - Income
 - Background
 - Husbands' occupation and
 - Working status among other factors.
 - Attitude of husband's family & Immediate society.
- Kothari and Gulati - conducted a survey in Rajasthan.
- It was found - out of total persons studied 88.1 % were in favour of family planning. • Rao and Inbaraj - conducted a survey on attitude towards family planning in vellore city of Tamil Nadu. • The reasons given for hostility to family planning
 - It was harmful to woman,
 - It went against god's will and
 - It constituted unnatural behaviour.
- However, since 7 out of every 10 persons were in favour of family planning, it points to the fact that people today have ceased to be very traditional in their beliefs and values.

Reality Check of Family Planning

- While it is true that the couple protection percentage has gone up.
- Who are these couples who are supposed to have obtained protection?
- It is not other than those who have had 3 or more children and who have already done their part of the damage to the two children family norm.
- Education & awareness, socio - economic development leading to a fall in TFR. Shall come internally, institutions can only show direction.

Emerging Issues: Ageing: Problems and Solutions

- Advancement in medical science ----> decline in the death rate. Cure easily available. Increased human longevity.
- Ageing - Definition
 - Clark Tibbits + Vanaprastha
 - Physical, social ageing
 - Rural, urban
 - Agrarian society - Industrializes
 - Effect of Migration
 - Inter & Intra Generational Gap
 - Organized vs unorganized sector
- BECKER - Aging in the broadest sense as those changes occurring in an individual "as a result of the passage of time".
- Clark TIBBITTS - The survival of a growing number of people who have completed the traditional adult roles of making a living and childrearing.
- Similarly, the optimum minimum age fixed for treating a person also varies from country to country.
- In India, 60 has been mostly accepted for the purpose of classifying aged persons.
- The ancient scriptures divide family life into 4 stages. Out of which the last stage is tom as 'vanprastha' which means withdrawl from active life.
- The religion plays an important role in the life of the aged.
- There is a broad distinction between physical and social ageing.
 - Physical ageing maybe conditions by the health status where as
 - Social ageing maybe coinciding with the retirement from the production process & social responsibilities like child reaning.
- Rural areas vs Urban areas
 - In rural areas where still the past oriented societies prevail the aged are meaningful links to tradition and historical continuity.
 - In industrialized society & urban area of the roles get shifted from authoritarian-patriarchal type to an equalitatrian partnership.
 - In the rural setting the old people may retire gradually owing to ill health or susceptibility of disease instead. Hence old age for people without children became a hardship.
 - Rapid urbanisation changes over the nuclear family system, change over the flat system and the need for the woman to take up jobs have also contributed to the changing roles of aged in and outside the family.

- It is often observed that aged in cities become asocial and limit themselves to the 4 walls. Mostly spend their time in looking after grandchildren.
- Changes in the status and the role - There is a transition from the role of the provider to that of the dependent.
- This may result in loss of role or to limited participation in decision making social cultural and economic sphere of family.
- Process of migration - A vital role to play in the case of aging. Impact of two kinds
 - Forced to migrate leaving behind their older members and relatives
 - To join the members of the family who are already migrated (as in parents going to kids' places, out of country too)
 - Both cases - Impact either in the form of adjustment or isolation from the family circle.
- Family Role Transition and Inter and intra generational gap
 - Created due to the process of modernisation.
 - Repercussions on the aged as well as the younger ones.
 - Socio-psychological and cultural changes (may result in) - Inter generational conflict.
 - The urban studies show - Though old age leads to enhanced status, it is constrained by there economic situation.
 - Both from the point of view of economic and emotional support the role of the family becomes essential for the aged.
 - The transition from the role of bread winner to a dependent cause's emotional problems among the aged.
- Retired from Organised vs Unorganised Sectors
 - The persons retired from organised sector have less economic insecurity.
 - People from the informal sector lack even the minimum economic security.
 - Thus, the aged peasants may become the worst sufferers. This may lead to prolonged work participation.
 - India has been and continues to great extent to be an elder directed society.
- Needs and Services
 - The needs of the aged can roughly fall into the following category
 - Environmental
 - Occupational
 - Economic
 - Leisure
 - Social

- Health HE + SOLE + Psychological issue + Migrating with children + Women
- MS Gore
 - Merits of ageing
 - Social activities (Civil society)
 - Environment activities
 - carrier of culture, values
 - Learning from their experiences
- Social Aspects of ageing:
 - Decreased influence in decision making
 - Plenty of time -> Psychological pressure
 - End of routine
 - Separation of friends
 - Interference in other family matters
 - Some ousted from family
 - Migration with children
- Therefore, there are 4 types of programs which are needed in the country for the older persons:
 - Day care centres
 - Institutions for unattached dependent and friends less persons (Full time stay)
 - Counselling for in curable and chronically ill
 - Financial assistance to those who can live in their families but do not have sufficient meaning to maintain themselves.
- Though the problems of the aged can be looked in different ways, 4 major areas -
 - Psychological/Emotional problems and social problems
 - The feeling of dependency on others during sickness causes emotional disturbances besides adverse emotional disturbances while ill.
 - Another type of emotional disturbance is rooted in loneliness and physical isolation mostly among those who have outlived their relations.
 - Health and medical care is a major problem for aged. A gradual decline in physical strength with growing age.
 - The housing conditions of most of the aged and the infirm are generally far from satisfactory.
 - They are obliged to share accommodation with others. This problem is also associated with economic problem.
 - The majority of the elderly people have financial problem. Decrease in income and increase in the cost of living.

- IGNOAPS, AAY, NAPS, IGNOAPS, AAY, NSAP – National social assistance program,
- Reverse mortgage, senior citizens Act, CRPC Sec. 125 -> Right to maintenance, APY -> Atal Pension Yojana.
- UNITED NATIONS - following principles and recommendations for the aged:
 - Institutions
 - Community to care
 - Involvement in Policy making
 - Geriatric Promoted
 - National machinery should be established & strengthened to ensure that the humanitarian needs and development potential of the aged are appropriately addressed.
 - The expansion of research on the demographic biological social and economic aspect of ageing.
 - Community-based or institutional care systems that provide the health and social services for the frail elderly who have limited or no family support should be encouraged.
 - Organisation and association of the elderly which insured they are actively involved in policy and program development should be encourage and promoted.
 - Training in gerontology and geriatrics should be promoted to ensure that policymakers researchers and practitioners have an adequate knowledge of issue related to aging.
- **The Ministry Of Social Justice And Empowerment** - Implementing central schemes of assistance for establishing and maintaining
 - the day care centres,
 - old age homes,
 - mobile medicare units,
 - supporting and strengthening non institutional services for the aged.

Concluding Analysis of Ageing in India

- Traditionally
 - the aged were accorded a place of honour and importance in the family and community. The family and community look after them irrespective of their productive capacity.
- Contemporary Times -
 - The social situation has undergone a perceptible change.
 - A substantial dilution of economic and social values.
 - Traditional institutions have lost hold and relevance.
 - The joint family system is faster giving way to nuclear family.
- A paradoxical situation

- On one hand, the introduction of modern health technology and medicine has increased the span of life.
- On the other, a higher proportion of aged or retired persons with little income of their own who have to depend on others for their livelihood.
- The changes in kinship and family organisation in conjunction with urbanization and industrialization have been more to the disadvantages of the aged.
- Paradox -> Life INCREASED but Income DECREASED

Sex Ratio in India

- Overall sex ration -> Improve
- 0 - 6 -> Fallen
- The sex ratio - An important indicator of gender balance in the population.
- Recent report -> Fallen even in SC | ST, who have hitherto been unaffected (census 2011) • Historically slightly in favour of females.
- However, India - A declining sex ratio for more than a century.
- The sex ratio for the 0 to 6-year age group known as the juvenile child sex ratio, has been falling very sharply.
- The state level child sex ratios of a few states offer even greater call for worry.
- Demographers and sociologists, several reasons for the decline in the sex ratio:
 - Cultural
 - Inheritance
 - Safety
 - Patrilineal
 - Honour & female
- Health factor that affects woman differently from men is childbearing. May be partly due to the increased risk of death in child birth that only woman face.
- However, maternal mortality is supposed to decline with advancements as levels of nutrition, general education, awareness, availability of medical and communication facilities improves.
- Severe neglect of girl babies in infancy
- Sex specific abortions
- Female infanticide due to religious or cultural beliefs.
- The regional pattern of low child sex ratios seems to support these arguments.

- Anomalies
 - Lowest child sex ratio are found in the most prosperous regions of india.
 - If dowry payment is a problem then prosperous would be the most able to afford this. However, sex ratios are lowest in the most prosperous regions.
 - Also possible that as prosperous families decide to have fewer children, now they may also wish to choose the sex of their child.
 - This becomes possible with the availability of ultrasound technology.
 - Government strict laws banning this (imposing heavy fine and imprisonment) prenatal diagnostic techniques act.
- Way out
 - Involving civil society (social movement) (∴ a social phenomenon)
 - Stringent laws (PCPNDT)
 - Beti Bachao Beti Padhao
 - Attitudinal change
 - Celebrating birth of girl child
 - Inheritance right
 - Greater presence in physical + mental space

Reproductive Health

- The available facts relating to reproductive health in India point out that
 - Of the total conception that take place annually about 78 % are unplanned and about 25 % are definitely unwanted.
 - About 3/4th babies are delivered at home and only one-third deliveries are assisted by a doctor.
- Government has started many programs to improve reproductive health of women
 - Janani suraksha yojana - Now extended to all SC | ST women (no age bar, no number of children bar)
 - National rural health mission
 - ASHA volunteer etc
 - ANM
 - Weekly Iron & Folic Acid
 - NFSA -> Pregnant + Lactating Mother given assistance.

Part - C7

Challenges of Social Transformation

- Crisis of development: Displacement, Environmental problems and Sustainability
- **Displacement:** Forceful migration + Permanent
- Beneficiaries \neq Victims
- Development = Neo-colonialist
 - Development projects in India have always hit hard the socially and economically marginalised groups in general and tribal communities in particular. Beneficiaries of development stand distinctively opposite to the victims of the process.
 - Pathy writes: development is a conscious neo-colonialist design of a capitalist state that tries to destroy the holistic linkage b/w nature and culture. It destroys the very existence of collective indigenous identities.
- Displacement can be divided according to the following types
 - Political factors
 - Developmental
 - Disasters
- Primary: due to developmental projects
- Secondary: due to migration war violence
- Tertiary: the result of inadequate adjustment with the ecological conditions at re-habilitation site.
- Consequences of Development
 - M AreepaRampil
 - stages:
 - Land Alienation
 - Industrialisation
 - Urbanisation
- Development gives way to multiple forms of dispossession.
- Mining in Chotanagpur plateau has made indigenous people dispossessed of their ownership over MOP, political autonomy.... displacement leading to dispossession comes in three stages: land alienation, industrialization, and finally urbanisation.
- Vasudha Dhagamwar looks at the problem addressing following issues:
 - No uniform law on rehabilitation (Latest LARR - a move towards Renab.)
 - Affected people are mainly poor, uneducated, frequently tribals (No participation)
 - People are not informed properly about their displacement and resettlement
 - Compensation is cash-centric and inadequate to offer alternate

- Resettlement is at worst non-existent and at best unsatisfactory, unimaginative and unsympathetic
- No attention to emotional trauma People's reaction to development: from resistance to organised movement
- People's reaction to development: from resistance to organised movement
 - NBA
 - Niyamgiri in orissa
- Bauxite site mining by Vedanta
- Community ownership
- Gram Sabha rejected (12 GSs rejected)
- Both FRA & PESA applied by S.C.
- Constitutional position
 - Article 19 (i)c (To settle anywhere)
 - Article 21
 - Various DPSPs
 - Sustainable Development
 - DN Dhanagre -> "Growth with Justice"

Problem	Solution
1) Big dams came deforestation	Plant trees along river channels
2) Loss of wetlands	Create artificial wetlands
3) GR related problems	GM crops, Drip irrigation, rain harvesting, recharging Aquifers, mixed cropping
4) Deforestation	Afforestation
5) Industrialization	cleaner fuels

- Post-Modernist: Ecological Modernization -> over - emphasis on technological breakthroughs (Technological Anarchism)
- Gender: Sustainable Dev. more important for Gender - Equality.

Poverty, Deprivation and Inequality

- Social causes of poverty:
 - disabilities on lower castes
 - conspicuous spending, social pressure to spend on marriages
- Economic
 - unequal distribution of land
 - low wages
 - Indebtedness
- Political
 - skewed policies
 - lack of voice, accountability.
- Globalisation
 - side-lining of cottage industries
- Natural causes
 - Disasters affect poor the most, Most vulnerable
- Consequences
 - Culture of poverty
 - Dependency culture
 - Malnutrition
 - Population explosion
 - Degradation in morality
 - Illiteracy (can't spend on education.)
 - Social deviance (crimes corruption)
 - IMR, MMR
- Persistence of Poverty: same as above causes of poverty. Also, failure of GR to spread
- Eradication: PESTEL (above issues) be sorted. Add constitutional (DPSP) values. Various govt. programs
- Contemporary: Greater awareness of being poor. Causing relative poverty to rise. Various consequences to be mentioned.
- "Poverty is more than an economic problem" – Amartya sen.
- Govt. Policies Programs on Poverty (4 ways):
 - Wage employment
 - Self-employment
 - Food surety

- Social security
- Two types of prog were initiated at the time of Independence
 - Rural Dev prog
 - Urban Industrial prog
- Some people reacted to poverty violently like Naxalite movement and some blame govt., destiny for their poverty.
- Benefits of development are not equally distributed among people
- Deprivation -- exists incase of india in multiple form. Ethnicity, religion, caste & gender as a form of deprivation.
- Economic poverty is a western concept (Lack of money), and cultural poverty is an Indian concept (Oscar Lewis -> contentment, no extra effort)
- To eliminate poverty only govt's initiative is not sufficient rather people's participation is required. People think poverty is way of life.
- Attempts were made to accelerate rain fed agri to irrigation based agri. Cooperative farming , modern agri practices , Zamindari abolition act , land ceiling act were introduced to bridge the gap b/w rich and poor.
- Radha Krishna: Poverty in these areas has given way to a situation where different strata are coming close to each other. Poverty good (enforces solidarity)
- Contradicted by Bhalla and chadha : a study in 200 villages in Punjab to find out that after green rev the per capita income of a rich farmer's family is 200 times higher in comparison to a income of poor farmer . Therefore, poverty leads to deprivation and structured form of inequality.
- AB in his article " pollution and poverty" considers poverty is more contagious than pollution. Poverty pass thru barriers of caste, religion, region. Therefore all poors irrespective of state they belong to , the language they speak , suffer from equal discrimination.
- Poverty contagious dangerous then pollution.
- Amratya Sen & Jean Dreze consider poverty leads to a series of seclusion, deprivation, & inequalities & hence it is not just a form of economic problem. Poverty in India includes caste, community , religion , children , families, gender groups.
- Poverty ->Seclusion
- Multiple deprivations
- Solution
 - Multidimensional approach to development
 - Expansion of opportunities thru globalisation
 - Active civil society
 - Mass media communication and self-assertion of people
 - Dynamic health policy, child welfare policy, social welfare policies.
 - Agri, mfg., msme, credit, growth, inclusive growth.

Violence against Women

- Define Violence against Women (VAW)
 - A woman is violated because of being a woman, which means her gender is the reason why she is being violated. For example, if a woman faces domestic violence because she does not follow the 'traditional' role of a wife
 - VAW includes
- Violence Forms
 - PPS FS
 - P – Psychological violence
 - P – Physical violence
 - S – Sexual violence
 - F – Financial
 - S – Spiritual
 - **Psychological violence:** Encompasses various tactics to undermine a woman's self confidence such as yelling, insults, mockery, threats, abusive language, humiliation, harassment, contempt and deliberate deprivation of emotional care or isolation.
 - **Physical violence:** The most obvious ranges from pushing and shoving to hitting, beating, physical abuse with a weapon, torture, mutilation and murder.
 - **Sexual violence:** Any form of non-consensual sexual activity (ie, forced on a person) ranging from harassment, unwanted sexual touching, to rape. This form of violence also includes incest.
 - **Financial violence:** Encompasses various tactics for total or partial control of a couple's finances, inheritance or employment income. May also include preventing a partner from taking employment outside the home or engaging in other activities that would lead to financial independence.
 - **Spiritual abuse:** Works to destroy an individual's cultural or religious beliefs through ridicule or punishment, forbidding practise of a personal religion or forcing women or children to adhere to religious practices that are not their own, etc.
- Types
 - Rape
 - Outraging the modesty of a woman
 - Child sexual abuse
 - Sexual harassment in the workplace
 - Domestic violence
- Causes
 - The UN (Rashida Manjoo, Special Rapporteur on VAW), has identified six underlying causes of VAW:

- HCS PWG
 - H - Historically unequal
 - C - culture justifies
 - S - Sexuality controlled
 - P - Privacy doctrine
 - W - War
 - G - Govt. Inaction
 - Historically unequal power relations the political, economic and social processes that have evolved over many centuries have kept men in a position of power over women.
 - Control of women's sexuality-- Many societies use violence as a way to control a woman's sexuality, and likewise in many societies' violence is used to punish women who exhibit sexual behaviour, preferences and attitudes that violate cultural norms
 - Cultural ideology: Culture defines gender roles and some customs, traditions and religions are used to justify VAW when women transgress these culturally assigned roles.
 - Doctrines of privacy: The persistent belief in many societies that VAW is a private issue seriously impedes attempts to eradicate this violence.
 - Patterns of conflict resolution: Links have been identified between VAW in the home and community in areas that are in conflict or that are militarised. Often, heightened insecurity means that tensions within the home are more pronounced and can contribute to the perpetuation of VAW in the family.
 - Equally, because eyes tend to be on the conflict, women's suffering is often overshadowed. VAW is also frequently used as a formal military tactic.
 - Government inaction: Government negligence in preventing and ending VAW establishes a tolerance of VAW throughout the community.

How is globalisation affecting VAW

- Capitalist globalisation with its tools of development and progress, including some aspects of modern science and technology, free market, rational knowledge system and the militarised State seems to be intensifying existing violence and creating grotesque new forms against the already vulnerable -- particularly women.
 - Consumerism - Dowry (Dipankar Gupta)
 - Technology -> Foeticide
 - Industrialising agri- > Destroying Livelihood (K. Somasekhara)
 - Karuna Ahmed - Receptionists -> Low Paid Low Status jobs
 - Competitive markets -> Low wages, women agree
 - State -> It sponsored education, employment but not safe environment
 - The growing number of dowry murders, that are a direct outcome of increasing consumerism and devaluation of women

- Female foeticide that is fostered by new forms of reproductive technology
- The total destruction of women's livelihoods in the process of industrialising agriculture;
- Exploitation of women's skills and labour in sweatshops of the corporate free market
- The State has also become its violator -- both through commission of violence and through omission to stop or end violence. For example, while on the one hand globalisation has allowed a larger number of women to join the workforce, at the same time the State has not made enough effort to create enabling and safe working conditions for women at work.

What can an individual do to end this violence?

- He or She
- Emma Watson, UN
- Raise awareness- It is important to continue to raise awareness about the impact of violence against women so that more groups, communities and leaders prioritise this as a programme of work that deserves attention and resources.
- Help to empower women and girls to protect themselves--> it is essential to address the sources and perpetrators of violence, whether actual or potential. This requires hands-on engagement with men and boys to help shift attitudes about the use of violence and to empower.
- Break the silence: Never condone VAW. Always raise your voice and report it.
- Know the law: Gain basic awareness of the laws on VAW so that you are able to recognise when VAW is taking place and know what law to use when.
- Build solidarity: With a concerned and committed group of friends and colleagues build an informal solidarity group within your organisation or institution which can extend solidarity to victims of GBV.
- Connect with women's rights groups: Get in touch with local women's rights groups if you hear of any VAW-related incident, or if you wish to attend or organise trainings on VAW for your colleagues, friends and peers.
- Demand to know your rights as a woman: Within an institution or organisation you have a right to find out the processes in place to combat VAW. For instance, you have a right to know whether your office or college has set up an anti-sexual harassment cell, and the right to demand that it is set up.
- Recent initiatives in India against VAW
- MAVA or Men Against Violence & Abuse is a voluntary social organisation. MAVA is India's first men's organization to directly intervene against violence on women in India. Its head-office is situated in Mumbai. As on date, MAVA has been able to reach out to over 3000 men and women facing various gender-related problems
- Bell Bajao (Hindi for 'ring the bell') is an anti-domestic violence campaign that urges local residents to take a stand against physical abuse through simple acts meant to interrupt domestic violence. When resident, especially men, overhear violence against a woman taking place they are urged to ring the doorbell and ask a simple question - such as to borrow some tea, to use the phone, or to have a glass of water. This is meant to let the abuser know that others can hear them and will act to interrupt the violence.

- Besharmi Morcha, also known as "Slutwalk arthaat Besharmi Morcha", is the Indian equivalent of SlutWalk. Christie Thompson, writing for Ms Magazine observed "...women aren't marching for the right to walk down the street dressed in barely-there clothes, as critics suggest. They're fighting for the right to walk down the street. Period."
- Blank Noise is a community/ public art project that seeks to confront street harassment, commonly known as eve teasing, in India. Blank Noise seeks to trigger public dialogue on the issue of street sexual harassment. Conversations range from collectively building a definition of "eve-teasing" to defining the boundaries of "teasing", "harassment", "flirting". The collective builds testimonials of street sexual violence, harassment and "eve-teasing" and disperses them back in public, thereby creating public debate.
- The Gulabi gang was founded in 2006 by Sampat Pal Devi, a mother of five and former government health worker (as well as a former child bride), as a response to widespread domestic abuse and other violence against women. Gulabis visit abusive husbands and beat them up with laathis (bamboo sticks) unless they stop abusing their wives. In 2008, they stormed an electricity office in Banda district and forced officials to turn back the power they had cut in order to extract bribes. They have also stopped child marriages and protested dowry and female illiteracy.
- Veena Das in 'Mirrors of violence' - atrocities against women are manifestation of culturally constructed boundaries / patriarchal construct. Rape, sexual harassment, eve teasing, molestation limit women's freedom and perpetuate the notion that women need male protection in various stages of life. It substantiates -- Manu's code "A woman should never be independent. Her father has authority over her in childhood, her husband in youth and her son in old age"
 - Rape:
 - Forms
 - ❖ Within family
 - ❖ As caste / class domination
 - ❖ Rape of children, minors & unprotected
 - ❖ Gangrapes during wars, riots
 - ❖ Custodial rapes
 - Dowry
 - M.N. Srinivas I his book 'some reflections on dowry' equates dowry deaths to modern state. Deepankar Gupta considers that dowry & its glorification as the manifestation of consumerism.
 - Bina Aggarwal consider dowry to be a result of patriarchal society reflecting the worthlessness of women.
 - V. Geetha: Book "Patriarchy". Women denied inheritance given dowry. Shulasmith Firestone: women's special health needs not recognized.
 - Prostitution
 - Non voluntary but situational compulsions give rise to prostitution. Social reprobates and economic compulsions.

- Latent form of violence
 - Discrimination in food, health, education, employment
 - Solution
 - ❖ Laws by govt. like Dowry prohibition Act, DV act, Pre-natal sex determination etc
 - ❖ Institutions: NCW, Mo W & C Development
 - ❖ Increased awareness with the efforts of govt and NGOs
 - ❖ Andre Beteille – puts it ‘while law decides the direction in which the society ought to go, reality & culture decide the way in which the society actually goes’



Sleepy Classes IAS
Awakening Toppers