

## PREFACE

In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. *core, generic, discipline specific, elective, ability and skill enhancement* for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the university has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade “A”.

UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme.

Self Learning Material (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs.

I wish the venture a grand success.

**Professor (Dr.) Ranjan Chakrabarti**  
Vice-Chancellor

**Netaji Subhas Open University**  
**Under Graduate Degree Programme**  
**Choice Based Credit System (CBCS)**  
**Subject : Honours in Sociology**  
**Core Course : CC X**  
**Code : CC-SO-10**  
**Social Stratification**

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**NETAJI SUBHAS  
OPEN UNIVERSITY**

**Social  
Stratification**

**Core Course : CC X  
Code : CC-SO-10**

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## **UNIT 1** □ **Stratification: Meaning and Forms**

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### **Structure**

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### **1.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about the concept of social stratification.
- ⊙ To understand the importance of social stratification to the study of sociology.
- ⊙ To understand the difference between social stratification and social inequality.
- ⊙ To gain an insight into the primary attributes of social stratification.
- ⊙ To learn about the forms of social stratification found across the world.

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## 1.2 Introduction

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The concept of social stratification is derived from Geology – the science which studies the ways in which various types of rocks are formed into the levels or strata that make up the earth’s crust and its surface layers of deposits. Like rock strata, society is also divided and fragmented into a number of strata. These strata have also undergone structural changes with time and have come into contact with newer strata that have risen from below to higher positions<sup>1</sup>.

### 1.2.1 Social stratification and social inequality

It is important to make a distinction between social stratification and social inequality. According to Haralambos, the term *social inequality* refers to “the existence of socially created inequalities. *Social stratification* is a particular form of inequality. It refers to the presence of social groups ranked one above the other.”<sup>2</sup> The determining factors operating behind this ranking are *power*, *prestige* and *wealth* wielded by the members of a particular social stratum. The members of a social stratum share a common lifestyle, common interests and a common identity which mark them off from the members of the other social strata. Smelser has defined inequality as “the condition in which people don’t have equal access to social rewards such as money, power and prestige. And, stratification refers to the ways in which these inequalities are likely to be passed from one generation to the next, producing layers or strata of people in the society.”<sup>3</sup>

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## 1.3 Meaning of social stratification

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Stratification may be defined as structured inequalities between different groupings of people<sup>4</sup>. Social stratification is the structured inequality of entire categories of people who have different access to social rewards as a result of their status in the social hierarchy<sup>5</sup>.

Those individuals who belong to the same stratum tend to look on each other as equals. They share similar life-chances and tend to benefit from equal opportunities offered to them. Those who are above them in the social ladder are considered as superiors and those below them are treated as inferiors.

The groups at the top of the social hierarchy enjoy three basic forms of advantage:



1. Life-chances, that is, all those material advantages which improve the quality of life of an individual, this may include economic advantages of wealth and income, as well as benefits such as health or job security.
2. Social status, that is, prestige or high position in the eyes of other members of the society.
3. Political influence, that is, the ability of one group to dominate others, or to have predominant influence over decision-making or to benefit advantageously from such decisions<sup>6</sup>.

An individual's position in the social ladder may enhance or reduce his life-chances. To explain this, Haralambos has cited the example of the differences between the Blacks and the Whites in the USA. The rate of infant mortality among the Blacks is twice that of the Whites and the proportion of maternal mortality among the Blacks is four times that of the Whites. Blacks have lesser access to education, their marriages are more likely to end in separation or divorce and they are more likely to have a criminal record. According to many sociologists, these differences in life-chances result directly from social stratification<sup>7</sup>.

### 1.3.1 Attributes of social stratification

The key attributes of social stratification are discussed below.

- a. Stratification is social in nature, i.e., patterned in character. Differences among individuals are not biologically caused. Of course, there are differences on the basis of age, sex, intelligence etc. but these differences cannot sufficiently explain why some statuses receive more power, property and prestige than the others. The differences become patterned only when they are socially recognized.
- b. It is ancient, i.e., it has been found in all past societies. Even the most primitive societies have witnessed inequalities. In all the ancient civilizations there were differences between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless.
- c. It is ubiquitous. There is no society which is free from social stratification. It is a worldwide phenomenon.
- d. It is diverse in its forms. Social stratification has taken on various forms in different societies. The three most widely found forms of stratification are slavery, estates and class. In India, there is another particular form of stratification called caste system. In ancient India, *varna* system was found to exist. There are also differences between the stratification systems found

in Soviet and the East European countries on one hand and the Latin American countries on the other hand.

- e. It is consequential. Social stratification has two important consequences: *life-chances* and *lifestyle*. Life-chances refer to the incidences and rates of infant mortality, life expectancy, childlessness, physical and mental illness, marital disputes, separation, divorce etc. Lifestyles include an individual's residential area, the mode of housing, his dressing style, the books or magazines he read, or the TV shows he watches, his recreational pursuits, the cultural products he uses, the relationship between parents and children etc.

### **Do you know?**

The macro-structure of social stratification has an impact on the mental health of an individual – which is a micro-structure. According to Jane D. Mcleod and James M. Nonnemaker, the structure of social stratification, i.e., poverty, segregation and isolation, prejudice and stigma and constrained opportunity structures determine how much access an individual has to the components of social stratification – resources, power, autonomy and status. These structures are linked to individual status characteristics like race, gender and age. The structure of social stratification influences the types of stressful life conditions experienced by the individuals, individual's access to coping resources and the likelihood with which the individuals confront negative social comparisons.

## **1.4 Forms of social stratification**

Four basic forms of social stratification can be distinguished in the history of mankind. They are: Slavery, Estates, Caste and Class. The first three are based on legal and religiously sanctioned inequalities, whereas, class divisions are primarily economic in nature affecting the material circumstances of people's lives. Sometimes, these forms of stratification are found to co-exist. For example, slavery existed alongside classes in ancient Greece and Rome, and in the Southern United States before the Civil War. Similarly, there is a caste-class nexus in India.

### **1.4.1. Slavery**

Slavery was an extreme form of inequality in which an individual was considered to be the private property of his or her owner. The legal conditions of slave ownership have varied between different societies. In some societies, the slaves were denied of every right, as was the case in the Southern United States; whereas

in some other societies, they were treated more like servants who enjoyed some limited rights.

L.T. Hobhouse defined a slave as “a man whom law and custom regard as the property of another. In extreme cases, he is wholly without rights, a pure chattel; in other cases, he may be protected in certain respects, but so may an ox or an ass. ... If [the slave] has by his position certain countervailing rights, e.g., to inherit property, from which he cannot (except for some default) be dislodged, he becomes ... no longer a slave but a serf.”<sup>8</sup>

The two principal positions where the slaves are to be found in the United States, South America and the West Indies during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, were plantations and domestic menial work. But in classical Athens, slaves were found in other settings as well. Some of them were appointed to the positions which had great responsibilities, like keeping accounts and protecting the family while the master was away on military excursions. Few of the slaves were even literate who held administrative positions. They also received training in craft skills. In Rome, slaves used to run their own businesses. Some of them even became so rich that they themselves owned slaves<sup>9</sup>. The exploitation of the slaves, until the nineteenth century, was justified by beliefs about racial inferiority and backed by religious preaching. Slaves were denied of all civil and property rights. There was even no legality in the marriage between two slaves. The slaves could be bought, sold or traded according to the whims of the masters. They were sometimes awarded as prizes in lotteries, or gambled at gaming tables<sup>10</sup>.

H.J. Nieboer gave an excellent account of the social condition of the slave. He says, “first, every slave has his master to whom he is subjected. And this subjection is of a particular kind. Unlike the authority one freeman sometimes has over another, the master’s power over his slave is unlimited, at least in principle; any restrictions put upon the master’s free exercise of his power is a mitigation of slavery, not belonging to its nature, just as in Roman law the proprietor may do with his property whatever he is not by special laws forbidden to do. The relation between master and slave is therefore properly expressed by the slave being called the master’s ‘possession’ or ‘property’, expressions we frequently meet with. Secondly, slaves are in a lower condition as compared with freemen. The slave has no political rights; he does not choose his government, he does not attend the public councils. Socially he is despised. In third place, we always connect with slavery the idea of compulsory labour. The slave is compelled to work; the free labourer may leave off working if he likes, be it at the cost of starving. All compulsory labour, however, is not slave labour; the latter requires that particular kind of compulsion, that is expressed by

the word ‘possession’ or ‘property as has been said before.’”<sup>11</sup>

Slavery has been eradicated from most of the modern world. There have been numerous examples of slave rebellion throughout human history where the slaves have fought collectively to free themselves from their masters. They have rebelled against the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from rebellions, another reason behind the abolition of slavery was that it eventually transpired that economic and other incentives were much more stimulating than compulsion.

Besides the aforementioned factors, there was another factor that led to the eradication of slavery – the conflict between the idea of the slave as an object of property rights and the idea of him as a human possessing individual rights. In Greece and Rome, there was a development of debt-slavery where foreign slaves were distinguished from the native slaves. Debt-slavery was abolished in Athens by Solon, the Greek statesman and lawmaker, and it was done away with in Rome under the influence of Stoics. As stated by Hobhouse, “the formation of debtor-slaves has a little influence upon the institution of slavery itself, for while the captive slave remains an enemy in the eyes of law and morals and is therefore rightless, the debtor or the criminal was originally a member of the community and in relation to him there is apt to arise some limitation of the power of the master.”<sup>12</sup>

Slavery as a formal institution has been eradicated gradually and the slaves in North and South America were given freedom over a century ago. Today, slavery has almost disappeared from all over the world.

### **Do you know?**

Slavery exists even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. According to the data furnished by the International Labour Organization, over 40 million people are in some form of slavery. 24.9 million people are in forced labour, among whom 16 million people are found in the private sector such as domestic work, construction or agriculture; 4.8 million people are in forced sexual exploitation; 4 million people are in forced labour imposed by state authorities; and 15.4 million people are in forced marriage. According to the 2018 Global Slavery Index, the 10 countries with the highest prevalence of modern slavery include North Korea, Eritrea, Burmudi, the Central African Republic, Afghanistan, Mauritania, South Sudan, Pakistan, Cambodia, Iran. India has estimated 6.1 persons victims of modern slavery per 1000 people.

## 1.4.2 Estates

Estates were principally a part of European feudalism. The estates were stratified into definite statuses with different rights and duties, privileges and obligations. The differences in rights and obligations had a legal basis. In Europe, the highest estate comprised the aristocracy and gentry. Below them was the clergy who were entitled to various distinctive privileges. The third estate consisted of the commoners – serfs, free peasants, merchants and artisans. There was a certain degree of openness in the estate system in terms of inter-marriage and individual mobility. As recognition for some special services given to the monarch, commoners were sometimes knighted. Merchants could also sometimes buy titles.

In classical feudalism, serfs did not initially form an estate. There were essentially two principal estates – the nobility and the clergy. In the twelfth century, when serfdom was on the rise and a legal theory of the feudal state was emerging, the English lawyer, Glanville, listed the disabilities of the serfs like “the inability to appear to the king for justice, the absence of rights over their chattels and holdings, the liability to pay the fines of merchant and heriot.”<sup>13</sup> There were also differences in the degree of punishment for the same offence committed.<sup>13</sup>

A broad division of labour was found in the estate system where every estate had a definite function. It was the duty of the nobility to defend everyone, the clergy to pray for everyone and the commoners to provide food to everyone.

Historians and sociologists have also tried to find the existence of feudalism in countries outside Europe. For example, Japan is said to have a feudal character during the end of the twelfth century. There have been differences of opinion among the scholars regarding the existence of feudalism in India. In India, feudalism and caste system have been intertwined. Feudalism in India, during the Maurya, Gupta and Mughal empires, had a character quite different from the European feudalism. The basis of Indian feudalism has been independent village agriculture, and not manorial system. “In India, the king did not, in theory, create subordinate owners of land, because he himself was not, in theory, the supreme owner of land. What he delegated to his intermediaries was only the specific and individual right of ‘zamin’, i.e., the revenue-collecting power.”<sup>14</sup>

## 1.4.3 Caste

The caste system is a unique form of stratification in India. The term ‘caste’ derives from the Spanish and Portuguese *casta*, which means “race, lineage, or breed”. The Portuguese applied *casta* to the hereditary Indian social groups called as *jati* in India.

The caste system is rooted in the *varna* division of society. There are four main *varnas* in the Indian society. The *chaturvarna* model consists of – Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The Brahmins were the priestly families who were believed to be the purest of all castes and who controlled the sacred texts and ritual practices. The Kshatriyas were landowners and warriors. The Vaisyas were engaged in trade and commerce and agriculture. The Sudras were the labouring class. There is a fifth category of untouchables called Antyajias which is not a part of the *chaturvarna* model. They constitute the lowest stratum of the society. The *jatis* developed during the later Rig Vedic age based on the occupations. In modern India, there are 2500 *jatis* which fall, more or less, under the *varna* categories. Andre Beteille writes, “the difference between *varna* and *jati* can be briefly described as the difference between a model or a conceptual scheme on the one hand and a set of real social groups or categories on the other.” The order of the four *varnas* is more or less fixed, whereas there is more ambiguity and flexibility in the *jati* rankings. The religious explanation of the caste system is that the Brahmins emerged from the mouth of Brahma, the Creator, the Kshatriyas from his shoulders, the Vaisyas from his thighs and the Sudras from his feet.

*Varna* system was a functional division of labour based on *guna* or aptitude. Anyone who had the aptitude for learning would be considered as a Brahmin. Similarly, anyone who had an aptitude for warfare or governance would be considered as a Kshatriya. *Varna* system was not hereditary in nature. Caste system which emerged later was thus a perversion of *varna*<sup>15</sup>.

The caste system represents a rigid form of stratification based on hereditary status, traditional occupation, and restrictions on social relationships. Caste is a hereditary, endogamous, usually localized group having traditional association with an occupation<sup>16</sup>. Each caste group occupies a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes.

#### 1.4.3.1 Characteristics of caste system

The characteristic features of the traditional caste system are as follows:

1. Hierarchy : The Indian caste system has a hierarchical structure. It is built up like a pyramid with the Brahmins at the top and the Sudras at the bottom. Below the Brahmins are the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas are ranked below the Kshatriyas. The gradations of the *varnas* are more or less fixed, but the position which each *jati* occupies in the local hierarchy is not clear. The top and bottom layers are more or less fixed, but, there are thousands of

castes and sub-castes in the middle. Again, there are also gradations and sub-gradations within the low castes or the untouchables. A.R. Desai states “caste has a fixed psychology of the various social groups and has evolved such minutely graded levels of social distance and superior-inferior relationships that the social structure looks like a gigantic hierarchic pyramid with a mass of untouchables as its base and a small stratum of elite, the Brahmins, almost equally unapproachable, at its apex. The Hindu society is composed of hundreds of distinct, self-contained caste worlds, piled one over the other.”<sup>17</sup>

2. Hereditary status: The caste system is strictly hereditary in nature. An individual's position in the caste hierarchy is determined by birth and hence, there is very little scope for change.
3. Fixed occupation: In traditional India, each caste followed a fixed occupation which was passed down from one generation to the next. For example, a person born in Sudra category will do tasks like cleaning toilets till his death. Or, a Brahmin's son was bound to become a priest and was not allowed to pursue any other career. The same principle applied to the leather-workers, potters, carpenters, barbers, washermen, sweepers, village musicians, and even the landless agricultural labourers.
4. Endogamy: Caste is an endogamous group in which one has to marry within one's caste group. Inter-caste marriage in traditional India was strictly forbidden. In those cases where inter-caste marriage took place, it led to ostracism and loss of caste. Gotra exogamy was maintained within the caste system. Every caste is subdivided into small units on the basis of gotra. The members of a particular gotra are believed to be the successors of a common ancestor. Hence, marriage within the same gotra is prohibited.
5. The concept of Purity and Pollution: Relations between the castes were generally determined by the concept of Purity and Pollution. The Brahmins claimed to have the highest ritual, spiritual and racial purity. Below the Brahmins were the Kshatriyas and then the Vaisyas. The Sudras are considered a ritually 'unclean' or polluted, whereas the Harijans (Antyajias) are the most unclean. They are known as the Untouchables. The higher caste maintained their 'purity' by keeping the lower castes away through the notion of pollution. It was believed that even the touch of a lower-caste man would pollute a man of the higher caste. Even the shadow of a low-caste man was believed to pollute a high-caste man.
6. Restrictions on social interaction and access to opportunities: The lower castes were denied of accessing various opportunities. For example, they

were not allowed to wear jewellery or finery, to gain entry to temples, schools etc. They were also compelled to live in separate neighbourhoods. In many parts of India, the lower castes could not appear in front of the higher castes. They were considered polluting to the Brahmins even from a distance of 60 feet or more. There were also a lot of taboos related to food. Generally, the higher caste did not accept cooked food from the lower castes. In North India, a Brahmin would accept pakka food, i.e., food cooked in ghee, from some specific lower castes. A high caste would, under no circumstances, accept kachcha food, i.e., food cooked in water from an inferior caste. But, food prepared by Brahmins was accepted by all. Beef was not accepted by any caste, except the Harijans (Antyajas).

7. A particular name: Every caste has a particular name through which we can identify it. Sometimes, an occupation is also associated with a particular caste. We can know the profession or occupation of a caste with the help of the name of the caste.
8. Ascribed status: The caste of a person was assigned to him right at the time of his birth. It was not something that was achieved by him on the basis of his merit or abilities. The caste status of an individual could not be altered throughout his life.

#### **1.4.3.2 Changes in the caste system**

During the British rule, a number of factors affected the caste system. These factors included the spread of modern means of communication, the introduction of British system of administration and laws which restricted the powers of caste councils, the growth of industry and industrial centres that created new occupational opportunities and led to the emergence of new social classes, the introduction of modern secular education, and urbanisation. These factors did not bring about fundamental changes in the caste system, but created opportunities for caste mobility.

The caste system underwent a radical transformation in India after independence. The reasons which led to the transformation are as follows;

- a. Land reforms and political democracy are the two factors that have significantly influenced the change in the power structure within the caste system. Power has now come into the hands of the lower castes. In places where the upper castes are still in dominant position, they are faced with constant unprecedented challenges, through the power of vote. The lower castes and the untouchables have also wielded considerable wealth through trade and commerce and have thereby acquired prestige and power. The



lower castes are using their numerical power to place their demands and alter the power structure.

- b. Some factors which have contributed to increased individual mobility and attenuated the traditional hierarchy based on the notion of purity-pollution are: the development of caste-free occupations and professions and opportunities of employment in non-traditional occupations; increased geographical mobility; the spread of modern western education which has inculcated new norms and values and symbols of prestige; special facilities provided by the government to better the social and economic positions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward Classes such as reservations for admission into educational and professional institutions as well for employment in public administration; mass mobilisation activities of various political parties and pressure groups; the increased role of trade unions, the spread of modern ideologies like rationality, secularism, democracy and socialism, etc <sup>18</sup>.
- c. Previously, Western education was the sole purview of the Brahmins and a few upper castes. The lower castes had no access to western education. But, after Independence, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward Classes, with the help of different facilities provided by the government, are obtaining education and improving their social and economic positions. Modern education has helped them secure respectable jobs and adopt a Western style of life. Today, children belonging to all castes, irrespective of high and low, are given admission to schools where they grow up together, study and play together. Thus, the cultural differences between the castes are wiped out and a harmonious environment is built up.
- d. The democratic political system in our country has enabled people from all strata of the society to participate in the political process. A person's role as a citizen and voter has become attached to his role as a *jati* member. Today, every citizen irrespective of their caste positions has the right to elect and decide the future of the nation. Today, caste associations resemble voluntary associations and interest groups. The political parties today try to unite people of different castes and divide those belonging to the same caste. Thus, the locus of power shifts from the caste system to the structures of power like political parties and statutory panchayats.
- e. With the development of capitalism, the *jajmani* relations have weakened. The *jajmani* systems have been converted into secular modern patron-client relationships. The lower caste families still depend on the patrons for relatively secure employment on their land, for loans in times of need etc.

On the other hand, patrons also rely on their clients for their factional battles in politics both at the village as well as at the block levels.

#### 1.4.4 Class

We can define a class as a large-scale grouping of people who share common economic sources, which strongly influence the types of lifestyle they are able to lead. Ownership of wealth, together with occupation, are the chief bases of class differences<sup>19</sup>.

Class system is, by and large, an open system. It takes a more flexible form since the boundaries between the classes are blurred and one can move up or down the rungs of the class ladder. An individual's position in a class-based society is mainly an achieved status, because it, to some extent, depends on the characteristics over which the individual has some control. Moreover, there are no restrictions in marriage between different classes<sup>20</sup>.

Class systems are found in almost all agricultural and industrial societies. There are two principal classes found in agro-based societies – a class of landowners who were very wealthy and a contrasting class of peasants who were very poor. In industrial societies, three main classes were found to exist – an elite upper class, a very large and diversified middle class comprising of the the professionals and skilled white collar workers, and a large working class made up of less skilled workers<sup>21</sup>.

According to Anthony Giddens, the major classes that exist in Western societies are<sup>22</sup>:

1. An upper class comprising the wealthy persons, employers and industrialists, top executives, and people who own or directly control productive resources;
2. A middle class which is constituted of most white-collar workers and professionals;
3. A working class which includes blue-collar workers or those in manual jobs.
4. In some of the industrialized nations like France and Japan, there is a fourth class of Peasants – people engaged in traditional types of agricultural production.

W. Lloyd Warner has given a six-fold classification of class system:

1. The top or upper-upper class which is composed of the wealthy old families, who have long been socially prominent and who have had money long

enough for people to have forgotten when and how they got it.

2. The lower-upper class which consists of those who have as much money, but they have not had it as long, and their family has not been socially important.
3. The upper-middle class which constitutes most of the successful business and professional persons, generally of 'good' family background and comfortable income.
4. The lower-middle class which comprises of the clerks, other white-collar workers and semi-professionals and some of the supervisors and top craftspeople.
5. The upper-lower class which consists of the steadily employed workers.
6. The lower-lower class which constitutes the irregularly employed, the unemployable, migrant labourers and those living more or less permanently on welfare<sup>23,24</sup>.

### **Do you know?**

Rani Rampal, one of the greatest women hockey players in the world and currently the captain of the Indian Women's Hockey team came from a very humble background. Rampal, born in Shahabad markanda in the Kurukshetra district of Haryana, is one of the inspiring personalities who overcame the barriers of social stratification. Her father was a cart puller. But this economic hardship could not stop her from pursuing her dreams. She became the youngest player in the national hockey team to participate in the 2010 World Cup. Rampal scored total 7 goals in Women's Hockey World Cup held in Argentina, 2010. Her incredible performance placed India in the 9<sup>th</sup> position in World Women's Hockey rankings which is the best performance of India till date. She was conferred the Arjuna Award in 2016. She was the captain of the Indian Women's Hockey Team in 2018 Asian Games in which India won the silver medal. She was awarded the Padma Shri by the government of India in 2020.

### **Things to do**

Rags to riches stories are always inspiring. Make a list of celebrities who went from rags to riches. You can also write down the life stories of the celebrities who have inspired you the most.

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## 1.5 Conclusion

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Social stratification is found in almost all societies, except the hunting and gathering ones. This is because social inequality is largely ubiquitous. Initially, social inequality was based on age and sex. Later on, wealth, property and access to various material goods became important bases of stratification. This is particularly true in the larger traditional and the industrialised societies. Among the four main forms of social stratification, i.e., slavery, estates, caste and class, the first two have almost ceased to exist whereas the third form has greatly weakened. Thus, class is the most important form of stratification today. But the class system has also undergone changes over time. The working class is shrinking day by day due to changes in the occupational structure. On the other hand, there is a rising controversy around the developing underclass which is composed of the ethnic minority groups.

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## 1.6 Summary

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This unit only provided a glimpse of the concepts and ideas of social stratifications. The social stratification in today's world is quite complex and intricate. For example, almost all traditional studies on social stratification have been done from a male point of view. This is because it is usually assumed that gender inequalities simply reflect class differences. But modern studies have shown that in modern societies, gender can influence social stratification to some degree independent of class. By the 1980s, explaining cross-national differences in stratification became the central objective of the stratification studies. There has been a debate among the sociologists on how socio-economic position should be measured. European sociologists have stressed on the importance of occupation-based measures of social class, whereas the American sociologists have focused on education as well as occupation to measure socio-economic status. In recent times, sociologists are focusing on education as both the source of stratification as well as on the determining factor affecting social inequality.

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## 1.7 Questions

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### 1. Answer briefly :

- a) What is social stratification?
- b) Discuss slavery as a form of stratification.
- c) Analyze the estate system as a form of stratification.
- d) Distinguish between *jati* and *varna*.

- e) What is a *chaturvarna* model?

**2. Answer in detail :**

- a) Discuss, in the detail, the institution of caste system as a form of social stratification.
- b) Differentiate between caste and class as two important systems of social stratification.
- c) Analyse the changes in caste system in India.
- d) Discuss class as a form of stratification.
- e) Draw a relationship between social inequality and social stratification.

**3. Essay type questions :**

- a) Give a detailed account of the concept of social stratification.
- b) Define social stratification. Discuss the main forms of social stratification.
- c) Analyze caste system as a unique form of social stratification in India.

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## 1.8 References

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## 1.9 End Notes

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## **UNIT 2 □ Marx : Class**

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### **Structure**

- 2.1 Learning Objectives**
- 2.2 Introduction**
- 2.3 Nature of class**
  - 2.3.1 Class consciousness**
  - 2.3.2 Complexity of class systems**
  - 2.3.3 Class conflict and class struggle**
- 2.4 Critical evaluation**
- 2.5 Conclusion**
- 2.6 Summary**
- 2.7 Questions**
- 2.8 References**
- 2.9 End notes**

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### **2.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about the life and works of Karl Marx.
- ⊙ To develop an acquaintance with Marx's idea of class.
- ⊙ To understand the Marxian concept of class consciousness.
- ⊙ To gain an insight into the process of class conflict and class struggle.

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### **2.2 Introduction**

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Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) was one of the most influential figures in the field of sociology. Marx was born in a middle class family in Trier, Prussia on 5<sup>th</sup> May in the year 1818 and spent much of his life in Britain. Both his parents were from rabbinical families. He received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin in 1841. After graduation, he started writing for a liberal-radical newspaper and within ten months he became its editor-in-chief. Marx married in 1843 and soon left Germany and went to Paris. It was in Paris where he combined Hegelianism, socialism and political economy which shaped his intellectual orientation. Another

turning point in his life during that time was his meeting with Friedrich Engels – his lifelong friend, benefactor and collaborator.

At the request of the Prussian government, Marx was expelled from France in 1845. Thereafter he moved to Brussels where he became an active member of the international revolutionary movement. He also became associated with the Communist League and wrote the Communist manifesto in collaboration with Engels in 1848 delineating the aims and beliefs of the league. Marx moved to London in 1849 and started his research on the capitalist system. The result of his studies was published in three volumes of *Capital* in 1867. Marx joined the *International*, an international movement of the workers, in 1864. He soon gained fame as a leader of the *International* and as the author of the *Capital*. The last days of Marx's life were spent in abject poverty. His wife died in 1881, and he himself died on March 14, 1883.

Marx's ideas, though inspired millions across the world, also created a lot of controversies as well. A major part of Karl Marx's writings has been concerned with social stratification, specifically class structure. Marx had never given a clear cut definition of class or what exactly does a class constitute of. In fact, he died just before he took up the task of delineating what constitutes a class. However, we get an idea of what Karl Marx meant by class from the body of his writings as a whole.

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## 2.3 Nature of class

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Marx used the term *class* to refer to the main strata in all stratification systems. In his opinion, social stratification is determined by the relationships of social groups to the means of production. Thus, from a Marxian perspective, a class is a social group whose members share the same relationship to the means of production.

Marx believed that the Western society has passed through four stages: primitive communism, slave society, feudal society and capitalist society. This classification is based on how goods are produced, i.e. on the modes of production. Primitive communism which existed in the pre-historic societies was class-less in nature. But all the subsequent societies were class-based societies. The societies were divided into two main classes – slave-owners and slaves in the slave society, lords and serfs in the feudal society, bourgeoisie and proletariats in the capitalist society. The subject class, in each society, formed the majority of the population and supplied the labour force required for production. The ruling class formed the minority.

Primitive communism was based on a socialistic mode of production. Land and its products were communally owned. There was a rudimentary level of division



of labour. Men hunted and women gathered plant food. The produce was shared by all the members of the society. The society was classless in nature because all the members of the society shared the same relationship to the forces of production. Primitive communism was a hunting and gathering society which had a subsistence economy. In this society, everything that was produced was consumed by all.

There was an emergence of class when production was no longer based on subsistence, but expanded beyond it. Production implies development of product. Production is the result of the combination of three elements:

- Object of labour, i.e. the raw materials produced by nature
- Instruments of labour, i.e. the tools or machines developed by humanity
- Subject of labour, i.e. the producer

Class-based society arose when agriculture became the dominant mode of production. There was a rise of surplus wealth where goods above the basic subsistence need of the community were produced. This led to the emergence of trade and commerce in which exchange of goods between different communities took place. This was accompanied by the development of private property. Thus, property was owned by the individual, instead of the community. The division of labour also became complex. Only a proportion of the population was engaged in agricultural production, whereas the remaining section could involve themselves into production of pottery, clothing and agricultural implements. Marx maintained that during the transformation from one stage to the other, some features of the previous stage are carried forward to the next stage. For instance, in capitalist England, there was an aristocracy tied to the land, a holdover from the feudal era<sup>1</sup>.

In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx wrote that in the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will. These relations of production correspond to a definite stage of the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, which is the real foundation on top of which arises a legal and political superstructure to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. *Productive force* is historically determined level of instruments of production and human capacities to utilise it. Technologies, scientific knowledge, organization of labour are the constituents of productive force. *Production relation* means the relations arising out of the process of production.

**Do you know?**

*Mode of production* implies the way people actually produce and enter into social relationships with one another. It comprises the total way of life of society, its social activities and its social institutions

In the opinion of Karl Marx, the relationship between the principal social classes is of mutual dependence and conflict. In capitalist societies, the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariats are interdependent. A wage labourer sells his labour to earn a living and depends on wage from the capitalists, since he neither owns the forces of production nor the means of production. Similarly, the capitalists depend on the labour power of the working class because without it, there would be no production. But this relationship between the capitalists and the workers is not symmetrical or reciprocal. Rather, it is a relationship of the oppressor and oppressed. The ruling class exploits the working class and gains from it.

The classes in different relations to the means of production have opposing *class interests*. The ruling class has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, maximising profit, appropriating the surplus created by the workers. This class has a complete control over the state machinery with the help of which, it suppresses all forms of discontent of the workers.

Marx says that the heart of the antagonism between the ruling and the non-ruling class lies in the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. Structural expression of antagonism is the class structure and the processual expression of antagonism is the class conflict or class struggle.

In capitalism, the owners purchase the labour of the workers. The labour, which is performed on the raw materials, creates a product. The selling price of the product is higher than the making cost. This difference between the value of the labour and the value of the product is called by Marx as the *surplus value* which is appropriated by the capitalists. Surplus value is the value created by surplus labour. There are four principal attributes of surplus value:

- It is the value created by the surplus labour of the worker
- It is unpaid and therefore creates value for the capitalist but not the worker
- It presents a deception since it claims to be paid labour
- It is the recognised form of overwork and thus goes to the heart of the exploitation of the worker in that the worker is not paid for the wealth he or she creates by producing surplus labour<sup>2</sup>.

Surplus value can also be explained in terms of *profit*. *Profit* is the margin of difference between the value of the price in the market and the value of the wage that the capitalists actually give to the labourers. Thus there is exploitation both at the level of base and superstructure. The fundamental level of exploitation is the economic exploitation which is further corresponded by exploitation at the level of superstructure. The super structural elements are state, judiciary, culture etc. Economically powerful class becomes the ruling class when they capture the superstructures and become politically, culturally and legally powerful.

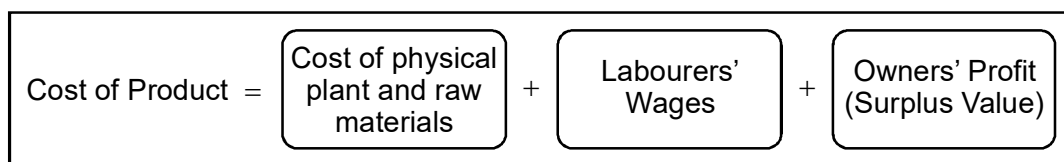


Figure 1 : Cost of Product and Surplus Value according to Marx

According to Marx, the workers constitute a class without being aware that they do so, or without necessarily taking any collective action on the basis of their common membership in the class. But they constitute a class on two objective grounds:

1. Their common economic situation vis-à-vis the instruments of production, and
2. Their relatively uniform powerlessness in the face of state power that is used to frustrate their expressions of discontent.

This idea of the objectivity of class existence is a distinguishing feature of the Marxist approach to the study of stratification<sup>3</sup>.

### Things to do

Try to visit a factory in or near your locality. Make a list of the means of production used in the factory. And, also try to find out the production relations existing between the workers and the owner of the factory.

### 2.3.1 Class consciousness

Marx also makes a distinction between *class-in-itself* and *class-for-itself*. A class which has come into existence but is not yet conscious of its interests is called class-in-itself. Marx says that the working class remains under a spell of *false consciousness* which is strategically created by the ruling class ideology. An *ideology*

can be defined as an integrated system of ideas that is external to, and coercive of, people (Lefebvre). In the opinion of Marx and Engels, ‘the *ideas* of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of the society, is at the same time, its ruling *intellectual* force. The class, which has the means of production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. *The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships*, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas’<sup>4</sup>. False consciousness is basically a false idea of the true nature of relationship between the social classes. The working class being largely unaware of the true nature of oppression and exploitation by the ruling class tends to accept the status quo as natural and normal and does not want to change it. When a class becomes conscious of its interest, manifesting in practice and organises itself, it is called class-for-itself. According to Marx, this transformation from class in itself to class for itself happens only through a series of further determining circumstances like ‘the transcending of local limitations such as the individual factory, the individual community, the individual country- in other words, association and universality, the coordination and organization made possible thereby , the conscious opposition of the interests of one’s own class to that of other classes, resistance, action and the class-struggle.’<sup>5</sup> Thus, false consciousness is completely replaced by a realization of the true nature of exploitation. The members of the non-ruling class finally understand that by collective action they can overthrow the ruling class and they start taking positive steps for the realization of this goal. Thus, *class consciousness* is a sense of common interest and shared opposition to other classes.

### 2.3.2 Complexity of class systems

In his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx also talked about financial, industrial and petty bourgeoisie, proletariats, landlords and free farmers. In a few other studies, he also observed the presence of some *intermediary classes* in the capitalist societies. For example, within the Bourgeoisie, there are shop-keepers and merchants as well as the owners of the means of production, i.e. the owners of factories and land. Thus there are large differences within the class of bourgeoisie. Finally Marx considered the lumpen proletariat – criminals, beggars, drug addicts and so on – to be completely outside the society<sup>6</sup>. In his later writings, Marx also acknowledged the existence of the category of *middle class*. The middle class comprised small producers, petty bourgeoisie (employers of small fractions of labour), those engaged in the circulation of commodities, the middle men (wholesalers, shopkeepers, speculators), those who command in the name of capital ( managers, etc) and their assistants , supervisors, book-keepers, clerks and the ideological classes

embracing lawyers, journalists, clergy, state officials such as the military and the police. Marx also suggested that this middle class positioned between the capitalists and landlords on the one hand and the workers on the other hand are continuously increasing in number<sup>7</sup>.

### 2.3.3 Class conflict and class struggle

In his major work *Capital*, Marx argues that class conflict is inevitable within capitalism. Capitalism aims at exploiting the labouring class and thereby making profit. The exploitation of the workers, after a certain period of time, leads them to throw a challenge to the system. The working class eventually becomes a revolutionary class which brings in a socialist regime and finally communism.

Marx, in his *Communist Manifesto*, wrote that, “The history of all hitherto existing society is a history of class struggle”. The class struggle is the driving force of historical development. The conflict between productive forces and production relations eventually leads to a conflict between the ruling and the non-ruling class. This conflict primarily emanates from a conflict of interests, since, the interest of the ruling class is to maintain and preserve the existing production relations whereas non-ruling class strives to replace it with new production relations. This leads to a class-struggle through which the proletariat would overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize the forces of production. For revolution to occur there must be transition of the non-ruling class from class-in-itself to class-for itself. According to Marx, this transition can take place in two ways:

- Development of class consciousness which means that the non-owners should realise their real class-interest
- Political formation which implies that the non ruling class should organise themselves politically.

Class consciousness is the readiness and ability on the part of the non-owners to fight against the existing system and to smash it. Thus there should be a mass action. The non ruling class should become aware of their real class interest; they must have knowledge about the objective conditions of revolution and the ways in which revolutions can be brought about.

The revolutionary class must organise itself politically and must be able to restructure its organisation under changed situations. There must be leaders who would know the laws of revolution and have the ability to organise the working class and lead the revolution to a victorious end. Ultimately this economic conflict will take the shape of a political conflict.

### Indicators of political conflict

- Crisis of the upper class, that is, the bourgeoisie find that they cannot rule in the old way
- Acute suffering of the proletariat
- An increase in the mass activity of the proletariats.

For the successful revolution to occur, the proletariats should develop class consciousness. When capitalist society is fully mature, the proletariats slowly find that they are not getting any benefit or advantage or security from the system. But they understand that they cannot individually bring about any change in the society, but they can do so collectively. Those who are in the same deprived position, start communicating with each other and they understand that they have to fight together against a common enemy. Marx says that the working class in order to be a true revolutionary class has to understand that it is fighting against a very powerful enemy who has global network of commercial, political and ideological power. Hence the proletariats have to organise themselves very well and have to develop a counter-ideology to fight against the bourgeoisie. For Marx, this counter-ideology is the Marxian ideology. The proletariats will also form a political organisation which is the Communist party. This communist party would act as the vanguard party to guide the proletariats.

The whole society is now divided into two hostile blocks. This is known as *polarisation*. Some belonging to the capitalist class may shift their allegiance and become a part of the working class. This is called *declassment*. The division of labour within the ruling class creates a separation within the class between those who think and those who act. Marx says that this separation leads to hostilities and opposition between these two parts. That is why when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class.

In the opinion of Marx, there will be a radical restructuring of society after revolution. Property would be communally owned and, since, all the members of the society share the same relationship to the means of production, a class-less society would be formed. Since history is the history of the class struggle, history would now come to an end. In the communist society which replaces capitalism, there will be no contradictions and no conflicts of interests.

**Do you know?**

Friedrich Engels was a German thinker born in Prussia on 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1820. His father was the owner of large textile factories in England and Prussia. On his way to Manchester in 1842, he met Karl Marx for the first time and eventually developed a friendship that lasted forever. Together they wrote, *The Holy Family*, *The German Ideology*, *Communist Manifesto* etc. Engels edited the second and third volumes of *Das Capital* after Marx's demise. He also organised Marx's notes on the *Theories of Surplus Value* which was later brought out as the fourth volume of *Das Capital*. He not only collaborated with Marx, but also supported him financially. Engels died in London on 5<sup>th</sup> August, 1895 at the age of 74.

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## 2.4. Critical evaluation

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Marx's predictions have not come true. The proletariat has become highly diversified. In modern world, there is a dramatic expansion of the service sector and the workers of the service sector do not identify themselves with the labouring class. Giorgiano Gagliani (1981) has suggested that white-collar workers, ranging from secretaries to engineers, i.e., those belonging to the non-manual working class, have a motive to form an alliance with the capitalist class. Their bosses pay their political support with higher wages than those earned by manual workers<sup>8</sup>.

Today, as result of political pressure and collective bargaining, the government and the capitalists have also become responsive to the needs and demands of the working class<sup>9</sup>.

Socialist revolutions are found to have occurred in those societies which were about to enter capitalism, as in the case of Russia in 1917, or via a nationalist populism, such as China in 1949. Socialist revolution has not taken place in any mature capitalist states ripe for change<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, state socialism has crumbled down in Europe between 1989 and 1992 and capitalism has crept into Central and Eastern Europe<sup>11</sup>.

Marx's theory is useful and relevant in explaining and analyzing the social and political conflict in the capitalist societies at a particular point of time. But Marx's theory has not passed the test of time and place since it loses its utility and relevance in other societies as well as in other points of time. Marx's theory also fails when applied to other forms of stratification, for example, the caste system in India.

Marx wrote that industry was owned and controlled primarily by individual

capitalists, but this no longer holds true today. Most industry is now run by large corporations which are owned by thousands or even hundreds of thousands of stakeholders but controlled by salaried managers. As a result, the ownership and the control of the means of production have been largely separated. Executives, technicians, scientists and other professionals may control the means of production, but they do not own it. Thus, Marx's definition of social class does not help much in determining their social class<sup>12</sup>.

Max Weber has criticised Marx's theory on class on the ground of economic determinism. For Weber, Marx's theory has tried to explain every societal and political relationship in terms of economic factors, which is nothing but economic determinism. Weber has drawn our attention to the importance of other non-economic factors, such as status and authority relations. The polarisation of classes, as envisioned by Marx, did not happen in advanced capitalist societies. Instead, there has been the rise of an ever-expanding middle class.

But despite all the criticisms, Karl Marx's theory of class remains one of the most important theories of social stratification. Marx's work on class is still significant for the following reasons:

1. Firstly, many sociologists claim that this theory, still now, provides the best explanation of the nature of class in capitalist society.
2. Secondly, much of the research on class has been inspired by ideas and questions raised by Marx.
3. Thirdly, many of the concepts of class analysis introduced by Marx have proved useful to Marxists and non-Marxists alike.

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## 2.5 Conclusion

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Karl Marx was born in Prussia in 1818. He spent his youth in Berlin and Paris and finally moved to London where he spent the rest of his life. In Paris, Marx met Frederick Engels, who became a close collaborator and dear friend of Marx. Marx is considered to be one of the most important figures of social stratification theory.

Marx defined social stratification by the relationship of an individual or a group to the means of production, i.e., every member in a class share the same relationship to the means of production. He theorised that Western society started with a classless primitive pre-historic society and evolved through a series of polarised two-class structure - a ruling and a ruled class - through the ages. These structures can



be found in slave-owners and slaves in the slave society, lords and serfs in the feudal society, and bourgeoisie and proletariat in the capitalist society. Marx also postulated that the relationship between the principal social classes is of interdependence and conflict. For example, in the capitalist society, a labourer sells his labour in the process of production to earn living wages from the capitalist. The capitalist owns the forces and the means of production and depends on the labourer to participate in the production forces. But this relationship between the labourer and the capitalist is not reciprocal and the capitalist exploits the working classes and makes profit from it.

In capitalism, the owners purchase the labour of the workers. The labour invested on the raw materials by the working class creates a product. The market value of the product is higher than its production cost, which includes the cost of labour and the cost of raw materials. Marx referred the difference in the values of the labour and the product as the surplus value. The surplus value or profit is appropriated by the capitalists for their own gain and the worker class. In other words, the owner class gains wealth at the expense of the working class.

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## 2.6 Summary

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Marx also wrote that the history of society is essentially the history of class struggle. The class struggle is a result of a conflict of interests between the ruling and the ruled class. The interest of the ruling class is to maintain and preserve the existing production relations, and thereby exploit the non-ruling class, whereas the non-ruling class strives to replace it with new production relations. This leads to a class-struggle through which the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie and seize the forces of production. For this revolution to occur there must be a transition of the non-ruling class from class-in-itself to class-for itself. This transition can happen after the non-ruling class gains class consciousness - a sense of common interest and shared opposition to other classes.

Many of Marx's theories have not survived the test of time and place. His predictions of class revolution have not come true. In the modern world, the proletariat has become highly diversified with the dramatic expansion of the service sector. Due to political pressure and collective bargaining, the government and the capitalists have also become responsive to the needs and demands of the working class. Additionally, Marx's definition of social class has also lost meaning in modern society, where the ownership and the control of the means of production have been largely separated. For example, salaried executives, technicians, and other professionals may control the means of production, but the ownership belongs to thousands of stakeholders.

However, despite all the criticisms, Karl Marx's theory of class remains one of the most important theories of social stratification.

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## 2.7 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) What is surplus value according to Karl Marx?
- b) Discuss Marx's idea of forces of production.
- c) Discuss the features of primitive communism put forward by Marx.
- d) What is ideology?
- e) Differentiate between class-in-itself and class-for-itself.
- f) What is false consciousness?

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) Discuss the different stages of society described by Karl Marx.
- b) Analyse Marx's views on class conflict and class struggle.
- c) Write a note on the intermediary classes as delineated by Marx.
- d) What are the drawbacks of Marxian theory of class?

### III. Essay type questions :

- a) Critically analyze Karl Marx's theory of class and class struggle.

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## 2.9 End notes

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## **UNIT 3** **Max Weber : Class, Status and Power**

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### **Structure**

- 3.1 Learning Objectives**
- 3.2 Introduction**
- 3.3 Nature of Class**
- 3.4 Status**
- 3.5 Party**
- 3.6 Weberian perspective in the context of India**
- 3.7 Critical evaluation**
- 3.8 Conclusion**
- 3.9 Summary**
- 3.10 Questions**
- 3.11 Reference**
- 3.12 End notes**

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### **3.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about the life and works of Max Weber
- ⊙ To understand Weber's ideas about social class and the market situation
- ⊙ To gain an insight into Weber's concept of status group
- ⊙ To understand the difference between social class and status group
- ⊙ To develop an acquaintance with Weber's idea of political parties

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### **3.2 Introduction**

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Max Weber (1864-1920) was a distinguished German social historian, economist, sociologist, philosopher and jurist. He is regarded as one of the main founders of sociology. His ideas have greatly influenced social theory and social research. Weber was born on April 21, 1864 in Erfurt, Germany in a middle class family. He was the eldest of the seven children of Senior Max Weber and Helene Fallenstein. Weber's paternal grandfather was a prosperous linen dealer in Bielefeld. Weber's father was a bureaucrat who first became a city councillor in Berlin and later became a member of the Prussian House of Deputies and of the German Reichstag. Sr. Weber was a

man who engaged into a pleasure-loving , shallow life. Weber's mother, Helene, was a devout Calvinist who led an ascetic life devoid of worldly pleasures. Initially, Weber's parents had a happy marriage, but gradually tension in their relationship showed up. Weber in his early life seemed to choose the life-style and thoughts of his father. But later on, he was inclined to his mother's approach to life. This constant tension of choosing between his father's and mother's view of life seemed to affect Weber's psychological orientation negatively. Weber was an avid reader since his childhood. When he was fourteen years old, he wrote letters filled with references to Homer, Virgil, Cicero and Livy. He also finished reading Goethe, Spinoza, Kant and Schopenhauer before entering University.

At the age of eighteen, Max Weber left home to attend the University of Heidelberg. Initially, he was very shy, sickly and withdrawn. But gradually, he took up his father's habit of drinking and duelling. He also chose his father's career – law. After three terms, Weber left Heidelberg for military service in Strasbourg. He returned to Berlin in 1884 to take courses at the University of Berlin. There he earned his Ph.D, became a lawyer and started teaching at the University of Berlin. Gradually, he adopted the life style of his mother and started leading an ascetic life. During his years in Berlin, Weber started taking interest in economics, history and sociology. He became a professor of economics at Heidelberg in 1896. But his father's death in 1897 following an altercation between them led to his nervous breakdown which lasted for the next six to seven years. In 1904 and 1905, Weber published one of his best known works *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber also helped found the German Sociological Society in 1910. Weber died on June 14, 1920 while working on his most important work *Economy and Society*. This book, though unfinished, was published and subsequently translated into many languages.

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### 3.3 Nature of class

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Weber's theory of class was written within the period between 1911 and 1920 and was published in the second volume of *Economy and Society*. Weber, like Marx, has seen class in economic terms. In his opinion, classes develop in market economies in which individuals compete for economic gain. He defines class as a number of people having in common a specific causal component of life chances, who share a similar position in a market economy and by virtue of that fact, receive similar economic rewards. This component of life chances is represented by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income under conditions of market<sup>1</sup>. For Weber, class situation is 'the typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences, in so far as this chance is

determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order.<sup>2</sup> According to Weber, a person's *class situation* is nothing but his *market situation*. Those who share a similar class situation also share similar life chances. It means an individual's chance of attaining things considered to be desirable in the eyes of society, for example, access to higher education and good quality housing, will depend on his economic position<sup>3</sup>.

Life chances may be defined as the possibilities arising from the use of goods and services in the market, and the opportunities these chances present for income. Market refers to the sphere in society in which economic goods and services produced and exchanged. The market, in this sense, is distinctly separate from the political and legal spheres of the society and imposes conditions on the realization of economic interest and incomes.

According to Weber, class situation is determined by two factors:

- Ownership of usable properties like dwellings, workshops, agricultural lands, and
- Skills and services

Usable property creates returns on investments and incomes in the form of rents. By skills and services, Weber referred to the credentials and certificates obtained through education. These increase life chances of individuals by creating opportunities for them to sell their labour in the market. Within this class are included technicians, civil servants, various categories of white-collar workers who offer their services in exchange for income in the form of salaries and wages. Their life chances are dependent on the market situation. The market determines whether their skills derived from certificates and credentials are saleable in the market. This class is regarded as non-propertyied, whereas the owners of usable property are regarded as the propertyied class. This propertyied class has ownership over the instruments of production and the products of labour. In Weber's opinion, in the ancient society, the ownership of property was the sole determining factor of life chances. But in modern societies, life chances are regulated by the market<sup>4</sup>.

In the opinion of Weber, market – and not property – is the most important economic basis for class. According to him, the main cause of inequality in capitalism is market capacity. Market capacity denotes the skills brought to the labour market by the employees. The various skills and services offered by different occupational groups have different market values. Weber has given a four-fold classification of classes in capitalist society<sup>5</sup>:

- a. The propertied upper class
- b. The property-less white-collar workers
- c. The petty bourgeoisie
- d. The manual working class.

Weber also puts down Marx's idea of the polarisation of classes. Rather, he envisaged the expansion of the white-collar middle class with the development of capitalism. He pointed out that capitalist enterprises and the modern nation state would require a rational bureaucratic administration. This would in turn lead to the requirement of a large number of administrators and clerical staff. Thus there would be expansion and diversification of the middle class.

For Weber, an action by a class against the class structure can take place in one of the two ways:

- An irrational protest and mass uprising
- Rational association leading to the formation of trade unions<sup>6</sup>

The first type of action took place in the ancient societies where the means of production were monopolised by the propertied class. But in modern societies, the class interests are determined by varying motives and inclinations of the workers. Hence, the workers today do not share similar class interests any more. 'Weber sees class interests not as an objective attribute of an individual's relation to the means of production, but as 'average interests' of individuals sharing similar market situations and life chances'.<sup>7</sup> In modern societies, the potential for mass action of a class is largely diminished. Now we can see more of social action among the workers. For Weber, an Action is "social" insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of other and is thereby oriented in its course'. Hence Weber rejects the Marxian view of the inevitability of Proletarian revolution.

Marx and Weber also differ on the question of how likely the members of the same economic class will become the members of a 'community' – a group of persons united by common purposes which they seek to achieve through collective effort. Weber does not refer to a class as a group because for classes to become groups there has to be an immediate economic opponent which is not present in the modern society. Moreover, today individuals have separate motives and are competing alone in the market. A class in order to act as a group needs to have the element of homogeneity which is largely absent today. Weber maintains that true class consciousness will be formed only when the workers will realise that the contrast in

life-chances is not inevitable, but the result of the distribution of property and the economic structure of society<sup>8</sup>.

According to Weber, direct antagonism between the working class and the ruling class is no longer existent in the modern society. The direct confrontations between the propertied and the propertyless are replaced by mediated wage disputes on the market. Today class conflicts are resolved through legal means. A worker today can avail himself of law. Hence, Weber maintains, it is not the workers who suffer from wage disputes, but the manufacturers and business executives.

Along with the economic dimension of class, Weber added two other dimensions – *power* and *prestige*. Weber saw property, power and prestige as three mutually exclusive but interdependent bases of social stratification. Property differences give rise to classes, power differences give rise to political parties and differences in prestige generate status groupings or strata<sup>9</sup>.

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### 3.4 Status

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Weber recognised the conditions necessary for the formation of communities. He explicitly states that status groups, and not economic classes normally constitute communities. Status groups are formed on the basis of the amounts of socially ascribed prestige or honour. Property does not determine an individual's social status. It is just one of the few other factors affecting the differences in honour or prestige. Hence, both the propertied and the property-less can belong to the same status group<sup>10</sup>. Status is characterised by patterns of consumption, lifestyle and habits of taste.

Weber has put forward four characteristics of status groups:

- Status groups evaluate social worth and bestow honour.
- They segregate themselves from other status groups.
- Status groups uphold patterns of consumption and canons of taste.
- Status groups monopolise status privileges

Status refers to the differences between social groups in the social honour or prestige they are given by others. Status groups are easily identifiable. When individuals claim to qualify on the basis of their adoption of particular styles of dress or the submission to specific social badges, they are considered to belong only on the basis of a positive evaluation and acceptance of their social worth. As a result of this, people are bound to uphold canons of style and habits of taste which are regarded as appropriate by the group. Otherwise, they will receive negative



evaluation. In this connection, Weber talks about *complete endogamous closure* which implies restrictions imposed on social intercourse and marriage between different status groups.

Weber also discussed the concept of *social segregation* by which he referred to the practices used by a status group to set itself apart from other status groups. A status group does so by its lifestyles and social badges. The members of the same status groups have a similar lifestyle, talk in a similar way, wear similar kind of clothes, go to the same parties, and drink similar kind of liquor, etc<sup>11</sup>. A number of factors contribute to a person's status. Both wealth and prestige play important roles, but they are entirely independent of each other. Weber, in this context, made a distinction between positively valued status groups and negatively valued status groups. Status groups are *positively valued* when it is thought that traits of beauty or excellence are inherent in their being. A status group is *negatively valued* when they see their value as lying beyond this world, or when their religious beliefs in regard to claims of explicit difference from others are based on 'providential' ideas<sup>12</sup>. For example, a professor, a doctor or a civil servant wields more prestige than a Mafia don who makes more money<sup>13</sup>. We may also cite the example of *pariah groups* which are negatively privileged status groups, subject to discrimination that prevents them from taking advantage of opportunities open to most others. The Jews were a pariah group in medieval Europe, prohibited to take up certain occupations and to hold certain official positions<sup>14</sup>.

### **Do you know?**

Pariah group as defined by Max Weber in his *The Sociology of Religion* denotes a distinctive hereditary social group lacking autonomous political organization and characterized by prohibitions against commensality and intermarriage originally founded upon magical, tabooistic, and ritual injunctions.

Status groups often tend to monopolise material and ideal goods, which include monopolisation of aristocratic titles, authoritarian rights, special dress items, social rituals, certain trades etc. Positive expression of this monopolisation is the right of a status group to have access to scarce resources. Whereas, negative expression of monopolisation happens when a status group is denied of accessing these resources.

Unlike classes, status groups have the capacity to form communities who share common characteristics. The members of a status group experience similar life styles, habits and taste which are essential for the formation of a community.

There are some fundamental differences between class and status. In Weber's words, "Money and an entrepreneurial position are not in themselves status qualifications, although they may lead to them; and the lack of property is not in itself a status disqualification, although this may be a reason for it"<sup>15</sup>. Class is objectively given; whereas status is based on people's subjective evaluations of social differences. Class has an economic basis and hence, is associated with property and earnings. Status, on the other hand, derives from the differences in the lifestyles people follow. Differences in property result in *life chances*, while status differences lead to differences in *lifestyles*<sup>16</sup>. Class refers to the unequal distribution of economic rewards, whereas status refers to the unequal distribution of social honours. Unlike classes, members of a status group are almost always aware of their common status situation.

#### Things to do

Explore your locality. Find out the pariah groups in your locality. Try to observe if there is any distinctiveness in their life-styles and patterns of behaviour.

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### 3.5 Party

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Weber has mentioned about a third type of stratification, i.e., party. Parties are formed for the acquisition of social power and for influencing the actions of others for political purposes. Weber states, "whereas the genuine place of 'classes' is within the economic order, the place of 'status groups' is within the social order, that is, within the sphere of the distribution of 'honour'. From within these spheres, classes and status groups influence one another and they influence the legal order and are in turn influenced by it. But 'parties' live in a house of 'power'. Their action is oriented toward the acquisition of social 'power', that is to say, toward influencing a communal action no matter what its content may be"<sup>17</sup>. Power is political in nature. "It is the ability of a person or group to carry out plans, efforts, or policies – even over the objections of other people or groups."<sup>18</sup> In Weber's words, "Parties may represent interests determined through 'class situation' or 'status situation and they may recruit their following respectively from one or the other. But they need be neither purely 'class' nor purely 'status' parties. In most cases they are partly class parties and partly status parties, but sometimes they are neither."<sup>19</sup> Parties often cut across class differences. For example, parties may be based on religious affiliation or nationalist ideals.

**Things to do**

Make a list of the main political parties in India. Also write down the ideologies and basic principles of each of these parties.

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### 3.6 Weberian perspective in the context of India

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Weber's theory of social stratification can be applied to the study of Indian social structure. Caste system, the form of social stratification unique to the Indian society can be treated as a status group. Caste is a status group based on cultural power, as opposed to class which is based on economic power. The Brahmins, i.e., the highest caste group in the caste hierarchy, can be an example of status group who had considerable social honour but were without any economic or political power. Weber cited the monopolisation of status privileges by status groups as one of the key features of status groups. In the ancient caste-based Indian society, the Brahmins rose to the highest order of the caste hierarchy by monopolising education and closing the doors of learning for all the other caste groups. Weber also pointed out that status is characterized by patterns of consumption. If we look at the functioning of the caste system of India, it would be evident that the lower castes who remain engaged in production were never the ones who consumed. Consumption was the sole domain of the people belonging to the upper castes. The upper castes, particularly the Brahmins, used various modes of *social segregation* to set themselves apart from the upper caste groups. For example, the Brahmins imposed various rules and regulations regarding the acceptance of food and drink from the lower castes. The untouchables were forced to stay outside the bounds of the cities or the villages. Even the shadow of an untouchable was regarded as highly polluting. Thus, we can see that the lower castes, particularly the untouchables were *negatively valued status groups*, who were denied of all kinds of privileges. In our caste system, *endogamous closure* played an important role too. There were several restrictions on social intercourse among the different caste groups. Inter caste marriage was strictly prohibited and was punishable. In earlier times, Brahmins had the privilege of sexual access to women of different *varna* status. Upper caste men were allowed to have all kinds of sexual relations with lower caste women without any obligations to marry them. But the lower caste men were denied of this privilege. This is where Weber's definition of *power* fits in – power is the ability of a person or a group to carry out plans, efforts or policies – even over the objections of other people or groups.

Now, we may turn our attention to the studies made in India by the sociologists who were influenced by Weberian theory of stratification. Louis Dumont in his magnum opus – *Homo Hierarchicus*, borrowed his idea of status from max Weber.

But later on, he gave the idea his own interpretations which was largely religious in nature and thereby, distorted Weber's conceptualization of status and reality of caste system. We can also find Weber's idea of stratification in Andre Beteille's *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in Tanjore Village*. Beteille carried out a field study at Sripuram in Tamil Nadu, in which he analysed the interactions among the three caste groups: the Brahmins, the middle-level non-Brahmins, and the Adi-Dravidas. In his analysis, he highlighted the interplay of caste structure, class systems and distribution of political power. He found that the Brahmins who constituted 24% of the village population, enjoyed social, economic and political dominance over the rest of the population which comprised of artisans, service-caste and untouchables. Suraj Bandyopadhyay and Donald Von Eschen in their study in rural Bengal have also found the three dimensions of stratification – class, caste (status, for Weber) and power which are closely connected. Various studies made by Anil Bhatt, Rajni Kothari, McKim Marriot and several others reiterate Weber's theory of stratification.

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### 3.7 Critical evaluation

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Weber's theory has been subjected to criticism on various grounds. First, Weber has not given a clear-cut criterion for separating class from status in a workplace. If market capacity is considered to be the basis, then every worker would have to be placed into separate class since every worker possesses a skill different from his co-worker, how minute the difference may be.

Second, Weber's theory has put more importance on occupation and has largely ignored wealth as a crucial element in class structure.

Third, Weber's idea that status, and not class, is governed by lifestyles is not entirely true. Classes also differ from one another in terms of lifestyles, i.e., patterned thought and behaviour. Every class has its own subculture which comprises of distinctive work patterns, architecture, home furnishings, food habits, dressing style, domestic routines, art and ideology. For example, the upper class all over the world get the opportunity to receive education in elite schools and colleges, which the lower classes can never afford. Still today, half of the world's population remains illiterate.

Contemporary sociologists, such as Marshall et al. are of the opinion that Weber's work offers a valuable explanation for the very broad differences in occupations, reward and positions of manual and non-manual workers. The theory also allows gradation of social position within each class grouping, for example,

between senior managerial staff and routine clerical workers in the non-manual sector. Similarly, market capacities of the manual classes also vary as one moves down the social hierarchy from skilled, semi-skilled to unskilled manual jobs<sup>20</sup>.

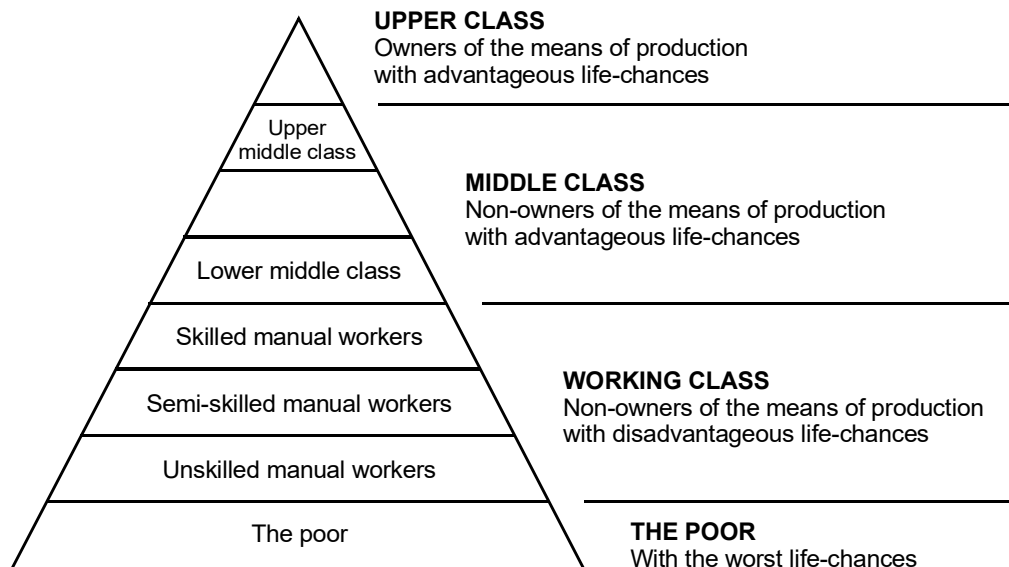


Figure 2: Marxian/Weberian model of social stratification (based on a diagram from 44)

Both the Marxian and Weberian theories on social stratification give us valuable insights into different aspects of the contemporary capitalist system. These two traditions put together, produce a three-fold distinction between a propertied upper class, a large middle or service class and a working class of manual workers who have lesser life chances than the above two categories. There is a fourth category – the poor who have been marginalised in or excluded from the labour market and hence, has the worst life chances.

### 3.8 Conclusion

Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Germany in 1864. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Berlin and started a career in law and academics. He helped found the German Sociological Society in 1910. In 1920, he died while working on his most important work - “Economy and Society”, which was published posthumously.

In “Economy and Society”, Weber put forth his theory of class and social stratification. He defines class as a number of individuals with a specific common

causal component of life chances, who share a similar position in a market economy and receive similar economic rewards. According to him, a person's class situation is the same as his market situation. A key defining factor of Weber's class definition is that those who share a similar class situation also share similar life chances.

Life chances can be defined as the possibilities along with the financial opportunities arising from the use of goods and services in the market. The market is separate from the political and legal spheres of the society and imposes conditions on the realization of economic interest and incomes. According to Weber, the class is determined by ownership of property (propertied class) and possession of marketable skills and services (non-propertied class). The propertied class has ownership over the instruments of production and the products of labour in the market. Whereas, the market determines life chances of the non-propertied class which includes various cadres of people such as technicians, civil servants, white-collar workers.

Weber postulated that the main cause of inequality in capitalism is market capacity. The various skills and services offered by different occupational groups have different market values. This leads to a four-fold classification of classes in a capitalist society. Weber also claims that direct antagonism between the classes does not exist in modern society. The direct confrontations between the propertied and the non-propertied are replaced by mediated wage disputes on the market.

Along with the economic dimension of class due to property ownership, Weber added two other dimensions – power and prestige as the basis of social stratification. Property differences give rise to classes, power differences lead to political parties and prestige differences create status groups.

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### 3.9 Summary

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According to Weber, class refers to the unequal distribution of economic rewards, whereas status refers to the unequal distribution of social honours. Unlike classes, members of a status group are almost always aware of their common status situation. Weber states that status groups, and not economic classes, constitute communities. Status groups are formed on the basis of socially ascribed prestige or honour. Status is characterised by patterns of consumption, lifestyle and habits of taste. Every status group exhibits the characteristics of social segregation - the practices of setting itself apart from other status groups. The members of the same status groups have a similar lifestyle, talk in a similar way, wear similar kinds of clothes, etc. Status groups often tend to monopolise material and ideals including aristocratic titles, authoritarian rights, special dress items, social rituals, certain trades,

etc. In the context of Indian society, the caste system can be treated as a status group as per Weber's definition.

The third type of social stratification, according to Weber, is parties. Parties are formed for the acquisition of social power and for influencing the actions of others for political purposes. The class is defined within the economic order, the status groups are defined within the social order, and parties are defined by an orientation towards the acquisition of social power. Power is one's ability to carry out plans, efforts, or policies over the objections of others. Parties may represent interests sometimes determined by certain class or status but they need not be so always.

While Weber's work offers a valuable explanation for the very broad differences in occupations, reward and positions of manual and non-manual workers, his theory has been subjected to criticism on various grounds, such as an unclear distinction between class and status in a workplace, ignoring wealth as a possible key factor in a class structure.

In the end, Karl Marx and Max Weber were two important social scientists, whose theories and ideas on class and social stratification have provided valuable insights into the social structure and have paved the way for further research in the field.

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### 3.10 Questions

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#### I. Answer briefly :

- a) What is a political party according to Max Weber?
- b) Discuss Max Weber's idea of status.
- c) What does Weber mean by life-chances?
- d) What is a pariah group?

#### II. Answer in detail :

- a) Make a distinction between Marxian and Weberian theories of social stratification.
- b) Differentiate between class and status after Weber.
- c) Analyse the relevance Weber's theory of stratification in the context of India.

- d) On what grounds has Weber's theory been criticised?

## II. Essay type questions :

- a) Analyze the Weberian perspective on stratification.  
b) Discuss class, status and party as the three dimensions of stratification.

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## **UNIT 4 □ Functionalism : Talcott Parsons and Robert K Merton**

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### **Structure**

- 4.1 Learning Objectives**
- 4.2 Introduction**
- 4.3 Parson's integrative effort**
  - 4.3.1 Action theory**
  - 4.3.2 Characteristics of action theory**
  - 4.3.3 Pattern variable**
- 4.4 Social system**
  - 4.4.1 Functional imperatives**
- 4.5 Criticism**
- 4.6 Robert K Merton**
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### **4.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ Understanding the functionalist aspect of sociology
- ⊙ Learning the principles of certain functionalist theories
- ⊙ Understanding society through these theories
- ⊙ Understanding relationship of structure and function

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## 4.2 Introduction

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Functionalism is one of the major sociological theoretical perspectives. It views society as a complex whole but orderly and stable system with interrelated structures and functions which work together to meet the needs of the society. Each part of society is interdependent and contributes to the maintaining stability of the society. Therefore, society is the sum of its parts and each part is functional for maintaining the equilibrium of the society as a whole. The notable theorists include Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton majorly contributed to the fields of functionalism. Social consensus and solidarity are the key beliefs of the functionalists

Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) was an American sociologist of the classical tradition and contributed to the theory of structural functionalism. Structural Functionalism view that all aspects of society be it institutions, roles, norms, serve a purpose and all are indispensable for the long-term survival of the society. It was developed as response to challenge of Marxism in a period when capitalism faced deep economic crisis (Bhattacharya,1972:909). His major work The structure of Social Action where he brought the European classical theory especially the work of Weber and Durkheim to the attention of American Sociology. (Ritzer, 2000:429). Parsons has also introduced his own grand theory and he was the first one to develop an integrated approach to sociological theory. His other major work apart from the structure of social action is the Social System (Parsons,1951)

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## 4.3 Parson's integrative efforts

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Parsons developed an integrated approach to sociological theory best expressed in his theory of social action. Action is a behaviour which is initiated to get the desired result. The notion of four action systems based on behavioural organism, personality, social system and cultural system, Parsons argued that the integration of levels of social analysis is major importance in social world. (Ritzer,2000: 430). Therefore, Parsons tried to come up with a grand theory which should be analytical, systematic, complete and elegant. According to him such theories constitute the action theory which should be operated on the notion of actors orienting themselves towards situations, with various sorts of goals, values and normative standards and behaviour. (Bhattacharya,1972:433). Secondly such a theory should be based on voluntarism an actor's choice i.e an actor's choice among alternative values and courses of action must be partially free (1972:433).

Parsons defined the locus of sociological theory which is not a result of internal factor as personality, as postulated by Sigmund Freud and Weber, but influenced by the external factors like the institutional structures developed by society. In *The Social System* (1951) Parsons turned his analysis to large-scale systems and the problems of social order, integration, and equilibrium. He advocated a structural-functional analysis, a study of the ways in which the interrelated units forms the structures of a social system and contribute to the development and maintenance of that system.<sup>1</sup>

### 4.3.1 Action theory

Parsons' theory of social action is based on his concept of the society. According to Max Weber social action is the action of individuals towards each other, which aims at achieving certain goals or realisation of some particular value or both. Such action is to be understood on the basis of meaning which individuals attach to it. The principle of Parson's theory of social action though influenced by Weber's theory of action, but he views social world in terms of peoples' ideas, their norms and values which determines peoples' mode of action. The most important part of action processes can be seen as the communication of meanings of symbols and information. Secondly Parsons is not just concerned with individual action but system of action made up from relationship between actors. Action is therefore a process in which the actor-situation system places a goal in front of the individual actor or collective individual actors and the goal is achieved through the particular actions of the individuals. Parsons have put forward four elements of social action i) An actor, ii) An end iii) the process of action iv) a set of means, i.e., the situations which the actor can control. All social actions proceed from mechanism which is their ultimate source. It does not mean that these actions are solely connected with organism. They are also connected with actor's relations with other persons' social situations and culture<sup>2</sup>

### 4.3.2 Characteristics of action theory

- 1) Actor (single or collective)
- 2) Actor is viewed as goal seeking
- 3) The actor is to make alternative means to goals
- 4) The actor is to make goal -means choice in a situation comprises physical and social objects and norms and values
- 5) Action involves actors making decisions to achieve goals which are influenced by ideas and situational conditions. (bhattachrya,1972:910-911)

Parsons argued individuals following socially accepted goals in ways that are ruled by the norms and sanctions institutionalised in society, and these goals and norms are derived from the cultural system of values on which there is consensus. Social actions are thus guided by the following four systems which may also be called as three aspects of the systems of social action.

- i) Behavioural organism : Behavioural organism is the actor itself. which is made of complex structure and the source of energy for rest of the systems. This system handles the adaptation function adjusting to the external world.
- ii) Personality system: This aspect of the system of social action is responsible for the needs for fulfilment for which man makes effort and performs certain actions. Personality system performs the goal attainment functions by defining system goals and mobilising resources to achieve them. These situations, have definite meaning and they are distinguished by various symbols and symptoms. Various elements of the situation come to have several meanings which becomes relevant to the actor's expectation system.
- iii) Cultural system : The cultural system performs the latency functions by providing actors with the norms and value which motivate the actions. Once the process of the social action develops the symbols and the signs acquire general meaning. The cultural system mediates the interaction among actors, personality and social system. Cultural values and norms are internalised by the actors which in turn also shape them.
- iv) Social System : A social system consists of individual actor's interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect. Here the actors not viewed in terms of thoughts and action but for his status and roles. The social system copes with all the process of integration function by controlling its parts. It supports the other systems, meets the needs and control the disruptions in the system. The actors are the most important part of the social system as values and norms of the system gets transferred tot eh actors, which they internalise to become the part of the society. For example, the socialisation process and the social control allow the social system to maintain equilibrium.

In Parson's view each of the four types of social action systems-behavioural, culture, personality and social systems have a distinctive coordinative role in the action process and therefore have some degree of causal autonomy.

**Do you know?**

Talcott Parsons' early sociology was significantly influenced by two major issues: religious values, and biological sciences. Against Marxism, Parsons argued that capitalist society could not be understood in exclusively economic (or materialistic) terms. Like Weber and Durkheim, Parsons was acutely interested in the impact of religious values on political and economic issues. This influence is evident in the theory of the Social System which is a study of the value-orientations which are fundamental to social interaction. This provides the normative structuring of social relationships. Second, Parsons' interest in biological sciences involved him in a life-long concern for the scientific interrelationship between the natural and the social sciences. The third major influence on his early development was the nature of economics as a science. (Parsons, The social system, 1951)

**4.3.3 Pattern variables**

Parsons chose the term action to differ it from the notion behaviour. Behaviour means a mechanical response to stimuli where action indicates an active, creative, mental process (Ritzer, 2000:434). However, in order to make the action scheme more compact and grander he with Edward Shils formulates the concepts called pattern variables. Through this framework Parsons tries to understand how actors negotiate with the action situation and produce a particular behaviour. The variables are phrased in terms of polar dichotomies. This allows a categorisation of decisions by actors, the value orientation of culture, or normative demand of status roles. Therefore, each pattern variable states a problem which should be solved by the actor before action can take place.

- a. *Ascription vs achievement* : Ascription is what a person is or born with and orient oneself towards others on the basis of what they are (age, sex, caste) and achievement is performance based.
- b. *Affectivity and Affective Neutrality* : It is the gratification-discipline dilemma. This is a situation in which the actor is confronted by choice whether he should obtain immediate satisfaction from a given situation or he should stick to self-discipline.
- c. *Collectivity or Self* : This emphasizes on collective interest or private interest. It depends on one's own motives. This pair emphasizes the extent of collective or shared interest as opposed to self-interest that is associated with social action. Each social action is carried out in a social context and in various types of collectivities, where individuals pursue a collective form

of action, then the interests of the collectivity may take precedence over that of the individual, for example, in Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity where former focuses on collectivity and the later on self. Another example could be in the form of community welfare over individual welfare or interest.

- d. *Particularism and Universalism*. This pair refers to the range of people an individual must consider when involved in social action. It indicates a situation where an individual should treat another in a certain way for certain purposes or in terms of certain norms and rules applicable to everyone. The issue here is whether to react “*on the basis of a general norm or on the basis of someone's particular relationship to you*” (Wallace and Wolf, 1999 : 34). For example, in a teacher student relationship- a teacher is expected to treat all his students equally not giving special treatment to anyone in spite of being connected to the person in blood, like if a mother who is a teacher and has his son/daughter in the same school.

#### **Do you know?**

Concepts like “structure” and “function” can be considered as either concrete or analytical. The structure is treated within the frame of reference of action consists in institutionalized patterns of normative culture. It consists in components of the organisms or personalities of the participating individuals only so far as these “interpenetrate” with the social and cultural systems, i.e., are “internalized” in the personality and organism of the individual. (Calhoun, et al.2012:422)

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## **4.4 Social system**

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Parsons defined social system as a segment of the action theory. Each individual can be a member of wider social system units like family, college, nations, country etc. Therefore, the definition of each group depends on their shared characteristics like geographical location, language, religion, caste etc. The concept of social system thus came from collection of separate parts from which a complex system(whole) develops to achieve certain goals.

Parsons defines social system as a plurality of actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environment aspect. Therefore, Parsons describes social system as-

- i) actors pursuing socially accepted goals in ways that are governed by norms and sanctions of institutionalised in society
- ii) these goals and norms are derived from an overreaching cultural system of values.

Thus, the very notion of this model suggests that to maintain social order the basic needs or demands of the population can be met. To explain this Parsons have drawn Durkheim's functional concept of society as an organic entity comprising of parts functioning together for the whole. Therefore, a social system has needs which must be met so that in order to survive and the various parts (political system, economy, the cultural system and the societal system) which function to meet those needs. This whole idea of system with networks of different parts is often labelled as structural functionalism of Parsons.

#### 4.4.1 Functional imperatives

The social system is dependent on four independent functional imperatives which must be met adequately so that the system continues to exist. Functional imperative is a requirement for the survival of any social system, it could be the process of socialisation or social control, or social interaction. Every social system is confronted with 4 functional problems. These problems are those of pattern maintenance, integration, goal attainment and adaptation. These functional imperatives are expressed through AGIL model which is a four-function paradigm. AGIL is obtained from the first letter of four functions as described below-

**Adaptation** It means the society's need to have an economic system for the production or distribution of generalized resources that can be employed in the attainment of various specific goals.

**Goal attainment** involves the necessity of mobilizing actors and resources in organized ways for the attainment of specific goals like making decisions or creating organisations. Therefore, a society needs a political system for this; for example a political organisation or a government.

**Integration** refers to the allocation of rights and obligations, maintaining social harmony and solidarity between members of the social system. Every society needs a system of establishing code of conduct like religion, media and social control (law, police and prisons).

**Latency and Pattern maintenance** It is concerned with the transmission of society's basic values, rules, culture and custom from one generation to another.



The family basically socialise the offspring which is further reinforced by other institutions like schools, media, church etc. It refers to the need to maintain and reinforce the basic values of the social system and to resolve tensions that emerge from continuous commitment to these values.

These four needs basically bring the system into societal equilibrium amidst these needs where the value system remains strong. If the code of values is properly passed and established which not only ensures the balance of all the various sub systems but also integration of individuals to maintain harmony. As a result of successful socialisation actors are motivated to meet the demand of societal expectation and interpret appropriately. Therefore, it is expected all actors will play their appropriate roles and thus the two mechanisms of socialisation and social control will eventually promote and maintain equilibrium in the social system.

#### AGIL MODEL

Means	Ends
Adaptation (External)	Goal Attainment (External)
Latency and pattern Maintenance (Internal)	Integration (Internal)

The AGIL paradigm was a first sociological model created by American sociologist Talcott Parsons in the 1950s. The paradigm depicts certain societal functions which every society must meet to maintain the smooth functioning of the society.

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## 4.5 Criticism

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Though Parson's work had a great impact on American sociology still there were certain things which were overlooked in his work. First, he failed to notice social conflict and change as the theory overemphasised on consensus and equilibrium. Second, he has given major importance to structure than to the actor having no free will or choices of his own, and everything being determined by the social system.

Parsons' theory is popularly known as a 'grand theory' – an all-encompassing, unified theory which is believed to have a large explanatory power. However, Parsons' student, Robert Merton, is skeptical of such a theory, for it is too general to be of much use (Merton, 1957). Instead, he expresses his preference for (middle-range)

theories, which cover certain delimited aspects of social phenomena (such as groups, social mobility, or role conflict). Partially because of this middle-range strategy, Merton's functionalism is quite different from that of Parsons.

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## 4.6 Robert K Merton (1910-2003)

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Robert Merton's contribution has remained influential in American sociology, and occupies an unique position in developing contemporary sociological theory. Merton, has tried to develop the grand theory of Parsons into what he calls codification of functional analysis. Most of his major contribution has been the middle range theory, functional analysis and theory of deviance. (Bhattacharya, 1972:920)

### 4.6.1 Theories of middle range

Merton moved away from Parson's grand theory to middle range theory. He defined middle range theory as an intermediate to a minor working hypothesis derived from studies and experiments in day-to-day research. Middle range theories are theories of particular phenomena like deviance, social movement, social stratification, demographic processes, institutions etc. These are the theories having limited range of assumptions from which specific hypothesis can be derived and tested empirically. Middle range theories are abstract as well as connected to the empirical world. Middle range theories generally combine into a general theory. The main function is to fill in the space between the raw empiricism and grand, all-inclusive type theory. Most of sociological theories are derived from middle range theories like juvenile delinquency, family conflict, racial conflict, social mobility, crime etc

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## 4.7 Functional analysis: Merton's Postulates

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Functional analysis was introduced by Merton to simplify the working of complex systems. He made the following three postulates under functional analysis.

- i) *functional unity of social system*-It states social practices and beliefs are always functional for all individuals and institutions. It implies a change in one part of the system will bring change in the whole.
- ii) *functional universality*- It states the positive functions of all existing institutions. Later on Merton viewed items such as practises, belief, institution may not function positively for a system or maybe *dysfunctional* for some parts or the whole. Some consequences can be recognised whether

functional or dysfunctional while some are not. These again fall under latent and manifest function that Merton introduced later.

- iii) *indispensability of social items for social system*- Indispensability stresses that every type of culture, norm, every custom, idea and belief fulfil some vital function, which has some tasks to accomplish and represents an indispensable part within a working whole. It refers to those parts of the social system necessary to operate smoothly. (Ritzer, 2000:245)

Merton has modified Parson's theory of functionalism with some new concepts. Three concepts he introduced were manifest function, latent function, and dysfunction. He has also argued that not all parts of modern society work for functional unity of the society, certain values may not be operational for the whole. Merton has also distinguished between manifest and latent function and dysfunction and nonfunction. These are as follows.

- **Manifest function** : This is the intended or expected outcome of an action and are mostly recognised. These are the functions that are usually considered by functionalist analysts as meeting or serving the system needs
- **Latent function** : This is the unintended outcome, one that was not anticipated, expected, or recognized prior to the action. For example, the manifest function of school is to create curriculum, give degrees but latent function is to instil discipline and other universal ideals in students.
- **Dysfunction** : Though this term has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, this refers to some processes, values or, institutions which may have dysfunctional aspects to them.

### Do You Know?

There are two possibilities of dysfunction. One is that the adaptation or adjustment of the system is impaired. For example, a poorly managed bureaucracy or business, where roles and tasks are confused and not carried out may prevent the bureaucracy or business from carrying on its tasks, and may mean that the normal adjustment mechanisms do not function. If this is in a for-profit enterprise, the business may fail and go bankrupt as a result. War and much of what is termed "terrorism" appears to be dysfunctional for whole societies in that the normal operation of such societies is impeded or destroyed. A second type of dysfunction is associated with the question "Functional or dysfunctional for whom?" While social actions and organizations may function well for some parts of society, they may function to the disadvantage of others

in society. For example, the bankruptcy of a corporation initially appears to be dysfunctional in that jobs are lost and services provided by the corporation disappear. But one of the consequences of bankruptcy may be to protect the wealth of many of the owners, and prevent that wealth from being further eroded. Another example is slavery – the existence of this institution may have been functional for the slave owners, their families, expanding their wealth, and for economic expansion. But it was not functional for the slaves and their families.” (Wallace and Wolf, 199:49).

- **Nonfunction** This describes some social practices, values, or processes which may have some function but it could be positive, negative or latent. Organizations which once had a purpose, but no longer are relevant may have no function with respect to the overall system, although they may have some function for members. There are example of certain rituals or beliefs which are still there but are not practised anymore.
- **Functional alternatives** Another modification of functionalism by Merton to replace the idea of indispensability. Functional alternative may produce similar functions but performed by different institutions without depending on the single one. It further reduces the tendency of functionalism to imply approval of the status quo. Functional alternative is also known as functional equivalents and functional substitutes. Parsons tended to look on the current institutional structures and processes, such as the nuclear family, as being functional unit for the society as a whole. Most functionalists view religion maintains and instil certain norms and values specific to a group and thus fight anomie that leads social disintegration and disequilibrium. Merton has formulated alternative postulates that brings a concern for multiple consequences for social and cultural items or for inclusive whole. However, there may be alternative processes, institutions, and organizations that can meet without prior assumption of functional needs or imperatives. (Bhattacharya,1972: 923) For example, in terms of socialization of children, nowadays there are various alternatives to that of mother’s caregiving role like nannies, day care, relatives, fathers may all be equally functional to socialise and look after the child. All of the above may all be functional in meeting the socialization needs for children. Merton also mentioned the need for stabilization of adult personalities may be met in a variety of ways – friends, room-mates, associates, professional counsellors, etc.

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## 4.8 Theory of Deviance

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In sociology deviance refers to an action or behaviour which violates a pre-established social norm or an enacted rule. According to structural functionalist, deviance serves two functions. First in creating social stability through systems of recognizing and punishing deviance. Second this punishing of the deviant act creates norms and regulates members of a given society by informing patterns of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Deviance tries to unite majorities around their normativity, at the expense of those marked as deviant.

American sociologist, Robert K. Merton, used Durkheim's concept of anomie to construct the theory of deviance. According to Durkheim anomie is a state of social disintegration as a result of breakdown of moral values and conflict of belief system which caused a breakdown of social bonds between an individual and the community. As a result, no general social rule is followed and the collective order dissolves leading to a state of anomie. The consequences of anomie are increased suicide and crime rates in a society. To locate the sources of crime within the social structure of American society Merton observed in American society the high rates of crime are from working class groups. Merton used the concept of 'anomie' to describe the strain put on individuals' behaviour when the accepted cultural values by the society come in conflict with their lived social reality. This is also called the strain theory which states the discrepancies between culturally defined goals and the institutionalized means available to achieve these goals. Therefore, deviance and crime are products of the strain between people's cultural values and the unequal distribution of opportunities within the society. (Giddens, 2006)

Merton proposed a typology of deviance based upon two criteria : (1) a person's adherence to cultural goals; (2) a person's belief in how to attain the goals. According to Merton, there are five types of deviance based upon these criteria: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

- (i) **Conformity** involves the acceptance and means achieving the cultural. Therefore, a *Conformist will* accept both the values and conventional means of attaining them irrespective of the fact whether they meet their goals i.e. success. Majority of the population fall into this category
- (ii) **Innovation** involves the acceptance of socially approved goals but taking the illegitimate or illegal means to follow them. For example, criminals employing illegal ways to achieve wealth.
- (iii) **Ritualism** involves conformation to social values, and they follow the rules

for their own sake without a wider end in view. Example someone doing a boring repetitive job even after it provides no career prospects or rewards.

- (iv) **Retreatism** involves the rejection of both the culturally accepted and the traditional means of achieving the goals. For example, an alcoholic who cannot save a job and ends up being homeless.
- (v) **Rebellion** is a case where one rejects both the existing values and the legitimate means, and adopt new values to reconstruct the social system. Members of radical political groups fall into this category.

Merton's typology of deviance shows that people can turn to deviance in the pursuit of widely accepted social values and goals. For instance, people who are into illegal trade like drug trading have rejected the culturally acceptable means of making money, but still value wealth and share the widely accepted cultural value of making money. Therefore, deviance is a result of accepting one norm and breaking the other to attain the first goal. Hence social values actually produce deviance in two ways. First, individual can reject the social values and become deviant. Second he can become a deviant even after accepting the social values but use illegitimate means to realize them. (Giddens, 2006)

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## 4.9 Conclusion

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Merton in his theory of crime and deviance does not see crime as a normal part or it reinforces solidarity instead, he suggests that there is something about social structures and its distribution of wealth and opportunities that reinforces crime to maintain society's very stability in the face of structural inequality. He particularly draws our attention to the reasons why functional theories of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski which were more empirically based could not be applied to modern societies as those are more complex and different from traditional societies. Therefore, Merton set the example of religion, how it can be an integrative force in some societies (like tribal societies) and disintegrative or can cause disharmony in complex societies where there will be a number of religions clashing with each other. Similarly, his concepts of latent and manifest functions are also based on the historical experience of modern society. One of the major limitations pointed out as in the Parsons' theory is that over emphasis on consensus and harmony of system ignoring the micro structures like individuals free will, and failed to note the conflict arising from it. This gave rise to other theories like Marxism which criticise functionalism as it has neglected class conflict and role of power. However, both have contributed enormously to the field of sociology.

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## 4.10 Summary

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Functionalism views society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity. This approach views society through a macro-level perspective which focuses on the social structures that shape society as a whole. Parsons view society as a system. The social system has four basic functional prerequisites: adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern maintenance. These four works together to maintain the equilibrium of the society. Merton contributes to functional analysis by requiring the sociologist to focus on the consequences of each type of social action, process, organization, or institution. Merton's analysis deals more with empiricism. By doing this, the sociologist may be able to determine a function or dysfunction, and what are the manifest and latent functions of the social process or may suggest alternative to it.

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## 4.11 Questions

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### Answer in Detail

1. Elaborate on Parson's Pattern variable
2. Talcott Parson is known as structural functionalist than functionalist for his contribution to social system- Explain
3. What is middle range theory? Elaborate with examples
4. Discuss Merton's Functional analysis

### Answer briefly

1. What are the characteristics of Parson's action theory?
2. What are functional imperatives?
3. What are functional alternatives?
4. Describe in brief limitation or drawback of functionalism
5. Mention Merton's Deviance typology

### Answer very briefly

1. Differentiate between latent and manifest functions
2. What is dysfunction?
3. What are the four functional imperatives?

4. Define functionalism
5. What is non function?
6. What is the functional aspect of deviance?

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## 4.12 References

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### Website links

- <http://www.sagepub.net/isa/resources/pdf/FunctionalismNew.pdf>
- <https://www.britannica.com/topic/theory-of-social-action>
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## 4.13 Glossary

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**Integration:** The process of bringing together two things or phenomena so that they can work together. Like bringing or assimilating two cultures.

**Equilibrium-** Refers to as a stable or balanced situation.

**Sceptical-** doubtful about something, or questioning a phenomenon



**Marxism** is a social, political, and economic philosophy named after Karl Marx. It examines the effect of capitalism on labor, productivity, and economic development and argues for a worker revolution to overturn capitalism in favor of communism. It has a dialectic approach to life in that everything has two sides. The theory believes that capitalism is not only an economic system but is also a political system.

**Organic solidarity** is social cohesion based upon the inter dependence of individuals have on each other in more advanced societies. It comes from the interdependence that arises from specialization of work and the complementarities between people commonly found in modern and industrial societies. The term was first used by Emile Durkheim.

**Mechanical solidarity** It is the social integration of members of a society who have common values and beliefs. These common values and beliefs constitute a collective conscience that works internally in individual members to cause them to cooperate. This was commonly found in traditional or tribal societies.

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## **UNIT 5 □ Functionalism : Davis and Moore**

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### **Structure**

- 5.1 Learning Objectives**
- 5.2 Introduction**
- 5.3 The functionalist aspect of stratification**
- 5.4 Class categories and the meaning of class: An important determinant of stratification**
  - 5.4.1 Social mobility and stratification**
- 5.5 Basic principles of stratification**
- 5.6 Criticism**
- 5.7 Conclusion**
- 5.8 Summary**
- 5.9 Questions**
- 5.10 References**
- 5.11 Glossary**

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### **5.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand the source of stratification
- ⊙ To look into the differences of inequality and stratification
- ⊙ To look into the various determinants of stratification
- ⊙ To understand the functional standpoint of stratification

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### **5.2 Introduction**

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Stratification can be described as a system of layers one above the other forming structural hierarchies which in turn creating inequalities. It is a process by which society forms categories of people in a hierarchy which can be on the basis of caste, class, age, gender etc. Social inequality and stratification are being used interchangeably. Lenski (2013) defines stratification as the distributive system of the whole society. The functionalist aspect of stratification theory aims at how right people in term of merit are placed at right places, but this often leads to conflict

and inequality and these lead to social change as put forward by functionalists. Social inequality, on the other hand, refers to the prevalence of socially created inequalities through unequal rewards and opportunities for different positions or status in a group, whereas stratification means structured inequalities between different groups of people where one group is ranked above the other on the basis of power, status and wealth of the members possess. (Bhattacharya, 1972:310) Social stratification depicts the division of society into a patterned structure on unequal groups which tends to exist across generations. The group at the top of the social hierarchy enjoys the three basic forms of benefits-

- i) *life chances* -which includes material advantages
- ii) *social status*-it refers to prestige or high position in the eyes of other members of the society
- iii) *Political influence*-the ability of one group to dominate others or influencing over decision making to benefit from the decisions.

The key to a person's economic condition is best found in the social class he is born to and the life chances he receives. In a modern society class remains an open system it is an achieved status and there are chances for social mobility. Social mobility is the movement of individual or groups within the social strata in a society.

Social stratification remains an important category for sociologists for centuries. In modern industrialised societies class remains an important agent of stratification. Social theorists like Karl Marx and Max Weber disagreed about the nature of class, in particular. Marx proposed a conflict perspective on the idea of class. He viewed modern society as having only two classes of people: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The Bourgeoisie are the owners of the means of production: the factories, businesses, and equipment which in turn produced wealth. The Proletariat are the workers who fall in the working class and were exploited by the capitalists. Max Weber on the other hand argued that owning property, such as factories or equipment, are only one of the determinants social class. Social class for Weber included power and prestige, in addition to property or wealth. People who run corporations without owning them still benefit from increased production and greater profits

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### **5.3 The functionalist aspect of stratification**

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The functionalist stratification theory which is the major work of Kingslay Davis and Wilbert Moore see social stratification as a necessary (functional) process for all societies and hence inevitable. They viewed social inequalities are functional in a way it creates incentives for the talented, deserving individuals to occupy jobs

which are essential to maintain the social order. In 1945, Davis and Moore argued that the greater the functional importance of a social role is the greater will be its reward. If a society needs to survive and function efficiently, a number of basic conditions have to be met. One such functional prerequisite is the distribution of members in social positions and influence them to perform their duties of these positions. (Bhattacharya,1972) All societies need some mechanisms for ensuring that roles are allocated and performed effectively.

The main arguments of functionalist aspect of stratification are

- i) Positions that make up the society vary. Some are more important than others which require special skills for their effective performance while some are less important. The social system provides unequal rewards to the different positions in society.
- ii) Not everyone in the society has the same ability and talent to fill the same positions
- iii) Only a limited number of individuals have the ability and talent to acquire specialised skills by a training which is long and expensive and hence involves their making sacrifices such as loss of income
- iv) The talented ones will only be encouraged to undergo training for these socially vital positions if sufficient rewards are attached to their future positions.
- v) This system of differentiation creating unequal rewards must exist and should be attached to their hierarchy of positions.

Therefore, if society has to fill a number of key positions which are essential in nature, the position should be filled by the right people who deserve it. Providing unequal rewards may be functional as it would prevent undeserving candidates to fulfil the top positions. Through this practice of unequal distribution social stratification becomes functional. Thus, social stratification is the mechanism by which societies solve the problems of role allocation and role performances by attaching unequal rewards and privileges to the different positions in society. Unequal distribution of rewards is functional for the society as it contributes to the well-being of the society, and hence social stratification is inevitable. Therefore, the main role of social stratification according to functionalists is to match the most efficient people with the functionally most important positions. The positions which are highly rewarded and are most important are occupied by the most talented people. Social stratification also represents an unequal value of different work where certain tasks in society are more valuable than others. Qualified people who fill those positions

must be rewarded more than others. It also shows the status and prestige attached to a particular job. For example, it is assumed defence personnel's job is more important than, for instance, a grocery store cashiers'. The cashier position does not require the same skill and training level as military personnel undergo. Davis and Moore believed that rewarding more important work with higher levels of income, prestige, and power encourages people to work harder and longer. So, people at the top of the hierarchy must receive the rewards otherwise the positions would remain unfulfilled and society would become unfunctional. This in turn maintains an equilibrium.

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## 5.4 Class categories and the meaning of class : An important determinant of stratification

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Class remains an important category of social stratification in modern societies. If we go back to history class has been always defined in relation to productive system whereby capitalists own the means of production, purchase the labor of others, and control the labor of others. In modern societies occupational status positions become important as class positions. Functionalists associated occupations with specialised skill and status rankings on a continuum from lowest to highest. Thus income, status, and education levels are all related to one's class position, though education level not always predict income very well. In other words, functionalists do not consider class divisions, but rather rankings, as a part of stratification.

### **Do You Know?**

Research on class position explained differences in income between people on basis of occupational status and education level. It is also interesting that capitalists have higher incomes, even controlling for or eliminating the effects on income from education level, occupational skill age, and job tenure. In other words, being a capitalist, and especially a big capitalist, irrespective of other factors such as education and occupational skill, brings more income (Aldrich and Weiss 1981). Education does not on the average help workers attain a higher income, but more education does bring more income for the managerial class. Class position along with gender and race also affects income level and status.

Another recent conceptualization of class has been made by Pierre Bourdieu. From a French

structuralist tradition, Bourdieu (1993) argued that economic class positions shape the conception of members of different class positions. Thus, these class subcultures result in class differences in tastes, lifestyles, and even preferences of values (Bourdieu 1984). Through differing class subcultures, people of different classes tend to draw lines around their class “in-group” and the “out-group” of people in other class positions. Thus, people in higher-class positions perceive lower-class positions as different and cannot fit into higher positions in the class system.

### 5.4.1 Social mobility and stratification

*Social mobility* refers to the movement up and down the strata of the society, symbolising status attainment. It refers to the process and factors leading individuals to move up or down with respect to their present position. Social mobility and stratification are closely related. We are moving from caste-based societies to class-based societies where scope of climbing up the social hierarchy is much more open, rapid. With changes in occupational structure and educational expansion have increased the overall chances of entering into higher ranking occupations. As a result, working class members can move up while middle class may avoid moving down (Bhattacharya, 1972:318). Therefore, the more a society is stratified especially when it comes to an industrial society the more there will be chances of social mobility.

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## 5.5 Basic principles of stratification

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Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore argued that unequal social and economic rewards were an ‘*unconsciously evolved device*’ by which societies ensured that talented individuals were supplied with the motivation to undertake training which would guarantee that important social roles were properly fulfilled. This is a functional necessity. In this way, the most important functions would be performed by the most talented persons, and the greatest rewards go to those positions which required most training and were most important for maintenance of the social system.

Davis and Moore’s major propositions of stratification

1. Other things being equal (specifically importance, talent, and training), the more agreeable a position is, the less are its rewards and, conversely, the more disagreeable a position, the greater its rewards.
2. Other things being equal (specifically agreeability, talent, and training), the more important a position is, the greater are its rewards.

3. Other things being equal (specifically agreeability, importance, and talent), the more training a position requires, the greater are its rewards.
4. Other things being equal (specifically agreeability, importance, and training), the more talent a position requires, the greater are its rewards. (Taken from Cullen, 1974:1425)

#### Internal conditions of social stratification

- 1) **The degree of specialization** : The degree of specialization affects the quality and multiple gradations in power and prestige. The amount of specialization influences the bases of selection like specialized or unspecialized for example differences in skill and training.
- 2) **The magnitude of differences** : There should be some amount of social distance present between positions. Differences apparently exist between different societies in this regard, and also between parts of the same society. Example Polar types: Equalitarian, Inequalitarian.
- 3) **The degree of opportunity** : The degrees of opportunities may rise in a stratified society as there is scope of mobility specially (also a class-based society over caste based) For instance, the tremendous differentiation of classes based on income in the modern societies are far greater than those found in primitive societies, yet the equality of opportunity to move from one stratum to the other in the social scale may also be greater in the modern societies as compared to primitive societies.
- 5) **The degree of class solidarity** : The degree of “class solidarity” (or the presence of specific organizations to promote class interests) may vary to some extent and hence is an important principle in classifying systems of stratification. (Taken from Tumin,1953:248-249)

There are external *conditions* too which affect stratification process. They are as follows-

- (i) **The stage of cultural development** : As a society develops, increased specialization becomes necessary, which in turn contributes to the enhancement of mobility, a decline of stratum solidarity.
- (ii) **Situation with respect to other societies** : The presence or absence of open conflict with other societies, of free trade relations or cultural diffusion or assimilation, all influence the class structure to some extent. Migration and war also affect the process of stratification.
- (iii) **Size of the society** : A small society limits the degree to which functional

specialization can go, the degree of segregation of different strata, and the magnitude of inequality (Tumin,1953:248-249). Davis and Moore therefore argue that a “*functioning society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions*” (Davis and Moore 1945:7).

The main reason explaining the universal presence of stratification and why it is necessary is mainly because of the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and direct them to perform the duties of these positions. Therefore, motivation works at *two* different levels: *first* to instil in the individuals the desire to fill certain positions, and second the desire to perform on the duties attached to them once in the position. Even though the social order may be relatively static in form, there is a continuous process of movement as new individuals are born into it, shift with age, and die off. Hence their absorption into the positional system must somehow be arranged and motivated. This questions the system whether it is competitive or non-competitive. A competitive system gives greater importance to the motivation to achieve positions, whereas a non-competitive system gives greater importance to the motivation to perform the duties of the positions; but in any system both types of motivations are required to make the system functional. (Tumin,1953:242-243)

Interestingly, If the duties associated with the various positions were considered equally appealing and equally important to each individual then it would make no difference who got into which positions, and the problem of conflict would be reduced. But in reality, it creates a great deal of difference who gets into which positions, not only because some positions are inherently more important than others, but also because some require special talents or training and some are functionally more important. Also, it is essential that the duties of the positions be performed with the diligence that their position re-quires. Inevitably, then, a society must have, first, some kind of rewards that it can use as motivation, and, second, some way of distributing these rewards differentially according to positions. The rewards and their distribution become a part of the social order, and thus give rise to stratification (Tumin, 1953)

### **Determinants of positional rank**

There are two factors that determine the rank of different positions, which constitutes the most significant part of stratification theory. In general, the positions with highest rank will have the best rewards. The positions include those which (a)



have the greatest importance for the society and (b) require the greatest training or talent. The first factor concerns function and is a matter of relative importance; the second concerns mean and is a matter of scarcity. Actually, a society does not need to reward positions in proportion to their functional importance. It merely needs to give sufficient reward to them to ensure that they will be filled competently. In other words, it ensures that less essential positions do not compete with the essential ones. If a position is easily filled, it need not be heavily rewarded, even though the position remains important. On the other hand, if the position is hard to fill, the reward must be high enough to get it filled anyway. All positions, no matter how it has been acquired, require some form of skill or capacity to perform for which they need training. Some positions require talents of such high degree that the persons who fill them are bound to be trained. Talent is fairly abundant in the population but the training process is so long, costly, and elaborate that relatively few can qualify. For example, the training for medicine is so burdensome and expensive that many would not opt for it considering these points irrespective of capacities and talents. Same way many cannot afford higher studies in spite of having the merit and would go for lower merit tasks as it would generate some income. If the talents required for a position are abundant and the training is easy then the methods of acquiring the position may have little to do with its duties. But if the skills required are scarce and the position is functionally important, then there should be attractive offers that will draw the necessary skills into competition. This means that the position high in social scale-must demand great prestige, high salary, ample leisure. Positions important in one society may not be important in another, because the conditions faced by the societies, or their degree of internal development, may be different. The same conditions, in turn, may affect the question of scarcity which in turn may initiate certain kinds of skill or talent. Any particular system of stratification, then, can be understood as a product of the special conditions or situations prevailing in particular time, in a particular society affecting the afore-mentioned grounds of differential rewards.

The functional theory of stratification provided by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore suggests that social inequalities are functional for society because they provide an incentive for the most talented individuals to occupy jobs that are essential for functioning of a society. But critics suggest that stratification actually undermines the stability within a society due to unequal access to opportunities, the disproportionate amount of power given to elites, and the institutionalization of social distance between diverse members of a society. (Veliz,2017)

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## 5.6 Criticism

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The functional aspect of stratification has been criticized by many sociologists like Collins, Botomore etc. The main arguments lie in that there is no possible way of ensuring functional importance of positions. The view that some tasks are more important than others and vital to a society cannot justify the exclusion of those who cannot gain the rank or position or assumed as less functional or less important. For example, in a society to function we need all kinds of tasks be it laborious, unskilled to skilled. Like if manual scavengers would not perform his job then the city would have become unclean. So, all positions are equally important as it is coordinated to perform for the whole. But the labour market is designed in such a manner that it will highlight those factors which determines whether one's skills are marketable and whether one profession has the power to establish that their skills are valuable/important than the rest. Differences in pay and prestige between various occupational groups may be due to differences in their power rather than functional importance.

Social stratification can and often act as a hindrance to one's motivation and recruitment of talent. Class often acts as barrier where a person born in a privileged family position gets a better access to life chances than one who is from a less privileged background. The theory also fails to consider the existence of power hierarchy through property ownership and the inequalities created with class which often affects one's position in the society irrespective of his/her merit. An individual hailing from a rich wealthy class will be exposed to more privileges and opportunities than a person forms a lower class irrespective of merit. Bourdieu has rightfully mentioned how education system itself it has created inequality. For example, those who has the economic capital (money) can get the best education (through proper schooling and exposure) which in turn influences his/her cultural (taste, judgements, values) and social capital (network and ties) as well. Class plays and important factor in account for and recognising different types of social stratification and processes of change from one type to another. Therefore, the fact that social stratification is universal in nature and inevitable is not true, it varies from society to society. To conclude it may be said that division of labour produces inequality of rewards and without inequalities there would no way to ensure the continuity of complex division of labour and hence leading to stratification.

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## 5.7 Conclusion

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Davis and Moore's theory also invited wide criticism. Their theory failed to notice how fewer opportunities and inequalities lead fewer people acquiring a particular skill. At the same time people with low educational attainment can gain higher positions in life. There are critics who argued what determines a specific job's degree of importance. A person with low educational skills or talent can become popular or can acquire a higher status for example reality show winners, businessmen etc There are other factors of inequalities in position due to race or gender which the theory fails to highlight. The theory though has been criticized on various grounds but it remains an early attempt to explain why stratification exists and why it is necessary to promote efficiency, productivity and excellence through stratification. Finally, the functionalist aspect of social stratification views the system to serve society as a whole and it makes everyone benefit to a certain extent.

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## 5.8 Summary

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Davis and Moore's main contribution in sociology is the principles of social stratification. how social stratification is a functional necessity. They argued that greater the functional necessity of a social role, the greater must be the reward. Therefore, social stratification represents an unequal value of different work in a society. The qualified and deserving people fill the important positions and are rewarded accordingly. Davis and Moore emphasised the rewarding of the most important work with higher levels of income, incentives, prestige, and power. Apart from reward, the degree of skill for a required job also determines the value of a particular job. For example, the field of medicine or engineering which needs specialised skill training. Therefore, each job will require different skills. The harder and more skill a job requires the fewer qualified people will be there to do the job.

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## 5.9 Questions

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### Answer in Detail :

1. State the principles of stratification
2. Define class and social mobility
3. What are the basic propositions given by Davis and Moore in stratification theory

**Answer briefly :**

1. What are the characteristics of stratification?
2. Mention the two determinants of positional rank
3. Give Lenski's definition of stratification
4. Give any two criticisms of functional stratification
5. How does motivation in terms of competition works?

**Answer very briefly :**

1. Differentiate between inequality and stratification
2. Define Bourdieu's concept of stratification
3. Define upward social mobility
4. Mention any two stratified systems as mentioned by Davis and Moore
5. Mention the benefits that people in the top of social hierarchy enjoys

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## 5.10 References

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### Website links

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamo-sociology/chapter/reading-theoretical-perspectives-on-social-stratification/>

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamo-sociology/chapter/reading-theoretical-perspectives-on-social-stratification/>

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## 5.11 Glossary

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**In group-** It is the social group one can identify with and hence a member of that group. It could be a neighbourhood, a peer group or a community,

**Out group-** This is the group one does not identify with. It could be again a peer group, gender or race.

**Capitalism-** It is an economic system based on private ownership for means of production. This can be run by individuals or a group, not run by state. Central features of capitalism include capital accumulation, competitive markets, a price system. Capitalists are the individuals or groups who run the system for profit.

**Division of labour -** Segregation on the basis of jobs/tasks, In modern society people are trained to have specialised skills and are separated on the basis of their skills.

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## **UNIT 6 □ Neo Functionalism : Jeffrey Alexander**

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### **Structure**

- 6.1 Learning Objectives**
- 6.2 Introduction**
- 6.3 Characteristics of Neo functionalism**
- 6.4 Dynamics of integration process in society**
- 6.5 Cultural trauma**
- 6.6 Conclusion**
- 6.7 Summary**
- 6.8 Questions**
- 6.9 References**
- 6.10 Glossary**

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### **6.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand the drawbacks in functionalism
- ⊙ To understand a multidimensional sociology
- ⊙ To understand newer perspective to functionalism and beyond

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### **6.2 Introduction**

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The emergence of neo functionalism was the result of the decline of structural functionalism. Structural functionalism remained a dominant sociological theory in the works of Talcott Parsons and Robert. K. Merton. It is a social theory which is also called a post traditional structural functionalism. (Ritzer,1996) The pioneer of neo functionalism is American sociologist Jeffrey Alexander and Paul Colomy. In one of their joint publications of 1985, they define neofunctionalism as the revival of the functional theory that seeks to broaden functionalism's intellectual scope into a critical one while retaining the essence of the original theory, i.e. neo functionalists tried to merge certain aspects of functionalism with other paradigms, developing a better critical perspective They emphasised on logic of integration, they have mainly

tried to integrate micro level as well as macro level of analysis to make it a multidimensional model. Since the beginning of the 80s there was an effort to make a uniform and comprehensive theoretical framework by continuing Talcott Parsons' functionalist theory. (Joas,1988)

The prime objective of Alexander's neo functionalism was to synthesize the classical theories available in sociology. He argued every theory can have more than one possible meaning He developed a new theoretical exercise. This exercise was based on post-positivism. He tried to logically link theory and empiricism. According to Alexander, Talcott Parson's theory goes through ambiguity. Parsons has defined culture, society and personality using a more sophisticated and complex model. Parsons applied a grand general theory for social system arguing that it is composed of internally differentiated systems. Though he focused on the equilibrium and integration part but dedicated much of his empirical analysis to trace the process of differentiation and separation among historical groups and institutions, which produces conflict in turn. (Alexander and Colomy, 1985:11) Neo functionalism also highlighted the that the social change is not always dysfunctional or brings conflict but also ensures adaption properly and that each interdependent part of the structure serves to ensure that social order continues and society functions properly. Therefore, social order between individuals and organizations of society has to share norms and values in order for society to function<sup>1</sup>

Alexander's work was influenced by Durkheim's r work on Elementary Forms of Religious Life which has a strong interest in cultural systems. Durkheim studies how collective representations in the form of totem could emerge and function, as well as the role of the rituals in maintaining solidarity. Durkheim's viewed that the religious processes existed in tribal societies are as important in modern societies. (Durkheim,1965) Alexander argued how rational or secular the modern society may become but their civil life and processes are influenced by collective representations through strong emotional ties like much like tribal societies.

Alexander also distinguishes between the sociology of culture and cultural sociology. The former sees culture as product of external forces like economy or politics whereas the later sees culture as independent i.e the ideas and symbolic aspect of culture may have an effect on social institutions, on politics, and on culture itself.

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### **6.3 Characteristics of Neo functionalism**

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Neo functionalism was an attempt to revive the stronger tenets of structural

functionalism by synthesizing portions of structural functionalism with other theories. Alexander rejected structural functionalism theoretical framework of Parsons and took the multidimensional element in sociological theory. (Alexander,1982). In the book, *Theoretical Logic in Sociology* (1982), Alexander attempts to construct a new theoretical logic for sociology. He puts forward his discussion on *two* concepts: (1) action, and (2) order. Action is the activity of the actor, which takes place according to the norms of the society. He defines action as the movement of concrete, living persons as they make their way through time and space. The order is the social system where the action is implemented to get a desired result. Neo functionalists also added interactive perspective to the theory, trying to blend the essence of symbolic interactionism that every aspect of action contains a dimension of free will.

Alexander and Colomy have outlined some of the basic orientations of neo functionalism. First, neofunctionalism claims society is composed of elements(parts) in interaction with each other to form a pattern. This pattern differentiated the system from its external environment. Parts of the system are closely connected and their interaction is not influenced by some overarching force. Thus, neofunctionalism rejects any unilinear determinism and is open-ended and pluralistic. Second, neofunctionalism gives equal attention to micro level action and order (interactionism) whereas structural functionalism focused exclusively on the macro-level social structures and culture and gave little attention to micro-level order. Third, neofunctionalism upholds integration as the main essence which consists of both conflict and equilibrium. For example, it recognizes deviance and social control are realities within social systems existing together. This concern is broader than the structural-functional concern. Equilibrium is seen as a reference point for functional analysis (micro-order) but not as descriptive for the lives of individuals(micro) in actual social systems. Fourth, neofunctionalism accepts the traditional Parsonsian emphasis on personality, culture, and social system but the interpenetration of these systems also produces tension that is a source for both change and control. Fifth, neofunctionalism focuses on social change leading to differentiation within the social, cultural, and personality systems. Hence change is not part of conformity and harmony but rather “*individuation and institutional strains*” (cited in Ritzer,2000:264). Finally, Alexander argues that neofunctionalism accepts the conceptualisation and theorisation from other levels of sociological analysis and not confining to a singular theory. (Ritzer, 1996)

### **Traits of Neo functionalism**

- Society as pattern driven by plural forces- Society is a system in which parts are related to parts and whole, and it comprises elements with



interaction with each other.

- It talks about partial equilibrium of the society-The fact that functionalism have focused that the society stays in equilibrium, neo functionalists have talked of partial equilibrium, i.e., equilibrium exists with partial equilibrium
- Integrated micro and macro actions- The structural functional theories are mostly macro level analysis ignoring the micro factors of analysis, neo functionalists have tried to blend both macro and micro sense of action.
- Tension between the system exists- Neo functionalist s argues the whole structure suffers from tension and it focuses on the differentiation which social change creates
- It is based on post positivist philosophy- To understand any society empirical analysis is essential. Post positivism emphasizes on both theory and empiricism. Parson's functionalism was anti individualistic focusing more on the structures' stability while neo functionalism highlighted the other factors other than stability of the systems.
- Multidimensional sociology- Functionalists focus on action of actors are determined by pattern variables but neo functionalists argue that action of actors is dependent on other values apart from pattern variables. The actors are open to wide range of alternatives.

### **Do You Know?**

Neofunctionalism finds its intellectual antecedents at the juncture between functionalist, federalist and communications theories, while also drawing indirectly on the 'group theorists' of American politics. Like functionalism, neofunctionalism emphasises the mechanisms of technocratic decision-making, incremental change and learning processes. However, although the theory has been dubbed neofunctionalism, this is in some respects a case of 'mistaken identity' (taken from 'Neo-functionalism', by Niemann & Schmitter,2009)

Alexander speaks of five central tendencies of neo functionalism (Wallace and Wolf,1995:68)

1. To create a multidimensional model of micro and macro levels of analysis
2. To push functionalism to the left and reject Parsons's optimism about modernity. Parsons believed modern society and modern organisation would be more liberating and progressive instead of dehumanising and disruptive.
3. To add conflict with stability

#### 4. To emphasize uncertainty in interactional creativity

Alexander never have emphasized on one aspect of theory be it micro or macro, but the synthesis of both, He focused on a more multidimensional approach. Moreover, it as argues the main objective was not just the synthesis but rather a epistemological or methodological rationale for a multidimensional sociology over one dimensional version. (Burger,1986). According to Alexander all classical theories including Marx, Durkheim, Weber suffered one dimensionality in their approach as Marx stressed on economic determinism and materialism whereas Durkheim relied more on moral factors and subjective ideals whereas Weber stressed the independent power of religious ideas and values. Other theoretical models like phenomenology which missed the macro level interaction. Though Parsons tried to go for a multidimensionality through an attempt to integrate the behavioural and macro-social aspect of modern sociology by combining individual action and collective order (culture) in a unified theoretical framework. (Willcocks, 2004 :39) but his AGIL model provided general theory as he focused more on functional aspect. Parsons stressed a lot on value and value socialisation as the guiding element in the system. Alexander stressed the aspect of Parsons which focuses on conflict producing differentiation and resulting into imbalance of society. Alexander tried to purify Parson's theory in post-modern positivist philosophy.

When Parsonian functionalism broke down in the 1970s under sustained criticism, it was displaced by competing theoretical traditions. For example, like the Grand Theories of Neofunctionalism and exchange theories. George Homans developed exchange theory to elaborate the psychological influences of social structure, and ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel reacted against functionalism's lack of attention to micro-order of individual freedom of action. On the macro side, the traditional and conservative views of functionalism invited the development of feminist gender studies which emphasized the constraints that society places on individuals' behaviour. Neo functionalists raised two fundamental issues: action and order. First, it raised the question whether human action is as rational, instrumental and strategic or as idealistic, emotional. The former implies adaptive to external forces such as environmental pressure; the latter implies internal motivations. Second, the question arises whether the social order primarily is a product of history, i.e. outside of individual acts, or originating from negotiations/interactions among individuals. The former is a collectivist or cultural perspective; but the later individualistic position is crucial because it maintains a central role for individual freedom.

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## 6.4 Dynamics of integration process in society

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Neo-functionalists developed at least three different arguments about the dynamics of the integration processes: (i) the spill over (ii) the elite socialization and (iii) the supranational interest groups. This has been explained in the context of governance and functioning of a political system. Functional spill-over is the interconnection of various economic sectors where the integration in one policy-area spilling over into others. Here Political spill-over is significant which aims at the creation of supranational governance models, as far-reaching as the European Union, or as voluntary as the United Nations.

- i) Spill-over is neo-functionalism's best-known concept, one that has been widely used both by social scientists and by practitioners. The concept of spill-over refers to a process where political cooperation formulates new goals in order to assure the achievement of the original goal, which means the mechanism by which the integration created in one area may create incentives for integration in another area. The Political spill-over occurs in situations characterized by a more deliberated political process, where national political elites or interest groups argue that supranational cooperation is needed in order to solve specific problems. National interest groups focus more on European than on national solutions and tend to shift their loyalty toward the international level.(Cini & Borragán,2016:91 ) In order to fulfil certain goals, states/governments may operate on a specific issue for example, restricted the flow of labours in some states like nurses who are trained in one member state may not be allowed to work in another because of differences in national educational systems and practises, therefore new political goals in the field of education policy may be formulated so as to overcome this obstacle. This process of generating new political goals is the essence of spill overs. (Cini & Borragán,2016:90-91).
- ii) Elite socialisation- Elite group refers to participants such as officials and politicians in the decision-making process in regard to the development of policies i.e. the forming a group based on same interest. (Cini & Borragán,2016:90-91)
- iii) The formation of supranational interest groups – Supranational groups are those which have power that transcends international boundaries. This group consists of civil servants and organized interest groups like corporations and business groups formulate their own interests with an eye to the supranational institutions For example, national industrial and employers'

organizations established a common European organization, (2016:92) Neo-functionalists believed that interest groups would put pressure on governments to force them to speed up the integration process. These groups were expected to develop their own supranational interest in political and economic integration (2016:92)

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## 6.5 Cultural trauma

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According to Alexander cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectively feel they have been subjected to a horrific event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irreversible ways. It is different from lay trauma that is subjective and individualistic i.e an event traumatic to the individuals who experience them but not collective community as whole. (Alexander, 2016). In his earlier studies for example, Alexander argued that holocaust was not immediately perceived as universally significant or universal evil for western societies same as Watergate crisis<sup>2</sup> that was originally not perceived by American society as a minor incident.

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## 6.6 Conclusion

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Neofunctionalism is the revival of Parsonian theoretical model and claimed for a grand theoretical scheme. It says all integrations are a result of past integration. Some critics of neo-functionalism argued there is a loss of its original faith in automaticity and uni-directionality in neo functionalism. Neo functionalists have criticized intergovernmentalism(relation between two or more governments) on theoretical grounds as well as on the basis of empirical evidence where they claim that intergovernmentalism is incapable of explaining the dynamics of integration. Integration of governments do not always successfully shows stability or cohesion but can lead to disintegration. Intergovernmentalists failed to pay attention to nonstate actors. Neo-functionalism is not functional in its orientation as it has left many of the basic tenets of structural functionalism.

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## 6.7 Summary

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In this unit on neo-functionalism, we have given a basic idea of the theory to you before moving towards the characteristics of the same. This was followed by the discussion of the dynamics of the integration process being carried out in the society. We have also tried explaining the concept of cultural trauma. Thereafter we have concluded with an outline of its orientation.

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## 6.8 Question

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### Answer in Details

1. Elaborate on the characteristics of Neo functionalism
2. Difference between functionalism and neo functionalism
3. Give the similarities of neo functionalism and structural functionalism

### Answer briefly

1. Define Cultural Trauma
2. What is multidimensional theory?
3. What is spillover?
4. What is elite socialisation?
5. Differentiate between sociology of culture and cultural sociology.

### Answer very briefly

1. Name the founders of Neo functionalism
2. Why did Parsonian model of functionalism fail?
3. Name the two concepts which Alexander introduced in the new theoretical logic in sociology
4. Name the landmark book by Jeffrey Alexander in 1982.

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- Giddens, Anthony. 2009, *Sociology*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, Polity

### Other Website links

<https://www.sociologyguide.com/neo-functionalism/index.php>

<https://www.sociologyguide.com/neo-functionalism/jeffrey-c-alexander.php>

<https://www.sociologyguide.com/neo-functionalism/index.php>

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## 6.10 Glossary

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**Holocaust-** It was a systematic state-sponsored killing of six million Jewish people by Nazi government and its collaborators during World War II. Nazi and its collaborators systematically murdered around six million Jews across German-occupied Europe, around two-thirds of Europe's Jewish population.

**Post-modern-** It is a result of the broad movements by broad scepticism, ie based on our experiences, relativism, reason; and an acute sensitivity to the role of ideology in asserting and maintaining political and economic power of 20<sup>th</sup> century leading to departure from modernism hence giving rise to a post-modern culture.

**Post positivism-** In positivism where science remains the highest standard of inquiry in Post positivism believes science cannot explain the social worlds as natural and social world are different. In post positivist stage facts are the interpretations.

**Self-reflexivity-** It is an important concept in post modern theory, which means a reflection on itself. In sociology this self-reflexivity develops through the interaction

that includes a person's self image, self concept, and self esteem.

**Structural functionalism**-The theory which sees society as a complex system whose different parts (structures) work together to maintain solidarity and stability.

**Totem**- Totemism is an earliest and primitive form of religious practice where totem is is a sacred object of worship. It could be an animal or a plant.

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## **UNIT 7 □ Pierre Bourdieu: Social Capital**

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### **Structure**

- 7.1 Learning Objectives**
- 7.2 Introduction**
- 7.3 Different forms of capital**
  - 7.3.1 Forms of cultural capital**
- 7.4 Social capital**
  - 7.4.1 Varieties of social capital**
  - 7.4.2 Social capital and inequality**
- 7.5 Social capital- Coleman vs Putman**
  - 7.5.1 Social capital-who actually benefits?**
- 7.6 Criticism**
- 7.7 Conclusion**
- 7.8 Summary**
- 7.9 Questions**
- 7.10 References**
- 7.11 Glossary**

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### **7.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand cultural aspect of capital
- ⊙ To understand the social aspect of capital
- ⊙ To understand the link between social capital and inequality

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### **7.2 Introduction**

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Social capital has been closely associated with Pierre Bourdieu with his interest in social class, stratification and inequality. One of his major works was associated with the performance of school students and its relation to social reproduction. Social reproduction is a process through which social inequality passes from one generation to other. The upper class has many advantages; having money provides the ability to have even more resources to get ahead. For people coming from lower classes,



where with less money, there are fewer resources. In Bourdieu's work habitus remains an important concept relating to social and cultural capital. Habitus refers to the habits, skills, tastes and dispositions and the way individuals perceive the social world. The traits are often shaped by the background where one belongs like class, caste, education, race and the way one is socialised which includes their experiences and opportunities. Bourdieu examines the dynamics between the cultural institution and the individual and how the institutions as a space have taken the agency from some individuals and lends agency to others.

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## 7.3 Different forms of capital

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Bourdieu defined three types of capitals. Economic, cultural and social. Each functions in different ways. Social capital often consists of linkages, connections reproduced from economic capital.<sup>1</sup>

**Economic capital** remains the most common form of material capital. The economic resources like money, property all fall under economic capital

**Cultural capital-** According to Bourdieu cultural capital is often reproduced by economic capital. It is the accumulation of skills, taste, knowledge, which further defines one's acceptability in the larger framework of the society. For example, if one possesses more economic capital (like money) it is likely for their children to get access to best education where they can build on more cultural capital like knowledge, skills, education, good taste etc. Cultural capital not just represents people's resources of financial capital but also shaped by family background, schooling, peer group and socialisation pattern etc.

### 7.3.1 Forms of cultural capital

- 1) Embodied cultural capital-This capital consists of knowledge, perceptions, skills that we learn through the course of life. For example, certain manners like knowing the proper way to greet people.
- 2) Objectified cultural capital-it is in the form of cultural goods and artefacts like books, machines, technologies
- 3) Institutionalised cultural capital-it is the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualification/educational qualification which often remains dependent on the cultural capital itself. The academic qualification also makes pathways to better positions. For example, there is a relationship with academic qualification, rank and remuneration, the more the academic qualifications higher the rank and higher pay.

Apart from cultural capital another most important concept of Bourdieu is social capital which refers to the networks and ties, shared values, norms and identity which a particular group shares in order to operate in a society.

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## 7.4 Social capital

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The intellectual history of the concept of social capital can be dated back to Marx, Durkheim and Simmel, Weber, where the role of culture remained essential in development of an economy. According to Smith (2007), the concept of ‘Social Capital’ was first invoked by Lyda J. Hanifan in 1916 to explain the importance of community participation in enhancing school performance. After long disappearance of the concept, the concept of social capital was reinvented by a team of Canadian sociologists while studying urban communities. It emphasised on the value of social networks and need to preserve them. The first systematic explanation of the term can be attributed to the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James S. Coleman (1988). However, the term was heavily popularised by Putman (1993) and attracted the attention of researchers and policymakers. Being a multi-faceted construct, it is hard to expect a single definition of social capital. Different authors defined social capital in different ways reflecting their own interest. The social capital mostly emphasises social relations that generate productive benefits. (Bhandari & Yasunobu,2009:488)

Social capital is the aggregate of certain resources linked to the membership of a particular group, which in turn provide the members with certain benefits. This group could be the family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party etc. Therefore, being member of a group also depends on the possession of economic and cultural capital. Social capital is something which we need to acquire to enable the society function effectively. For example, family could be a basic source of social capital in the form of social bonds, close ties where each member remains for other. Capital may represent source of power and resources. In other words, social capital refers to the social ties and networks which is derived from one’s cultural capital. For example, a kind of education, skills, culture, taste a child receives determines his/her social capital in future like kind of peer group, contacts and networks etc.

### 7.4.1 Varieties of social capital

- i) Bonds-links between people based on common identity like family, peer group, tribe.
- ii) Bridges-link that goes beyond the shared sense of identity like distant friends and relatives, associations.
- iii) Linkages-links to people up and down the social ladder.

**Types of social capital** as discussed in detail by Bhandari, H., & Yasunobu (2009:97-98) are as follows-

- i) **Structural and cognitive social capital** : Structural social capital is related to the pattern of social networks and other structures such as associations, clubs, cultural groups, and institutions led by the rules, procedures that govern them. Cognitive social capital consists primarily of a set of shared norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs of individuals relating to trust, reciprocity, and cooperation
- ii) **Bonding, bridging, and linking social capital** : Bonding social capital denotes ties among people who are very close and known to one another, such as immediate family, close friends, and neighbors. It is more inward-looking, protective, and exercising close membership, and therefore good for under-girding specific reciprocity and mobilizing informal solidarity (Van Oorschot et al., 2006). Bonding promotes communication and relationships necessary to pursue common goals. Moreover, it influences creation and nurturing of community organizations, like self-help groups and local association.

Bridging social capital refers to more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates. Often people in bridging networks differ on key personal characteristics. Bridging is more outward-looking, narrows the gap between different communities and exercising open membership, and is, therefore, crucial to organizing solidarity and pursuing common goals (van Oorschot et al., 2006). Bridging is crucial for solving community problems through helping people to know each other, building relationships, sharing information, and mobilizing community resources. Linking social capital refers to ties and networks among individuals and groups who occupy very different social positions and power. Linking social capital may involve networks and ties of a particular community with states or other agencies. These different forms of social capital can serve different functions. Bonding with closely-knit people can act as a social support safety net; bridging ties with people across diverse social divides can provide links to institutions and systems and enables people and communities to use wide range of resources than are available in the community

Within social capital Granovetter (1985) distinguishes social capital according to the strength of social ties. Strong ties refer to close, persistent, and binding relationships, such as those that exist with families and close friend group. Weak ties, on the other hand, refers to more causal, temporary, and contingent relationships, such as those that exist with people from different backgrounds and friends from different social niches. Strong ties come from affection, willingness to help, and

great knowledge of each other creating great solidarity and offer personal support, whereas weak ties are used more for informational support. Weak ties link people to the broader communities and to a wider range of potential resources (Erickson, 2004). It can serve as channel in mobilizing resources, ideas, and information to promote collective actions in the community.

Social capital is also distinguished between horizontal and vertical networks (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). *Horizontal social capital* refers to ties between people of similar status and in a community, *vertical social capital* on the other hand refers to ties between people of different hierarchy and unequal status. While horizontal social capital operates through shared norms and values, vertical social capital operates through formal hierarchical structures. Similar to bonding and bridging, horizontal social capital encompasses diverse group of people and it serves to establish connection and a common goal among community members through civic engagement. Similar to linking, vertical social capital establishes link of citizens to community leaders and decision makers, and creates environment for social change through laws and policies.

Bourdieu's study of social capital was linked to the understanding of social hierarchy in an indirect way. He thought that economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital, and he was interested how economic capital could combine with other forms of capital to create and reproduce inequality. A very important understanding relating to social capital is the social networks one develops. A network can be defined as the pattern of ties linking a defined set of persons or social actors. Each person can be described in terms of his or her links with other people in the network. A relevant study shows how social capital influence career success through access to resources and information and career sponsorship. (Seibert, et al. 2001).

#### **7.4.2 Social capital and inequality**

Social capital is linked to social relationships and social structures. Bourdieu's social capital is individual rather than collective derived from one's social position and status. Social capital enables a person to exert power on the group or individual who mobilises the resources. For Bourdieu social capital is not available to all members of a group but available to those who have achieved a position of power and status or by developing contacts through mutual acquaintances. Therefore, social capital is attached to a class and other forms of stratification which produces various forms of benefit or advancement. The source of social capital stems from social, economic, and cultural structures that create differential power and status for specific individuals and not others. Social capital is therefore not so much about having a large social network but having social position that creates the potential for advantage

from one's social network. Inequality was to be explained by the production and reproduction of capital. Social institutions such as schools are used to pass cultural ideas that support the privileged position of the dominant or upper class. Educational institutions can be an agent of social stratification. Education plays a very important role in maintaining the stratification system and justifying the unequal distribution of wealth. Like other social systems, schools reflect stratification and sometimes can be a cause of it. The schools one attends can have an effect on their life chances. Each school shapes one's cultural as well as social capital and hence access to those becomes essential in preserving the class stratification. He defined capital as 'accumulated labour' which takes time to accumulate. He had initially developed the concept of cultural capital in order to explain the unequal academic achievement of children from different social classes and from different groups. Bourdieu clearly holds that "the reproduction of social capital requires a continuous effort of 'sociability' and continual repeated contacts during which mutual recognition by group members is confirmed in order to sustain group cohesion" (Bourdieu 2001:104).

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## 7.5 Social capital: Coleman vs Putman

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Apart from Bourdieu, Coleman too had showed interest in social capital where he regarded it as a mean of social support. While studying school failure and aiming at the reinforcement of human capital, he claimed that social capital strengthens students' school and university performance. It strengthens one's performances in school and, therefore, the generation of human capital, therefore social capital is explicitly a positive and enhancing quality (Coleman 1990:302).

Coleman like Bourdieu defines social capital as a component of structure of relationships among people. Coleman saw social capital as a public good which benefits the whole while Bourdieu linked it with power and status. Coleman conceptualised social capital as a collective asset of the group focusing not much on inequality in power and status. This is a significant departure from Bourdieu's theory. For Coleman, individuals engage in social interactions, relationships and networks for as long as their needs persist. He explains this behaviour as a part of human rationality, which also led to the development of social organization. Social capital is not solely a property or benefit of the individual agent who produces it, but also of the community. (Coleman, 1988) Therefore, Coleman has described social capital as something positive. For example, everyone in a neighbourhood benefit from a neighbourhood club benefitting the members and of the neighbourhood in many ways like protecting against any kind of unsocial activities, organising medical camps, awareness camps many more.

On the other hand, Putman, for example, has pointed out that social capital is formed by social life i.e., networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.(Putnam, 1995) Putman also broadens the notion of social capital in a macro way from the level of individual and collective actors to the level of organizations and communities (Wollebaek and Selle,2002:34) and from there to social life as a whole. The latter includes cities, regions, and even entire countries. In fact, in Putnam's approach, social capital stock is equal to the participatory attitude in a community (Portes, 2000)

A significant contribution to social capital theory which is not been mentioned often was made by Francis Fukuyama. He offered the more specific but significantly different definition of social capital. He defines social capital in terms of trust as one of the qualities which enables people to work together in an organisation for a purpose. Alternatively, he defines social capital simply as the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them (Fukuyama, 1995). He contends that interpersonal trust is fundamental for social relationships to emerge. Fukuyama emphasises on the qualities in social relationships (interpersonal trust, reciprocity, shared norms and understandings, etc.), which permits people to associate with others, and it helps to develop social capital. For example mutual trust improves the cooperation between individual and facilitates business. Fukuyama's significant contribution to the theory of social capital is that he provided a single, most straightforward means to measure social capital. (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009:489)

### **7.5.1 Social capital-who actually benefits?**

The volume of the social capital depends on the size of the network of connections one has and can effectively mobilise on cultural, economic or symbolic capital. There are various benefits one gets from the membership of a group be it social clubs which are intentionally organized in order to derive full benefit from it securing the profits of membership, such as all the types of services accruing from useful relationships, and symbolic profits, such as those derived from association with a rare, prestigious group (Bourdieu,1986:52). This constitution of networks is not naturally given but produced through act of institution like in the case of family group through relations, which is the characteristic of a social formation. At times it is based on an exchange relationship though the exchange (of gifts, words, etc.) or through non material aspect of love and care, i.e through parent-child relation or brother-sister. Exchange produces mutual recognition and group solidarity. Thus, the building upon the relationships and networks further produces the capital.

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## 7.6 Criticism

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The main debate revolves around whether social capital is negative or positive. Coleman, stated social capital is a fundamentally positive, especially in the case of social problems which are tackled through the medium of social capital. For Putnam too, social capital benefits the society that reduces anomie promotes democracy, and produces wealth. Some of the negative aspects of social capital were studied by Portes who explained how social capital could lead to the exclusion of non-members. For Bourdieu social capital is closely attached to class and other forms of stratification which in turn is associated with various forms of benefits. Social capital can bring inequality if it's not equally available to members of a group or collectively but available to those who provide efforts to acquire it by achieving positions of power and status. (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, social capital resides in the individual as the result of his or her investment. The volume of social capital one possesses depends on the size of the network of connections one can mobilise and on the volume of the capital (economic or cultural) one has in his own or those to whom he is connected. Economic capital may give access to some good and services instantly without secondary cost but others can be obtained only by the virtue of social capital (ties and relationships) which do not have an immediate access unless they are established and maintained for a long time. (Bourdieu, 1986:24)

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## 7.7 Conclusion

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Bourdieu popularised social capital where he talked about certain resources which makes certain groups influential and building a sense of shared identity. The resources include strong social ties, interpersonal relationships, shared understanding, norms and values, trust cooperation and reciprocity.

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## 7.8 Summary

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Therefore, social capital on one hand enhances diverse group performances but at the same time can further create inequalities among various group members. Thus, Social capital has been both positively and negatively recognised by various thinkers.

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## 7.8 Questions

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### Answer in detail

- a. Briefly describe social capital
- b. How social capital can create inequality?
- c. Critically analyse social capital after Putman and Coleman

**Answer briefly**

- a. What are the different forms of capital?
- b. What are the different forms of cultural capital?
- c. Differentiate between bonding, bridging and linking social capital
- d. How can education create inequality?

**Answer very briefly**

- a. What is economic capital?
- b. What is Habitus?
- c. What is Fukuyama' concept of social capital?

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## 7.9 References

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#### Website links

<https://inequality.stanford.edu/>

<https://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/coleman-on-social-capital-rational-choice-approach/>

#### Suggested Readings

Ritzer, George, 1996, Classical Sociological Theory: New York: McGraw Hill.

Bottomore, T.B. 1971, Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature, London

Giddens, Anthony. 2009, Sociology, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, Polity

#### (Footnotes)

<sup>1</sup>encyclopaedia of sociology ([www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/sociology-and-social-reform/sociology-general-terms-and-concepts/social-capital](http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/sociology-and-social-reform/sociology-general-terms-and-concepts/social-capital))

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## 7.10 Glossary

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**Agency** It refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. i.e. making own decisions.

**Anomie** It is a condition defined by an uprooting or breakdown of any moral values in a society in a given point of time.

**Economic Capital** It refers to material assets which can be converted into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights.

**Norms** Norms are derived from the concept of normal emphasising more on social norms which are collective representations of acceptable group conduct or behaviour described as standard or ideal.

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## **UNIT 8 □ Feminist Theory: Patriarchy**

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### **Structure**

- 8.1 Learning Objectives**
- 8.2 Introduction**
- 8.3 Patriarchy: meaning and definitions**
- 8.4 The gender division of labor**
- 8.5 Patriarchy and the different forms of discriminations in everyday life**
  - 8.5.1 Work and employment**
  - 8.5.2 Education and discrimination**
  - 8.5.3 Religion and discrimination**
  - 8.5.4 Health and well being**
- 8.6 Feminism and analysis of patriarchy**
- 8.7 Conclusion**
- 8.8 Summary**
- 8.9 Questions**
- 8.10 References**
- 8.11 Glossary**

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### **8.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand the source of patriarchy
- ⊙ To know how patriarchy creates inequality
- ⊙ To understand how the institution of patriarchy reinforces violence
- ⊙ To explore patriarchy as a tool of oppression for both men and women.

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### **8.2 Introduction**

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The concept of patriarchy could be traced to not just feminist theories but various other intellectual and literary sources. Friedrich Engels in his work in the ‘Origin of Family, Private Property and the State’ referred the system of patriarchy

as the earliest form of domination and declared it as a ‘historical defeat of the female sex’. (Engels,1972) The concept of patriarchy has been used within the women’s movement to analyse the principle source of women’s oppression. The concept itself is not new, having been used by earlier feminists like Virginia Woolf, the Fabian Women’s Group and Vera Britain. Radical feminist writers like Kate Millett, has focused solely upon the system of male domination and female subordination, while Marxist feminists have tried to analyse the relationship between the oppression of women and the organization of various modes of production mostly capitalist mode of production. The concept of patriarchy has been adopted by Marxist feminists in an attempt to transform Marxist theory so that it can more adequately address the subordination of women as well as for the other forms of class exploitation (Beechey,1979)

Feminists have come with more expanding theories where they have defined patriarchy in different forms. It is also known as the unequal distribution of power between men and women in certain aspects of our societies. Patriarchy has its origin in families, the leadership is often exercised by the male members of the family which is further extended to the wider social order. Simon de Beauvoir argues how women are characterised as the Other, defined exclusively in opposition to men. Man plays the role of the self, or subject and woman as the object or passive. (Butler,199:29.) The whole system is embedded in such ideologies which further reinforce the essence of patriarchy and manipulates gender relations.

The word Patriarchy literally means the ruling of the father and the large household of patriarch which includes women, children, and slaves. Later on, patriarchy is mostly equated with male domination-whereby men legitimises their position and exercise power by subordinating women and other men too (Bhasin,2006 and Connell,2005). Patriarchy also refers to the male domination in public spaces, addressing the power inequality between men and women, Feminists have used this term like any other concept to understand and voice women’s’ realities (Sultana, 2010).

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### **8.3 Patriarchy- meaning and definitions**

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Different philosophers and thinkers have defined patriarchy in different ways. Walby(1990) defines “*Patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women*”(Walby 1990:20). In India Patriarchy has been considered to be synonymous with tradition and how the caste and kinship systems have strengthened patriarchal values. (Geetha,2007) Mitchell(1971) a feminist

psychologist, uses the word patriarchy “to refer to kinship systems in which men exchange women”(1971:24). Lernerin (1986) cites the creation of patriarchy as a source of structure for subordination of women and traced how laws and religion have further deteriorated women’s position. They were alienated from learning and intellectual fields. Women were cut from all sources of history making.

The traditionalist view focused on women’s reproductive capacity and sees motherhood as the chief goal of women’s life and categorised those as deviant who are unable to bear a child. Therefore, patriarchy itself justifies the biological differences which results in sexual division of labour and is considered functional and just. The traditional traits defining women as caring, weak, soft and defining men as strong, dominant, dependent is often seen as the tools of patriarchy to legitimate the domination of men in the society. Thus ‘women’s subordination’ which refers to the inferior position of women, begins with their lack of access to resources and decision making etc. are kind of patriarchal domination that women are subjected to in most societies. The feeling of powerlessness, discrimination and experience of reduced self-esteem jointly contribute to the subordination of women. The subordination of women is a central feature of all structures of interpersonal domination, but feminists choose different locations and causes of subordination. (Sultana, 2010:7). The control over women’s lives mean men benefit materially from patriarchy, they derive concrete economic gains from the subordination of women. In what Walby calls the ‘patriarchal mode of production’ where women’s labour is expropriated by their husbands and others who live there. (Sultana, 2010:9)

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## 8.4 The gender division of labour

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The Patriarchal ideology to keep women away from power system was operationalised through the construction of differentiating public and private realms for men and women respectively. The traditional division of labor between the sexes, and techniques of hierarchical organization and control were crucial in producing a sex-ordered division of labor to the wage-labor system, during the period of the emergence of capitalism in Western Europe and the United States. (Hartmann,1976:138). The sexual division of labor is reinforced through institutions like family, market, education within a patriarchal society. Sexual or gender division of labor refers to how different tasks are allocated to men and women based on pre-established gender roles and expectations. This refers to the tasks and responsibilities that are assigned to women and men in their daily lives. For example, how the task of rearing children, managing the household remains in the realm of women and outside work mostly paid work are for men. In primitive societies this division of

labour prevailed too but women's work was not devalued. Post industrialisation the private space like home became more associated with unpaid work, which women are expected to perform, and thus are devalued. In most countries household chores like care giving, cooking, washing and anything meeting the needs of everyday chores like fetching water, are typically women's tasks. This goes on even after they have paid job outside. On the other hand, within the house too more technical works of electrical or anything related to heavy lifting and financial decisions are men's departments. The development of capitalism in the late eighteenth century threatened patriarchal old institutional authorities like family with emergence of markets. It brought more women and children into labour force and women engaging in paid labor gradually erased the sole authority of men over women. Even if the opening of markets and more women into the labor force aimed at creating equality but the production process requires hierarchy produced inequality among the men and women labours. Men had a pivotal role as capitalists in creating hierarchies in the production process in order to maintain the power in the hands of a specific gender which is men. Capitalists do this by segmenting the labor market(along race, sex, and ethnic lines among others)(Hartman, 1976:139). Therefore, job segregation by sex according to Hartman is the major source of discrimination and differentiation and it is the sole way through which capitalism has maintained the superiority of men over women. Women are paid lower wages in labor market even securing the same position or doing double work as compared to men labors. Low wages make them dependent on men and confined to domestic spheres and perform domestic chores. Men gain advantage from high wages as well and the domestic division of labour. The domestic division of labour thus weakens women's position in the labor market resulting from two oppressive systems, capitalism and patriarchy. Patriarchy with capitalism shapes the form modern capitalism just as the development of capitalism has trans-formed patriarchal institutions. The mutual accommodation between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle for women. (Hartman,1976)

### **Do You Know?**

Before the emergence of capitalism mainly in England men and women were both engaged in various small-scale industries like woollen, crafts and trade. Women used to spun and wove. They used to earn their livelihood from there. With the emergence of last scale industries most women were deprived of work but men continued to work. Women suffered greater unemployment and greater subsistence. Women, forced into unemployment by the capitalization of agriculture more frequently than men, were more available to labor, both in the domestic putting-out system and in the early factories. (Hartman,1976:148-149)

With capitalism the sexual division of labour became more prominent. This system helped men access to superior resource and definitional power enabling them to maintain their gender status/position against women and women usually choosing which they are constrained to do confining to private space, thereby legitimating the system and allowing men to refrain from exercising their coercive potential. (Chafetz,1988). Sexual division of labour is thus rooted in reproductive functions and seen as a natural division whereby it devalues a woman's labour both in family and labor market as both are based on sex specific task and job allocation. (Gamarnikow,1978). According to Kandiyoti (1998) the key to the reproduction of classic patriarchy lies in how patrilocal extended household operated in agrarian societies. Though with changes in the economy and relocations for work, demographic have reduced the burden of three-generational patrilocal households on women but the powerful patriarchal culture and ideologies exist.(Kandiyoti, 1988:278)

#### **Do You Know?**

Under classic patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband's father. There, they are subordinate not only to all the men but also to the more senior women, especially their mother-in-law. The extent to which this represents a total break with their own kin group varies in relation to the degree of endogamy in marriage practices and different conceptions of honor. Among the Turks, there are lower rates of endogamy, and a husband is principally responsible for a woman's honor. Among the Arabs, there is much greater mutuality among affines, and a women's natal family retains both an interest and a say in protecting their married daughter's honor (Meeker 1976). As a result, a Turkish woman's traditional position more closely resembles the status of the "stranger-bride" typical of pre-revolutionary China than that of an Arab woman whose position in the patriarchal household may be somewhat attenuated by endogamy and recourse to her natal kin" (Kandiyoti, 1988:278-279)

If we consider oppression as one of the features of patriarchy as it always values masculinity and masculine traits over femininity then it's not just women but men too are also oppressed for example homosexual men, disabled men. Patriarchy defines men and masculinity as something opposite to women and femininity: masculine, independent, invulnerable, tough, strong, aggressive, powerful, commanding, in control, rational, and non-emotional.

Race, ethnicity, religion, class, sexuality, disability are some way or the other affected by patriarchy. Women, as well as men, can oppress those in more vulnerable

groups. (Becker,1999:25). Patriarchal culture values control and domination most, and as long as it is done by men it ensures one's own safety from them (1995:24).

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## **8.5 Patriarchy and the different forms of discriminations in everyday life**

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Discrimination against women is defined as the “*unfavourable treatment of women in the public sphere which results in their unfavourable position within the distribution of all important social resources (material wealth, power and status)*”(Zunic,2014:48) Discrimination becomes prominent in the areas of work, education and health and this is due to the old traditional value system which encourages patriarchal ideologies and stands as the basis for discrimination.

### **8.5.1 Work and employment**

In present scenario women are often prevented to have equal participation as men in the labour market mainly in the distribution of occupations and positions which can create wealth and status and a significantly greater concentration of social power can be found. Researches show that segregation of women in the workplace have a direct influence on the earnings of women and on the amount of power they exercise in the labour market, women are always paid less than men and are offered less significant positions even though they have the same academic degrees, and, particularly and suffer more from unemployment and serve as part timers (2014:48-49). Even in global work force women have the lowest work participation even if the participate they are least recognised are paid severely low wages.

Pierre Bourdieu states that the structural relations of the gender-based government becomes prominent as women have to compensate for their higher positions professionally (personnel, head of a ministry, defence etc) with personal spaces like family. It is compensated through giving up on the professional success (Bourdieu, 2001: 146). Performance is likewise evaluated differently for men and women at workplace. Women are rated as performing less than men and are more prominent in male dominated jobs. That is due to the proportion of women in the work group decreases therefore evaluations of them were more negative relative to men (Welle& Heilman, 2007). Violating stereotypes by being successful at male dominated professions can also lead to discrimination against women in matters of promotion and incentives. (2007:27-29) because their input may be deemed less valuable, they are more likely than men to be eliminated from key discussions/ decision making, and left out of informal networks that provide the context for

critical information-sharing. The consequences of discrimination can extend beyond women's lack of access to formal and informal resources by influencing their perceptions of work environments. Many women who believe they have experienced discrimination, or have seen colleagues affected by it, show less engagement in their work. A study of employees across jobs and industries found that women and minority employees distinguished between three sources of discrimination: supervisors, co-workers and organizations (Welle & Heilman, 2007:39)

Women in India are leaving home to venture out in search of work both for reasons of economic necessity and to fulfil ambitions. Those in the former category are from the middle and lower socio-economic strata of society, career development is more a pursuit by those from the upper middle class. Women are more going into managerial works. But the obstacle face by most women managers is the differential treatment at work which upholds the superiority of men and treats women as inferior and less important. Due to this stereotype, women are offered fewer challenging jobs and are often not involved in tackling crucial organizational issues (Budhwar.et al,2005:186-187). There are often complaints from women graduating from premier educational institutions that boys are preferred to girls in academic placements despite girls having better educational attainments. Women managers in India have also to deal with the male prejudice against them, which is viewed as a serious barrier to women moving up the managerial ladder. When women managers give orders, men in general and older men in particular, feel emotionally challenged (2005).

### **8.5.2 Education and discrimination**

A boy's education has always been prioritised over a girl's education. Even now the enrolment of women into education has been low compared to men, especially in the case of higher education and science and technology streams. There is due to higher cases of sexual harassment, early marriages, female child labor, and more importantly a boy's education is more valued.(Atta,2015). The girl-child is neglected after birth and throughout life time. The gender socialisation pattern from a very early age is another reason for inequalities at a later life. Discriminations are normalised in everyday forms of oppression through political practices and institutional spaces which pose a greater challenge to women negotiating spaces and rights in public life. Education of girls among certain communities like Muslim communities is a high level of concern. (Imam & Bano,2015)

### **8.5.3 Religion and discrimination**

Patriarchy has been a tool to control women's body through the imposed choices of clothes, not giving the right to make decision regarding body, sexuality, conception/abortion, and seen as an object or commodity for sexual pleasure. Religion plays an



important role in reinforcing such control. Different religions have different conception of woman's body and sexuality. Religion is again a patriarchal tool which discriminates women on number of grounds. Religion often holds the patriarchal values strongly predominating the role of women as mother, wife and her duties which do not support in favour of women. The patriarchal rules are institutionalised through religion, family and marriage. Women are always reduced to roles as mothers whose responsibility is rearing caring of children thus preventing them to access reproductive services such as contraception, abortion. Certain religions have strict rules of conduct for women. Educating women about their reproductive rights, choices giving them access to various information on family planning, contraception and their bodily rights can help them to overcome the cultural barriers. Most men take the advantage of this preaching and thus subordinate women (Barlow & Akbarzadeh, 2006).

#### **8.5.4 Health and well being**

In a patriarchal society women's health and well-being are threatened. Women do not have an equal access to health and life advantages in India as compared to western counterpart. The deep embedded ideologies like - societal beliefs and attitudes, gender specific roles have often placed women at a disadvantageous position with regard to health and health care. It has also affected women in various fronts- deriving from decision making over their bodies, understanding about their reproductive health, and access to their choices and rights over body. Apart from this any form of violence be it physical or emotional from male members at work or home negatively affects their mental well-being too. (Fikree & Pasha, 2004).

In factories women are bound to work under hazardous conditions mostly in the form of manual labor can eventually bring life threatening diseases. Another important area is menstrual health and hygiene. Due to the age long belief attached to menstrual blood which is often considered as impure, women are alienated from everyday spheres of functional life. Also, minimum awareness about the usage of sanitary pads and non-accessibility brings in more infections. Women feel reluctant to know about sexual and reproductive health and there is limited health care set up to provide the same.

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## **8.6 Feminism and analysis of patriarchy**

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At the end of the twentieth century, feminist theories developed with its aim of creating formal equality. Formal equality requires that similarly situated individuals be treated similarly regardless of their sex or gender. Liberal feminism assumes that

people as having agencies Radical feminism has been extremely important in developing an analysis of women's oppression. Kate Millett (1969) represents one of the first theoretical attempts to account the nature of women's oppression within the contemporary women's movement. For Millett, patriarchy refers to a society which is organized according to two sets of principles: (i) that male shall dominate female; and (ii) that older male shall dominate younger male. All patriarchal societies can exhibit a variety of forms and practices in different societies. She focuses upon the most common and prevailing practice i.e domination of women by men. She analyses the relationship between the sexes from a political angle, using the notion of 'political'. It refers to the power relationships between men and women. Women are considered as being a minority group within the dominant society. Family has remained as the primary patriarchal unit which functions to socialize children into different gender roles, temperaments and statuses, and to maintain women in a state of subordination. (Beechey,1979). There is a basic division between men and women which involves relationships of domination and subordination without explaining the logic behind organization of such relationships which leads to the institutionalization of power dominance of men over women. (Millett, 1969:69). Women's oppression is related to reproduction, and in discovering patriarchy within the social relations of reproduction. It stems from a number of sources:

- (i) Developments from the radical feminist analysis, which has produced numerous insights into specific aspects of women's oppression which are concerned with reproduction (childbirth, abortion, motherhood, for example).
- (ii) Recognition of those aspects of the oppression of women which go beyond the capitalist mode of production like woman's domestic, mothering and reproductive roles.
- (iii) The belief that patriarchal social relations cannot be derived directly from capital, (Engels,1972:455).

The culture of production and reproduction is interwoven in history. On the one hand, the production is the means of subsistence and on the other, the production of human beings themselves. The social institutions under which men of a particular society live are conditioned by both kinds of production; first with the development of labour and second of the family. This explains the sphere of reproduction as one aspect or a part of the capitalist mode of production.(Beechey,1979:455).

Carole Pateman writes, "*The patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection*" (Pateman, 1988:207) Therefore, patriarchy is a form of mental, social, spiritual, economic and political organization/structuring of society produced by the gradual

institutionalization of sex-based political relations, maintained and reinforced by different institutions. These institutions interconnect not only with each other to strengthen the structures of domination of men over women, but also strengthened through the state which excludes, oppresses to protect that the needs and interests of a few powerful men.(Facio,2013:2)

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## 8.7 Conclusion

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Class, caste, race, gender and sexuality are interrelated in various ways, mostly when it comes under the purview of patriarchy; one affects the other in the gender order. Patriarchy has its source in the emergence of capitalism where men became the sole owner of everything including women's bodies. Patriarchy not only affects women and children but anyone who is considered outside the hegemonic norms of the gender, therefore, men too can be victims of patriarchy in varied ways, victimised by men as well as women. Women are widely affected as they are still reduced to bodies and a machine for reproduction of further patriarch, since birth till death she faces violence in terms of foeticide, discrimination, dowry, physical and mental abuse. Such discriminatory practices are reflected in home, workplace and other public spaces.

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## 8.8 Summary

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We have tried defining the concept of patriarchy and have placed it within the gender division of labor. We have tried elucidating the various components of patriarchy especially the discriminations of the different kinds. We have tried showing how discrimination is meted out in the different spheres of life. We have concluded with the meaning attached to feminism while it makes an attempt to analyse patriarchy.

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## 8.9 Questions

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### Answer in detail

1. Discuss Patriarchy as an institution
2. Describe Patriarchy and discrimination in everyday life
3. Explain Feminism and Patriarchy-the relation
4. Describe gender division of labor?

**Answer briefly**

1. Discuss the sources of women's' oppression
2. Discuss how religion emerges as a tool of patriarchy and how it controls women's bodies
3. How Patriarchy creates inequality in the areas of employment and education-discuss
4. Discuss patriarchy and health inequalities

**Answer very briefly**

1. What is the meaning of the word patriarchy?
2. Mention any two features of patriarchy
3. Family as an old institution of patriarchy was replaced with which institution post capitalism era?
4. What does Kate Millet refer to patriarchy as?

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## 8.11 Glossary

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**Agency** To act independently and make one's own choices and decisions and acting upon it

**Capitalism**-It is an economic system based on private ownership for means of production. This can be run by individuals or a group, not run by state. Central features of capitalism include capital accumulation, competitive markets, a price system. Capitalists are the individuals or groups who run the system for profit.

**Femininity** Femininity like gender is a social construct which is based on certain norms and ideals about woman's behaviour and body.

**Masculinity** It refers to the social norms, behaviour, social roles and relations of men in a given society.

**Sexuality** It is a way people experience and express themselves sexually. It is an umbrella term which may vary in historical context but broadly include one's sexual orientation, sexual and emotional well-being and also reproductive health and hygiene.

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## **UNIT 9 □ Caste**

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### **Structure**

- 9.1 Learning Objectives**
- 9.2 Introduction**
- 9.3 Difference between caste and class**
- 9.4 Caste System : three perspectives of study**
- 9.5 Origin of caste system**
  - 9.5.1 Traditional theory**
  - 9.5.2 Brahmanical theory**
  - 9.5.3 Racial theory**
  - 9.5.4 Occupation theory**
  - 9.5.5 Ketkar's theory**
  - 9.5.6 B.R Ambedkar's theory**
- 9.6 Difference between varna and jati**
- 9.7 Features of the caste system in India**
- 9.8 Caste and social mobility**
  - 9.8.1 Sanskritization**
  - 9.8.2 Westernization**
  - 9.8.3 New legal system**
  - 9.8.4 Adoption of reforms**
  - 9.8.5 Secularization**
  - 9.8.6 Education**
  - 9.8.7 Mobility for SCs and OBCs**
  - 9.8.8 Industrialization and urbanization**
- 9.9 Dalit movement in India**
- 9.10 Relationship between caste and politics**
- 9.11 Conclusion**
- 9.12 Summary**
- 9.13 Questions**
- 9.14 Reference**

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## 9.1 Learning Objectives

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn in depth about Caste as a recognized unit of social stratification.
- ⊙ To have an overview of the origin of the caste system and the various theories associated with it.
- ⊙ To understand the various features of the caste system in India.
- ⊙ To develop acquaintance with the various patterns of social mobility within the caste system.
- ⊙ To enhance one's understanding of Caste Politics
- ⊙ To acquire knowledge about the discriminatory nature of the caste system and how it justifies and perpetuates social inequality and exclusion.

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## 9.2 Introduction

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The word, 'Caste' comes from the word 'Casta' which is of Spanish and Portuguese origin. It means lineage or race and is derived from the Latin word 'Castus', which means pure. The Spaniards were the first to use it, but its Indian application came from the Portuguese, who had applied it in the middle of the fifteenth century. Caste may be defined "as a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system" (Béteille 1965, p. 46). Berreman (1967, p. 70) has defined the caste system as a "system of birth-ascribed stratification, of socio-cultural pluralism, and of hierarchical interaction". In the words of Surajit Sinha (1967, p. 94), "caste is a hierarchy of endogamous groups, organized in a characteristic hereditary division of labour". Hutton (1946) describes a functional view of caste system for individual members, community functions, and function for the state and society as a whole. Ghurye (1950) gives a comprehensive definition of caste. According to him, the six main features of the caste system are: segmental division of society, hierarchy of groups, restriction of feeding and social intercourse, allied and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and restriction on marriage. Endogamy is the stable feature of a caste system. However, in recent years, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages have taken place (Sharma 2007).



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### 9.3 Differences between caste and class

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While caste is hereditary, class is non-hereditary in nature. A class system allows both exogamy and endogamy, permits mobility either up or down the system, and allows an individual to change in the status to which he was born. Thus a class is primarily based on socio-economic criteria. There are three major classes found: Upper, Middle, and Lower. Each class is divided into two sub-divisions. They are upper-upper and lower-upper; upper-middle and lower-middle; and upper-lower and lower-lower. A class is more open than the caste in the sense that mobility is allowed in the class system. It is not allowed that openly in the caste system. Further, caste system is based on ritual criterion whereas; class is based on secular criterion. Rituals criterion means it is based on religious myths, secular means non-religious criterion like economic, political and social criterion. However, in changing circumstances caste is also adapting to secular criteria. Consciousness is found in the class but not necessarily in the caste. However, today castes are also changing into classes in urban areas particularly in terms of economic criterion.

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### 9.4 Caste System : three perspectives of study

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The Caste System in India has been studied in three perspectives: Indological, socio-anthropological and sociological. The Indologists have viewed Castes from the spiritual point of view. They take cue from the scriptures about the origin, purpose and future of the caste system. Those who use this perspective maintain that varnas have originated from the Bramha's body and caste or jatis as they may be called are fissioned units within the varna system, developed as the result of hypergamy or hypogamy practices. The object of origin of caste according to this view was the division of labour in society. Gradually castes became more and more rigid and membership and occupation became hereditary. The indologists further believed that the rigidity in the caste system was the result of the traditional Hindu beliefs in karma and dharma and maintained that since castes are divine they will continue to exist in the future, (Verma, 1972:159)

The cultural perspective of social anthropologists ramifies in 3 directions namely structural, institutional and relational. The structural view focuses its attention on the origin, development and the process of change in the structure of the caste system. Institutional approach views caste system not as a unique phenomenon found in India but also found in ancient Egypt, medieval Europe and southern United States. The relational approach finds caste situations in army business, factory management, politics, so on and so forth

The sociological perspective view caste system as a phenomenon of social inequality. It tries to view how society has certain structural aspects which distribute members in different social positions.

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## 9.5 Origin of the caste system

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The origin of the Caste System could be understood more clearly through the various theories propounded by different scholars. These theories differ from one another. There is no similarity between these. Besides this, no one theory properly explains the origin of the caste system. Ahuja Ram (1999 : 249-266) explains some important theories of origin of caste system in the following way.

### 9.5.1 Traditional theory

The Traditional Theory believes that, the Caste System has been established by divine ordinance or at least with divine approval. Nagendra S.P. (1968) gives the best analysis of the traditional theory. The traditional theory has two versions : Mythical and Metaphysical. The Mythical version regards four 'Varnas' as four Castes and believes that, these four Varnas have emerged from the different parts of Brahma's body. "The 'Brahmin' was born from his mouth, the 'Kshatriya' from his arms, the 'Vaishyas' from his thighs and the 'Sudra' from his feet". It considers caste as a naturally determined organisation of social functions and explains the membership of an individual in particular caste in terms of 'Karma' and 'Dharma' doctrine. According to 'Karma Doctrine', a man is born in a particular caste because of his action performed in his previous incarnation. If he had performed better actions, he would have been born in a higher Caste. He was born in that Caste because he deserved to be born. According to 'Dharma Doctrine', a man who accepts and living according to the doctrine of dharma is rewarded, while the violation of dharma is punished. If a man observes the rules of dharma, he will be born in his next birth in a high and affluent caste and if a man violates the dharma, he will be born in a low and poor caste. The Metaphysical version explains the hierarchy and fixed occupation of the caste. Each Caste has a separate function and is determined by the 'nature' or 'swabhav' and 'qualities' or 'guna' of the caste members. The 'swabhav' comprises two sets of qualities-gotrika and namika. The gotra (lineage) qualities are hereditary, where as namika (individual) qualities are specifically one's own. It is the gotrika qualities, which determines his ascriptive nature and entitled him the status in a caste. This is a hereditary membership of the Caste System. 'Swabhav' (nature) and 'Action' (occupation) cannot be separated from each other. This is nothing but fixed occupation of the concerned castes. Brahmins were engaged in cultural-religious

functions, 'Kshatriya' in military-administration, 'Vaishyas' in commercial-economic function and the 'Sudras' were engaged in ordinary function. It was believed that, since the first three have undergone training in previous births, they were rightly called 'dwijas', where as the 'Sudras' were not. This was a clear-cut differentiation of hierarchical functions.

### 9.5.2 Brahmanical theory

According to Abbe Dubois(1857), the caste system originated and developed in India because of 'Brahmins'. 'Brahmins' imposed sever social restrictions on 'non-Brahmins', especially on the 'Sudras', to preserve their purity. They gave themselves a higher status in the "Brahmanas" and in other books and declared all others as inferior to them. Sudras were classified as most inferior to anyone else. Ghurye (1961) supports 'Brahmanical Theory'. He believes that, the role of Brahmin was vital in the origin of Caste System in India. Further the author says that, "The Brahman literature classified as I 'dwijas' and 'ekjati' (the Sudra). The restrictions on marriage, acceptance of food etc., contemplated only four classes in the society, came to be the characteristics of each and every well marked group". Finally the author says that, 'the Caste in India is a 'Brahmanic' child of the Indo-Aryan Culture'. Thus according to this theory, the Caste System was created by the Brahmins to maintain their superiority in the society.

### 9.5.3 Racial theory

According to Herbert Risley(1915) in 'Racial Theory', "the clash of cultures and contact of races crystallised the Castes in India". The migrant 'Aryans' had their own ideas of ceremonial purity. They considered the original inhabitants as inferior to them. The 'Aryans' were essentially 'Patrilineal' in nature, while local population, whom they conquered was matrilineal. Therefore, they 'married with the daughters of the aboriginals but refused to give their daughters to them. The children of such marriages had to be assigned the lowest position in the society and were called as 'Chandals'. Thus the origin of 'half-breeds' group', as well as the feeling of racial superiority ultimately became responsible for the origin of the Caste System in India.

### 9.5.4 Occupation theory

Nesfield (1885) believes that, 'the origin of Caste has nothing to do with the racial affinity, but it mainly due to functions or occupations. The skill of occupation was passed on hereditarily from generation to generation and because of practicing the same occupation over a long period of time, "Occupational Guilds" came into

existence, which later on came to be known as Castes.’ The author: explains how the Brahmins were classified as highest status, that, the ‘Brahmins’ were specialised in the occupation of ‘sacrifice and hymns and rituals’. Since sacrifices were very important in the social life of the people, ‘Brahmins’ became the most important and respected people in the Society. Thus every occupation became hereditary and through which the Caste System into existence.

### 9.5.5 Ketkar’s theory

Ketkar S. V. (1909) believes that, ‘the origin of Caste was from early tribes and the psychological prejudicial tendencies of human beings.’ According to the author, there were numerous tribes living in different parts of India. Many of these tribes were in struggle with each other on the issues like, boundaries, kidnapping a girl from other tribe etc. Because of such conflicts, people avoided other tribes in marriage and social relations and confined social interaction in all respects to members of their own tribe. Thus the author’s view is that, the castes originated from the tribes. Further he explains that, the phrase ‘origin of caste’ has no meaning, though endogamy has its origin, hereditary occupation and social restrictions have their origin, association of purity and impurity to various objects also has its origin. Ketkar (1909) further explains about psychological prejudicial tendencies. He says that, the psychology of endogamy came to be practiced because of three factors: one, due to the feelings of sympathy and affection for the members of one’s own group, two, to maintain blood purity and, three, the social adjustment. According to” the author, the superiority and inferiority are the cause or the result of endogamy. Such feeling brought the social restrictions and clear-cut differentiation of the people into different groups or different castes.

### 9.5.6 B.R Ambedkar’s theory

Ambedkar B. R. (1946) ..argues that, the ‘Shudras’ were originally king and in the later period they became slaves. He opined that, “The kings belongs to the ‘Shudra’ group. The Shudras were one of the ‘Aryan’ communities of solar race. The ‘Shudras’ ranked as the ‘Kshatriya Varna’ in the ‘Indo-Aryan’ society. There was a time when the ‘Aryan’ society recognized only three ‘Varnas’, namely, ‘Brahmin’” ‘Kshatriya’ and ‘Vaishyas’. The ‘Shudras’ were not a separate ‘Varna’, but a part of the ‘Kshatriya Varna’ There was a continuous feud between the ‘Shudra’ kings and the ‘Brahmins’, in which the Brahmins were subjected to many tyrannies and indignities. As a result of the hatred towards the ‘Shudras’ due to their tyrannies and oppression, the ‘Brahmins’ refused to invest the ‘Shudras’ with the sacred thread. Owing to the loss of the sacred thread, the ‘Shudras’ became socially degraded, fell below the rank of the Vaishyas and came to from the fourth Varna”,

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## 9.6. Difference between varna and jati

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As mentioned earlier there are four Varnas. The first mention of Varna is found in RigVeda, i.e. in the vedic era around 1500 BC. Varna means colour. Initially there were no untouchables. The Varna system was relatively not rigid during the Vedic era (1500BC-1000BC). During the later Vedic era, i.e. around 1000BC there has been a mention of “Asat Shudra” (untouchable community). Thus untouchability started around 1000BC. Around 2nd century BC to 1st century AD, because of diversified occupations, several occupational groups emerged and came to be known by different Jatis. Thus Varna Vyavastha is the textual model or book view of Indian social system, i.e. it is found today only in texts. Whereas, Jati is the contextual view or field view of Indian social system, i.e. we find Jatis in reality today and not Varnas. There are only four Varnas whereas, there are about 4000 Jatis. In each region about 200 jatis are found. The Varna had a Pan-Indic hierarchy, i.e. Brahmins are on the top, Kshatriyas are at the second position, Vaishyas are at the third position and Shudras are found in the bottom of the hierarchy. The hierarchy was uniform throughout India but in Jati a uniform hierarchy throughout India is not found. In the changing situation, in some areas Brahmins are on the top, in some other areas Thakurs (Rajput) are at the top. Today even the Dalits are found on the top in some areas. Thus secular criteria (economic and political) are found in the Jati system. On the other hand in Varna vyavastha ritual criteria (religious) is found. In Varna vyavastha initially untouchable are not found. They are placed outside the Varna vyavastha, whereas, in the Jati vyavastha untouchables are an integral part of the system. In Varna vyavastha one can change one’s status with improved socio-economic condition. Thus, one should not take Varna and Jati synonymously.

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## 9.7. Features of caste system in India

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Caste can be defined as hereditary endogamous group, having a common name, common traditional occupation, common culture, relatively rigid in matters of mobility, distinctiveness of status and forming a single homogeneous community. However, in the changing situation caste has adapted too many new features like having formal organizations, becoming less rigid and having a link with politics. Thus we may list from the above the following features of caste system.

- i. Hereditary in nature: It implies that caste system is based on heredity. It is based on ascribed values rather than achieved qualities.
- ii. Segmental division of society: It means Indian social stratification is largely based on caste. There are various castes having a well-developed life style

of their own. The membership of a caste is determined by birth. Thus caste is hereditary in nature.

- iii. **Hierarchy:** It indicates various castes according to their purity and impurity of occupations are ranked from higher to lower positions. It is like a ladder where pure caste is ranked on the top and impure is ranked at the bottom. For example the occupation of Brahmin is that of performing rituals and teaching. It is considered to be the purest occupation; hence they are placed at the top of the hierarchy. On the other hand sweeper, whose occupation is cleaning and scavenging, is placed at the bottom the bottom of the hierarchy because of impure occupation.
- iv. **Restrictions on food, drink and smoking:** Usually different castes do not exchange food and drink, and do not share smoking items among them. For instance, Brahmins do not take food from any other caste. It is a complicated process. For example in Uttar Pradesh, among Kanyakubj Brahmins, there are many sub-divisions. Each sub-division does not take food from other sub division. There are two types of food: pucca (food prepared in ghee like puri, kachodi and pulao) and kuchcha (food prepared in water like rice, pulses and vegetable curries). Some castes exchange only pucca food among themselves. Invariably, the high caste does not take anything from the low caste. The same principle is applied to smoking.
- v. **Endogamy:** It indicates members of the caste have to marry within their own caste only. Inter-castes marriages are prohibited. However, among educated people, particularly in the urban areas, inter-castes marriages are gradually increasing.
- vi. **Purity and pollution:** It is one of the important features of the caste system. Purity and pollution are judged in terms of deeds, occupation, language, dress patterns, as well as food habits. For example liquor consumption, consuming nonvegetarian food, eating left-over food of the high castes, working in occupations like leather craft, lifting dead animals, sweeping and carrying garbage etc. are supposed to be impure. However, in recent times some high caste people are today doing all the above jobs, like working in a shoe-shop, shoe-factory, cutting hair in a beauty parlour etc.
- vii. **Occupational association:** Each caste has a specific occupation and cannot change the occupation. For instance, Brahmins do priesthood and teaching, Kayasthas maintain revenue records and writing. Baniyas are engaged in business and Chamars are engaged in leatherwork, etc. With new job opportunities available due to industrialization and urbanization some people

have shifted from their traditional occupation. However, in rural areas traditional occupations are still followed. Such cases are also found in urban areas like a barber has a haircutting saloon where he cuts hair in the morning and evening simultaneously works as peon in some office.

- viii. Social and religious disabilities and privileges of a few sections: The lower caste were debarred from doing many things like they were not permitted to enter temple, use common public facilities and spaces, use or learn languages designated for the upper castes etc. However, things have changed considerably, these restrictions are hardly found today but many a times incidents of caste discrimination still get reported.
- ix. Distinction in custom, dress and speech: Previously each caste had distinct style of life, i.e. having its customs, dress patterns and speech. The high caste Hindus used pure language whereas the low caste people use colloquial language.
- x. Conflict resolving mechanisms: The castes having their own conflict resolving mechanisms such as Caste Panchayats at the village and inter-village levels.

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## 9.8 Caste and social mobility

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While the general impression has been that caste is a 'closed' system of stratification, in reality it is not fully true. No society is static and even in the traditional set up where ascription was the prime determinant of one's ritual and occupational standing, access to rewards and resources and social mobility both upward and downward was not totally absent. Social mobility in the caste system is evident in the increasing discrepancy between caste and occupations, withering away of jajmani obligations, the rigidity regarding purity and pollution and acceptance of secular lifestyle. In the olden days, Srinivas points out, there were two major sources of mobility. First was the fluidity of the political system, which made it feasible for new castes to assume the status of Kshatriyas and exercise power. Second was the availability of marginal land which could be brought under cultivation. As a consequence of these two available routes to upward mobility, leaders from dominant castes such as Reddis, Marathas and others could seize political power and claim Kshatriya status. The medieval Pala dynasty of Bengal was Shudra in origin. The Patridars of Gujarat originated as peasant caste. When the leader of a dominant caste escalated the rank of raja or king, it became a source of mobility for the other members and this was strengthened by adoption of practices and life styles of the upper castes. There are several features and processes of mobility. We now turn to these.

### 9.8.1 Sanskritization

M.N. Srinivas formulated and contributed immensely to the concept of Sanskritization as a process of mobility in caste. He refers to **Sanskritization** as a “process by which a now Hindu caste or tribal or other groups, changes its customs, ritual ideology and way of life in direction of a high and frequently ‘twice born’ castes” (Srinivas 1966) Sanskritization has been prevalent throughout history and has assumed various forms. It has been used as a mechanism to bridge the gap between secular and ritual rank. Whenever a caste achieved secular power it tried to legitimize its status by acquiring traditional symbols of high castes by adopting their customs, rituals, beliefs and ideas such as vegetarianism and teetotalism. Besides, they tried to obtain the services of Brahmin priests, visited pilgrimage centers and acquired knowledge of sacred texts. The census recording was considered an excellent source of making claims to higher status. This claim according to Srinivas was upgraded in subsequent operations. For example if in one census the caste claimed to be Vaishya, in the subsequent operations it would lay claim to Brahmin or Kshatriya identity. This attempt was followed by attempts made by the castes to emulate the lifestyle of the respective caste they laid claim to. The status attributes of — highly ranked warrior- ruler category i.e. Kshatriya and the Brahmin served as model or most upwardly mobile groups.

Another very significant pattern of Sanskritization involved increasing Puritanism on the part of the castes who rejected superiority of the twice born e.g. the Koris of eastern Uttar Pradesh refused to accept water from Brahmins. Such a process of **De-sanskritization** contributes to crystallization of new groups and greater political mobilization. **Re-sanskritization** is another process in the endeavour to attain mobility. In this case formerly westernised or modernised groups discard many symbols of modernization and revert to traditional sanskritic life styles. From the above discussion, it is clear that Sanskritization was a process of social mobility which resulted only in positional changes for particular castes and their sections i.e. the individual castes moved up or down the hierarchy while the structure remained the same.

### 9.8.2 Westernization

Srinivas defines “Westernization as the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels technology, institutions, ideology and values”. (Srinivas 1966) Westernization is therefore a vast, multidimensional and a complex process which impinged upon various domains through a number of institutions and hence had a significant bearing on caste mobility. It not only altered the existing set up but



also opened fresh avenues and doors for social mobility. A large number of inter-related factors are responsible for this. Under the British rule, land became a saleable commodity and this had far reaching consequences for mobility. The members of low caste who could afford to buy land could now become upwardly mobile and those who lost their rights to lands suffered downward mobility. The introduction of new means of and communication served to dilute the restrictions and inhibitions associated with caste. The British rule provided fresh avenues for social mobility altering the nature of pre-existing institutions such as schools and colleges which opened their doors to all castes and establishing new ones such as army, bureaucracy and law courts which recruited members on the basis of merit and hence provided ample source of mobility. Most of the new economic opportunities generated under the British rule were taken advantage of by the upper castes who availed of the educational facilities. This not to say that the lower castes were unaffected by them for example Bailey mentioned how the prohibition policy resulted in the relative prosperity of Ganjam and Board Distillers. Similar Srinivas cites the examples of Noniyas of Western U.P. and Kolis of Surat coast who benefited from new employment opportunities resulting from railway road and canal constructions. The telis (oilmen) all over eastern India became wealthy on account of larger market and trade for oil. Westernization accelerated the mobility process in more ways than one. On one hand it was a desirable mechanism of attaining mobility, on the other, it generated mobility also / because the 'westernized' become a model for emulation for the others. It must be noted that westernization did not begin and end with British rule. It provided tracks which furthered and accelerated the mobility process. It set the ball rolling which gained further momentum after Independence. The independent India took over from the rationalistic egalitarian and humanitarian principles from the British and created further room for mobility.

### 9.8.3 New legal system

The British rule resulted in the political integration of the country into a single administrative unit with a uniform and homogeneous pattern of law and order grounded in the principles of rationalism, humanitarianism and egalitarianism. These laws were sometimes in contradiction with the pre-existing ones. For example under the traditional law punishment varied according to the caste of the person committing the offence, while the British laws treated everyone equally. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act and Abolition of Slavery were a great leap forward to uplift the lower castes. These laws were efforts in the direction of bridging the gap between lower and higher castes. The principles of universalism and egalitarianism which have guided the legal system in India after Independence have fostered social mobility among the lower castes. The new civil, penal and procedural law has done away

with the inequities inherent in traditional law. Another important contribution of the new legal system was the creation of consciousness of positive rights. The abolition of untouchability and adoption of protective discrimination policy have proved immensely beneficial for the lower rung of society. The principle of universal adult franchise, along with adoption of Panchayati Raj System at the grass-root level have altered the distribution of power for strengthening the hands of the weaker sections and restricting the appropriation of power by the upper castes. Similarly land reforms have been a motor force affecting mobility. Ceiling of holdings have proved a blow to the status and prestige of zamindars and boon for peasant cultivators who have attained ownership rights.

#### **9.8.4 Adoption of reforms**

Whenever efforts are made at reforming the society it generates opportunities for mobility. Buddhism, Jainism and later Sikhism which are the sects of Hindu religion have disregarded, the rigidities associated with purity and pollution. They have advocated against the prevalent inequities and established a new egalitarian order within the sects. Similarly the Christian missionaries during the British rule proselytized the most oppressed castes they extricated the untouchables from a life of misery and exploitation and provided them education and health facilities. This enabled them to find new employment opportunities and attain higher status and prestige than before. The educated liberal reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayanand , to name a few, in their endeavour to reform the society played important roles in abolishing many evil practices such as sati, child marriage, human sacrifice etc. To alleviate oppression and elevate the status of lower castes, they tried to infuse elements of rationality and modernity into Hindu religion. This they did by doing away with dogma and rituals associated with Hindu religion and weakening the clutches of Brahmins who they regarded as the oppressors. The new religious sects like Arya Samaj, Rarnakrishna Mission, Brahma Samaj were egalitarian and were against disabilities and discrimination based on caste. They have played an important role in imparting education and modern knowledge and hence raising the status of their members. Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar fought vociferously for uplifting the untouchables and their efforts bore fruits in the form of abolition of untouchability and the provision for protective discrimination. This has generated large scale upward social mobility among the impoverished, backward sections of the society.

#### **9.8.5 Secularization**

The term “secularization” means separating the state and civic affairs from

religious influences and religious institutions. it also implies a process of restricting the role of religion in social and cultural affairs. In the traditional set up the principle of ritual purity and pollution was the prime determinant of the status, ranking, occupation and the general lifestyle and this rituality was at the core of the caste system. With increasing emphasis on rationality and education the notion of purity pollution weakened and today it is common to see people of different castes work together in factories or rub shoulders against each other in public transports and dine together in restaurants. Together with this and many other types of intermingling of castes, the manner of dress in the modern society serves to blur caste distinctions. The new law based on universalism and the constitutional recognition of equality for all citizens and the declaration of India as a secular state has served to abolish discrimination based on caste.

### **9.8.6 Education**

Education was the prerogative of the Brahmins and 'twice born' castes in the traditional set up. During the British rule education became secular, educational institutions were opened to all irrespective of caste and creed and knowledge acquired a secular and rational basis. Acquisition of education opened avenues for individual and group mobility. Those trained in modern education could find jobs in army and bureaucracy which gave impetus to upward mobility. Besides this, education instilled the minds of people with new principles of justice, liberty and equality. The educated elite fought against discriminations on the basis of caste. Education had such a deep impact on the pace and patterns of mobility, that it created a new middle class. After independence, in an effort to uplift the SC, ST and OBC's through education, seats have been reserved for them in educational institutions. Since then these benefits have been appropriated by a small section. It has resulted in new cleavages among these sections. These cleavages are an aspect of mobility patterns based on those who have and do not have access to education.

### **9.8.7 Mobility for SCs and OBCs**

Under this section we will analyze two main modes of mobility. i.e. mobility through conflict and mobility on account of protective discrimination. For years the oppressed backward sections remained submissive and servile. But under the British rule they improved their status and tried to legitimise it though the process of Sanskritization. But simultaneously, the upper castes, too, leaped forward by usurping new opportunities. The gap between the upper and lower castes widened and this they tried to bridge by laying claim to economic and political resources. These under privileged castes consolidated themselves against the upper castes in the form

of Caste Sabhas. The anti-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra date back to 1870s. In the southern part of the country such movements were led by dominant castes like Kammias, Reddis, Nayars etc. The most significant movements were launched by Mahars in Maharashtra under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar. The other movements include those of 'Dalit Panthers' who united all sections of depressed people. These movements are illustrations for horizontal mobility and endeavours at vertical, (upward) mobility. Pradip Bose has identified two main mobility courses i.e. movement for consolidation and movements for assertion. In the former the caste associations tried to raise their status through census operations and petitioning the rulers. These moves were legitimized through Sanskritization and by maintaining a distance from equivalent castes, for example, Kayasthas and Bhumiars in Bihar in one hand, and on the other by representing about twenty two economic grievances and deprivations. These castes formed associations to alter the course of social mobility that existed in political and economic relations among castes; for example, Yadavs, Kurmis and Keories illustrated this pattern. The backward sections have found opportunities for upward mobility on account of 'protective discrimination' policies which involve reservation of seats in educational institutions, free studentship and scholarships. Besides, there are reservations in jobs and legislative bodies. However, these welfare measures have benefited only a small section who have claims to much higher status than many other members of the same caste resulting in further divisions within the castes.

### **9.8.8 Industrialization and urbanization**

Industrialization accelerated the rate of social mobility in various ways. It provided employment opportunities which emphasized on achievement and qualifications rather than caste. In the factories jobs were hierarchically graded according to qualifications and experience rather than ritual ranking. These employment opportunities were open to all and proved a source of both livelihood and upward mobility for the landless agricultural labourers and rural artisans. Industrialization brought with it a new work set up and work culture based on technical division of labour and uniform standards. In the factories workers from different castes worked together on the same machines without any inhibition regarding purity and pollution of their ritual status. The urbanization induced by industrialization had far reaching ramifications on social mobility. In the city the lifestyles and residential patterns are no longer ordained by caste and have served to mellow down caste distinctions. The cosmopolitan set up is also responsible for inter caste marriages. The mobility in cities is largely on account of achievement through education and new occupational avenues. Class as system of stratification steadily started replacing caste but caste divisions were also simultaneously

crystallizing in the form of caste associations, federations etc. Urbanization created greater avenues for both vertical and horizontal mobility. Horizontal mobility characterizes both caste and class in cities. Formation of caste associations is an example of former and job transfers is an illustration of the latter.

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## 9.9 Dalit movements in India

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Last few decades have seen a spate of dalit movement in various parts of India. This is reflected in their social, cultural and political activities at various levels. A large number of social and cultural organisations of dalits, their political parties and leaders have emerged in various parts of the country. They have become a decisive force in the social and political processes of the nation. Social movements of Dalits show a particular character. These movements cannot be explained satisfactorily by reference to economic exploitations alone or political oppression, although these dimensions are important. Dalit movement raises issues of caste-based discrimination and economic inequality. It is basically a struggle for recognition of as fellow human beings. It is a struggle for self-confidence and a space for self-determination. It is a struggle for social justice and the abolishment of stigmatisation, that untouchability implied.

The word Dalit is commonly used in Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati and many other Indian languages, meaning the poor and oppressed persons. It was first used in the new context in Marathi by neo-Buddhist activists, the followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar in the early 1970s. It refers to those who have been broken, ground down by those above them in a deliberate way. There is, in the word itself, inherent denial of pollution, karma and justified caste hierarchy. There has not been a single, unified Dalit movement in the country now or in the past. Different movements have highlighted different issues related to Dalits, around different ideologies. One of the notable dalit movements in the country took place when educated youth from the slums of Mumbai, started the Dalit Panther Movement (DPM) in June 1972, inspired by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and the U.S. Black Panthers. Post-Ambedkarite movements for dalit emancipation in India have had different currents, however what was common between all the movements was the fact that they seem to assert a certain Dalit identity, though the meaning may not be identical or precise for everyone. Notwithstanding differences in the nature of Dalit movements and the meaning of identity, there has been a common quest for equality, selfdignity and eradication of untouchability. This can be seen in the Satnami Movement of the Chamars in the Chattisgarh plains in eastern MP, Adi Dharma Movement in Punjab, the Mahar Movement in Maharashtra, the socio-political mobilisation among the Jatavas of Agra and the Anti Brahman Movement in south India.

In the contemporary period the Dalit movement has unquestionably acquired a place in the public sphere that cannot be ignored. This has been accompanied by a growing body of Dalit literature. Dalit literature is squarely opposed to the Chaturvarna system and caste hierarchy which it considers as responsible for crushing the creativity and very existence of lower castes. Dalit writers are insistent on using their own imageries and expressions rooted in their own experiences and perceptions. Many felt that the high-flown social imageries of mainstream society would hide the truth rather than reveal it. Dalit literature gives a call for social and cultural revolt. While some emphasize the cultural struggle for dignity and identity, others also bring in the structural features of society including the economic dimensions.

Sociologists, attempting to classify Dalit movements have led them to believe that they belong to all the types, namely reformative, redemptive, revolutionary. The anti-caste movement which began in the 19th century under the inspiration of Jotiba Phule and was carried out in the 1920s by the non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and then developed under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar had characteristics of all types. At its best it was revolutionary in terms of society and redemptive in terms of individuals. In partial context, the 'post Ambedkar Dalit movement' has had revolutionary practice. It has provided alternative ways of living, at some points limited and at some points radical and all-encompassing, ranging from changes in behaviour such as giving up eating beef to religious conversion. It has focused on changes in the entire society, from radical revolutionary goal of abolishing caste oppression and economic exploitation to the limited goals of providing scope for members of Scheduled Caste to achieve social mobility. On the whole this movement has been a reformist movement. It has mobilized along caste lines, but only made half hearted efforts to destroy caste; it has attempted and achieved some real though limited societal changes with gains especially for the educated sections among Dalits, but it has failed to transform society sufficiently to raise the general mass from what is still among the most excruciating poverty in the world.

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## 9.10 Relationship between caste and politics

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Caste has always been central to Indian politics. However caste as a mark of group identity, got strengthened in the new context of modern ideas and institutions. This happened because it became one of the bases of political mobilization among many castes and classes before, during and after India's struggle for freedom. The socio-religious movements of the 19th century had made the lower castes conscious of their backward conditions and also of their rights that had been denied to them

over the centuries. As a result, many amongst them were no longer prepared to accept their inferior status as divinely ordained. In the backdrop of this awakening, the introduction of democratic principle of governance, the emergence of party-centered politics and the attempt of the British rulers to mobilize the lower and the out-castes along with the Muslims in its support to thwart the growing national movement — all combined to prepare the ground for the politicization of the castes. By the time India gained Independence, the Backward classes, because of politicization, had become a force to reckon with. Their claims and demands could no longer be ignored. Caste began to play an important role after independence as its involvement in politics increased. The fact that it existed as easily identifiable social cluster of people made it an easy object of political mobilization by political parties in their quest for political support and votes. While the political parties sought to exploit caste for its own electoral purposes, caste groups by making politics their sphere of activity got a chance to assert their identity and bargain for benefits and position in society. Thus, caste and politics interaction has been a two-way process. Some of the major factors influencing the relationship between caste and politics are discussed below.

**Caste factor in political socialization and leadership recruitment :** Different caste groups their loyalties behind political parties and their ideologies. Right from his birth an Indian citizen inherits a caste and grows up as a member of particular caste group. He belongs either to one of the high castes or to scheduled castes. In the process of picking up his political orientations, attitudes, and beliefs, he naturally comes under the influence of caste groups and casteism. Caste values and caste interests influence their socialization and consequently their political thinking, conscience, and participation. He bets on caste solidarity to occupy and play a leadership recruiting role. Caste influences leadership recruitment process. This is particularly true of caste conscious people of States like Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh Reddys, Karmas and Valamas, provide state leaders.

**Caste based political parties :** Caste factor is a component of the Indian party system. In India, there are so many caste-based political parties which try to promote and protect the interest of a particular caste. The regional political parties, in particular, stand predominantly influenced by the caste factor. DMK and AIADMK are non-Brahmin rather anti Brahmin political parties from Tamil Nadu. In Punjab, Akali Dal has a community identity. It stands influenced by the issue of Jats vs. non-Jats. The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) under the leadership of Kanshi Ram has brought the most significant change in the psyche of Dalit masses by providing an

umbrella identity, futuristic vision, myths, social ideology and a political strategy to become one of the most significant players in the game of power politics in contemporary India. The BSP from its very initiation as a political party symbolised the political aspirations of the downtrodden oppressed masses in India. All political parties in India use caste as a means for securing votes in elections. BSP banks upon the support of Scheduled Castes while the BJP largely banks upon its popularity among caste Hindu and the trading community. The year 2007 will be contemplated in the history of dalits as one of the most significant years as it witnessed a new rise of dalit assertion in the arena of politics. The emphatic victory of Mayawati's Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Uttar Pradesh ridiculed all "poll pundits" and showed that the dalits' political activism has come of age and it was high time that dalits got their proper share in the national political mainstream.

**Caste associations :** In politicizing castes, the caste associations played a crucial role. Caste associations were quasi-voluntary associations in the sense that their membership was open only to the individuals of the caste community. These associations were formed to secure economic benefits or educational openings or for more clearly political purpose of uniting to fight the hegemony of the upper castes. In either case, involvement in politics was considered necessary for securing the specific purpose for which they were formed. Thus, once formed on the basis of caste identity, caste associations went on to acquire non-caste functions. In electoral politics the role of the caste in politics has become powerful. This can be seen at all levels of the political process of the country. All political parties tend to give party ticket to candidates for contesting elections from amongst the numerically or otherwise dominant caste in every constituency. Major caste groups get representation in the council of ministers. Be it elections, political appointments or even formation of political parties, caste has been the major consideration.

Until 1962, as many as 63% of ruling Congress members of the Legislative Assembly came from elite castes. Soon, however, traditional peasant castes such as Ahirs, Kurmis, Koeri, Lodh Rajputs, and Jats began to dominate the political landscape of northern India. In the southern state of Tamilnadu, the Vanniyars and Thevars have become assertive, and in Karnataka, control was wrested in the mid-1950s from the traditional rural elite within the Congress party by the Vokkaligas and Linagayats. In the North Indian Hindi speaking belt, upper caste members of parliament fell below 50% for the first time in 1977. The challenge to the established Congress was mounted in Uttar Pradesh rather effectively in the late 1960s by a coalition of peasant castes led by Charan Singh. In Bihar, also, there was a significant decline of upper caste members of the legislative assembly after 1977.



**Caste based pressure groups :** There are so many caste based pressure groups in India which try to promote and protect the interest of particular caste and for this purpose they keep putting pressure on governments. Pressure groups like scheduled caste federation, Arya Samaj Sabha, Sanatan Dharam Sabha etc, work for the protection of the interests of a particular community.

**Caste and nomination of candidates :** The caste factor is an important determinant of electoral politics in India. While nominating their candidates from different constituencies the political parties keep in mind the cast of candidate and cast of the voters in that particular constituency. As a result of this candidate is sure to get the votes of voters of his caste. In electoral constituencies dominated by Muslims, Muslim candidates are deployed and in areas dominated by Jats, Jat candidates are deployed. Even secularist parties like Congress, Janata Dal, CPI, and CPM take into consideration caste factor in selecting their candidates.

**Caste and voting behaviour :** In the election campaigns, votes are demanded in the names of caste. Caste groups are tapped for committed support N.D. Palmer has rightly observed that Caste considerations are given great weight in the selection of candidates and in the appeals to voters during election campaigns. In elections, caste is the most important political party. The Candidates asked for votes in the name of caste and they raise the caste-based slogan like “jat ki beti jat ko, jat ki vote jat ko”. Such slogans do have an effect on voters and they cast their vote in favour of the candidate belonging to their caste.

**Caste as divisive and cohesive force in Indian politics :** Caste acts as a dividing and cohesive force in Indian politics. It provides a basis for the emergence of several interest groups in the Indian Political System each of which competes with all other groups in the struggle for power. At times it leads to an unhealthy struggle for power and acts as a divisive force however, it is a source of unity among the members of groups and acts as a cohesive force. In rural India, where the social universe of the rural power is limited to an area of 15 to 20 km, caste acts as unifying forces. It is the only social group they understand. Existence of caste groups also leads to factionalism. Caste as such is a factor in Indian politics which acts as cohesive as well as a divisive factor.

**Caste and organization of Government :** As caste is an important characteristic of Indian society and acts as a dominant factor in various political processes, it also plays a key role in decision making. Even the issue of reorganization of State was handled with an eye upon the prevention of undue predominance of a caste group in a particular territory. The caste factor affects state government policies

and decisions. The ruling party tries to use its decision-making power to win the favour of major caste groups. Congress has always tried to nurture people belonging to Scheduled Castes as its vote banks. Regional political power for furthering the interests of the caste groups which support or can support their regimes. The constitution of India provides for a single unified electorate and advocates the spirit of caste free politics and administration. However, the caste factor always acts as a determinant of people's voting behaviour, their political participation, the party structure and even of the governmental decision-making.

**Caste factor and local Governments :** The role of caste in the working of Panchayati Raj and other institutions of local self government has been recognized reality. Caste based factionalism in rural areas of India has been the most major hindering factor in the organization and effective working of Panchayati Raj. In the rural Indian context, the caste was a mobilization of the communication channel, representation, and leadership and a link between the electoral process and the political process.

**Caste violence :** Caste-based violence often finds its way into politics. The traditional differences between higher and lower castes become vigorous and have turned into a violent and fierce struggle for power in society. The growing terrorization of the lower castes by the higher or even intermediary castes has been becoming a part of rural India's political reality. In states like Maharashtra, Bihar, Gujarat and U.P caste violence has raised its head even in some urban areas. However, until today most of the caste based violence continues to characterize rural politics.

**Caste and civil administration :** The bureaucracy also gets influenced by the caste as mostly, the postings, transfers, and appointments of public officials get influenced by the caste considerations. In these days the interest of a particular caste are kept in mind while running the administration. Caste and formation of a council of ministers: While constituting the council of ministers prime minister and chief minister have to give representation to the members belonging to different castes in their state and in case they do not do so, the supporters of particular caste put pressure on the prime minister and chief minister to give representation to their caste.

**The issue of reservation :** Since independence, two factors have especially brought the issue of caste in Indian politics into sharp focus. These are (1) the introduction of universal adult franchise and (2) the constitutional provisions for protective discrimination in favour of the backward classes. The introduction of universal adult franchise brought a very large section of the populace, who had been

hitherto excluded on account of property qualification to vote, into the arena of electoral politics. This made the task of mobilizing votes enormously difficult for the political parties. The daunting task was, however, made easy when political parties relied upon castes to get their votes. In the process involvement of castes in politics deepened with every election in India. In addition to the enlarged arena of electoral politics, the constitutional provisions for protective discrimination also provided the ground for castes to play a significant role in politics. Keeping in mind the backward conditions of the backward classes, the constitution makers made special provisions for uplifting the backward classes. The special provisions are in the form of protective discrimination. One may note here that protective discrimination was meant for three categories of people – the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the OBC — collectively called as the backward classes. Of these three categories, the SCs and STs were easily identifiable and there was a large measure of consensus on the need and the desirability of having reservations for them but the case of the OBCs was different.

The constitution provides for three types of reservations for the SCs and STs. These are (1) reservation of jobs in government services and in public sector, (2) reservation in educational institutions, and (3) reservations in legislative representations. Under Articles 16(A), 320(4) and 333, 15% and 7% of the jobs are reserved at all levels in the public services for the SCs and STs respectively. This reservation however, must as far as it may be, consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of the administration (Article 35). Article 15(4) deals with the reservation of seats in the educational institutions. Article 15(4) states: “Nothing in Article 15 or clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.” Accordingly, the Union and the State governments have reserved 20% of the seats in all educational institutions maintained by public money. Moreover, qualifications for admission have also been relaxed for the SCs and STs so that they can get access to educational opportunities. Articles 330 and 332 provide for reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies. 78 seats for the SCs and 38 seats for the STs are reserved in the Lok Sabha. In State Legislative Assemblies 540 and 282 seats are reserved for SCs and STs respectively. Moreover seats are also reserved in the Panchayati Raj institutions.

As we have already noted, the task of specifying and identifying other Backward Classes (OBCs) was left to the union and state government. In many States where the backward class movement was strong, such as in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Gujarat, Bihar, to name a few, the state governments have reserved jobs at

all levels in the public services and seats in educational institutions. The Union government, however, took a very long time in deciding to provide reservation to the OBCs in the central services. The Union government had as early as 1953 appointed Kalelkar Commission under Article 340. The Commission submitted its report in 1956, but its recommendations were not implemented by the Union government. The second Commission under Article 340 was appointed by the Janta Party Government in 1978. This Commission known as Mandal Commission submitted its report in 1982. It identified 3943 castes as OBC and recommended 27% reservation in government and semi government jobs and admission to educational institutions. On 13th August 1990 the Union Government headed by V.P. Singh issued an office memorandum extending reservation to the OBCs on the lines recommended by the Mandal Commission. Soon thereafter, widespread protests were staged. Writ petitions were filed in Supreme Court and many High Courts questioning this measure. The Supreme Court examined the issue in November 1992 and permitted the Union Government to reserve 27% of the jobs for the OBCs subject to the exclusion of the ‘creamy layer’ among the OBCs. Ramanand Prasad committee was set up by the Union government to identify the “creamy layer”. Once it had done its job, the government executed the order of 13th August 1990 in September 1993. Thus, we can see that it took nearly forty years for the union government to provide the benefits of reservations to the OBCs. It also took as much time to accept caste as a valid basis for the identification of socially and educationally backward classes. We must also note that benefits of reservation to the OBC apply only to government jobs but no seats have been reserved for the OBC in Lok Sabha, and State Legislative Assemblies — a benefit which has been given to the SCs and STs.

Since Independence two types of caste politics can be discerned. The first type involved the caste groups clamouring either for being recognized as OBC by the state governments or those already recognized for getting a higher quota in the reservations. The decision of the State governments to appoint Backward classes Commission from time to time provided the occasion for such caste politics to flourish. The second type of caste politics, involved mobilization of social and political forces for and against reservations for the OBC based solely on caste criteria. The extent of castes involvement in politics can be appreciated by noting a simple fact that over 50% of the populace belong to the category of the OBCs. While the first type of caste politics sought to influence the reservation policy of the state government, the second type of caste politics was aimed to resist the reservation policy of the central government. The reservation issue thus, provided a fertile ground for castes to play an active role in politics.

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## 9.11 Conclusion

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The caste system is a distinct Indian social institution that legitimises and enforces practices of discrimination against people born into particular castes. These practices of discrimination are humiliating, exclusionary and exploitative. Historically, the caste system classified people by their occupation and status. Every caste was associated with an occupation, which meant that persons born into a particular caste were also ‘born into’ the occupation associated with their caste – they had no choice. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, each caste also had a specific place in the hierarchy of social status, so that, roughly speaking, not only were occupational categories ranked by social status, but there could be a further ranking within each broad occupational category. In strict scriptural terms, social and economic status were supposed to be sharply separated. For example, the ritually highest caste – the Brahmins – were not supposed to amass wealth, and were subordinated to the secular power of kings and rulers belonging to the Kshatriya castes. On the other hand, despite having the highest secular status and power, the king was subordinated to the Brahmin in the ritual-religious sphere. However, in actual historical practice economic and social status tended to coincide. There was thus a fairly close correlation between social (i.e. caste) status and economic status – the ‘high’ castes were almost invariably of high economic status, while the ‘low’ castes were almost always of low economic status. In modern times, and particularly since the nineteenth century, the link between caste and occupation has become much less rigid. Ritual-religious prohibitions on occupational change are not easily imposed today, and it is easier than before to change one’s occupation. Moreover, compared to a hundred or fifty years ago, the correlation between caste and economic status is also weaker – rich and poor people are to be found in every caste. But – and this is the key point – the caste-class correlation is still remarkably stable at the macro level. As the system has become less rigid, the distinctions between castes of broadly similar social and economic status have weakened. Yet, between different socio-economic groupings, the distinctions continue to be maintained. Although things have certainly changed, they have not changed much at the macro level – it is still true that the privileged (and high economic status) sections of society tend to be overwhelmingly ‘upper’ caste while the disadvantaged (and low economic status) sections are dominated by the so called ‘lower’ castes. Moreover, the proportion of population that lives in poverty or affluence differs greatly across caste groups. In short, even though there have been major changes brought about by social movements over more than a century, and despite changed modes of production as well as concerted attempts by the state to suppress its public role in independent India, caste continues to affect the life chances of Indians in the twenty-first century.

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## 9.12 Summary

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Caste by definition is a closed social system whose membership is acquired by virtue of birth. Rules of endogamy and restrictions on social intercourse between castes help to maintain the insularity of such groups. From a purely Brahmanic or Sanskrit view, it appears as if this system is rigid and closed. Corresponding to the caste hierarchy are hierarchies in food, traditional caste occupation, and styles of life. Endogamy and social restraints regarding commensality and free interaction between different castes in the local caste hierarchy were clearly defined and ritualised.

However, when we examine historical data ranging back to the Vedic period we find that in reality there existed a lot of flexibility. Social mobility with the gain of economic and political power was always present. Caste mobility as a process of social and cultural change has been explained by Srinivas in his concept of Sanskritisation. Besides Sanskritisation, another major agent of social change was Westernisation. Westernisation includes the influences, which swept over India during the British rule bringing in the ideologies of secularism, egalitarianism and democracy. During the last few decades, as a result of the forces of modernisation, the ideology of caste has become less pervasive in an individual's day to day life. The notions of hierarchical gradation of caste groups drawing legitimacy from religion and the concept of purity and pollution have changed with the passing of time.

A system of social stratification such as the caste rests upon the unequal distribution of power between status groups having definite positions in the prestige hierarchy. The coming of market economy, the decline of the traditional economic systems, caste-free occupations and mobilisation of caste groups have all resulted in the decline of the traditional role of castes. Yet, we find that caste retains its political significance. Politics has drawn caste into its web for organising support and in articulating the needs of the masses. The organisation of support is done through the same organisation in which the masses are found, namely the caste groups. In making politics their sphere of activity, caste and kin groups attest their identity to strive for positions of power. Different parties and movements mobilise different social status groups as resources for their political objectives. Thus, even today we often hear of candidates being selected for political parties on the basis of caste. The caste provided for organised party politics a ready made system of segments, which could be used to marshal support. Liberal education, government patronage, and an expanding franchise have been major factors that have penetrated the caste system. Discontent and exploitation prevailing within the caste groups provided a

basis for organising caste factions and alliances. Thus modern politics found an ongoing vertical network of caste and made the structure of caste a political vehicle.

It is very clear that caste as a dynamic reality of Indian society has accompanied changes and in the process has continued to survive the onslaught of time. The characteristic of adaptability to forces of change has been a feature of the caste in the past and it continues to remain its main characteristic even today. A small section of Indian population, comprising the educated elites, probably powerful but numerically insignificant, desires that caste system ought to go. For a vast majority of the Indian population, especially the Hindus envisaging a social system without caste is impossible. Caste is part of their social identity and existence. It is obvious that the eradication of caste system is a distant reality, despite the indications to the contrary. As long as caste performs the functions of a welfare state in India and provides for the common bonds of kinship ties, political groups and alliances, it can be assured of a continued existence in modern India.

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## 9.13 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) What is caste? What are its features?
- b) How do you elucidate the origin of caste?

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) What is the difference between varna and jati?
- b) Which perspective of caste do you find more relevant today and why?

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## **UNIT 10 □ Race : Prejudice and Discrimination**

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### **Structure**

#### **10.1 Learning Objectives**

#### **10.2 Introduction**

##### **10.2.1 Racial classification of the world's population**

#### **10.3 Race in India**

#### **10.4 Prejudice and discrimination**

##### **10.4.1 The nature of prejudice**

##### **10.4.2 Causes of racial prejudice**

#### **10.5 Racial discrimination and its links with racial prejudice**

#### **10.6 Conclusion**

#### **10.7 Summary**

#### **10.8 Questions**

#### **10.9 References**

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### **10.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about the meaning and typology of race in general.
- ⊙ To learn about racial classification of the population of India.
- ⊙ To understand how racial classification leads to prejudice.
- ⊙ To learn about the discriminations of races as a result of prejudices.

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### **10.2 Introduction**

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The concept of race is used widely as a basis of social stratification and to mark out social inequalities but it has no accurate definition. The concept has been used by human beings to categorize each other into groups that are often hierarchized on the basis of a variety of biological or physiological traits such as skin colour, eye colour, hair colour, facial structure, etc. which are considered to have been passed down generations through heredity. Other bases such as geographical location,

language, religion, etc. have also been used to categorize people into different races, although the term ethnicity would be more accurate to describe such differences. Thus, *a group of people can be considered a racial group or a race when all of them share certain common physiological features that have been passed down the generations and are, thus, hereditary.*

### 10.2.1 Racial classification of the world's population

Race has been considered as a biological trait owing to similarities of physical and physiological characteristics of groups of people. Some of the key determinants of race were considered as follows:

1. *Skin colour*: the basis of division into Caucasians, Mongoloids and Negroids.
2. *Eye colour and structure* : Caucasians are thought to have blue eyes and Negroids and Mongoloids black eyes. They are also often distinguished based on the structure of the fold of the eyes.
3. *Hair colour and form* : groups of people are often divided into races based on the colour of their hair and their hair type or texture. For example, Caucasians are considered to have blonde or brunette hair while Negroids have black coloured curly hair.
4. *Structure of nose* : Mongoloids are thought to have broad noses while Caucasians are considered to have sharp noses.
5. *Shape of skull* : Mongoloids have broad, short heads while Aryans have long heads.
6. *Height or stature* : It is considered that Mongoloids are short in stature while Negroids and Caucasians are considered to be tall.

Based on such characteristics, the three major races had been determined by the nineteenth century theorists. It has been usually considered that the Caucasoids or the Caucasians include the populations of the European countries, the Middle Eastern countries and parts of India. The Negroids are the original inhabitants of African countries and also the African Americans who are descendants of Africans who migrated to the Americas. The Mongoloids are people of Japan, China, Korea, Vietnam and other Asian countries.

It has been proven through subsequent research and theories that such bases of racial classification are unscientific since all of these traits are found in more or less proportions amongst all groups of people all over the world. No one trait is found to be truly representative of one particular racial group only and no other. There are close to eight billion people in the world today who display a wide range of physical

characteristics such as eye colour or hair colour or stature and they overlap over various groups of peoples. For example, while parts of the Indian population are of the Mongoloid race in terms of skin colour, other physical features make them a part of the Caucasian race. Migration and interbreeding over centuries have more or less eliminated the possibility of a pure race based on physical characteristics. As such, dividing and hierarchizing groups of people into Caucasians, Negroids and Mongoloids does not hold up logically and, therefore, the biological basis of racial segmentation of the population of the world stands as a refuted idea in most academic quarters.

The racial division of the world's population is now being attributed to something else. Through more and more research it has been found that the basis of racial division is social rather than biological. It is humans who have attributed biological characteristics to different groups of people and also hierarchized them by attaching differential values and meanings to those characteristics thereby leading to racial prejudice and discrimination. It is because of this aspect of the racial identification of populations that it is of interest to sociologists as a field of study and research. Before we discuss more about the social aspect of race as seen in the prejudice and discrimination attached with certain so called racial groups, let us discuss the concept of race with respect to India specifically by looking into some of the most well-known classifications by different anthropologists.

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### 10.3 Race in India

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In India, race has often been linked with caste to help explain the division of the peoples of India into different castes as based on biological traits. We can take **Sir Herbert Risley's** (1915) classification of the Indian population as the best example of racial classification pertaining to India. G.S. Ghurye has succinctly put together Risley's classification in his iconic book, *Caste and Race in India* (1932). According to Risley, there are seven distinct racial groups in and around India. They are as follows:

1. The Turko-Iranian race belonging to the Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces which has not been elaborated upon by Ghurye since it lies outside the borders of India proper.
2. The Indo-Aryan race living in Kashmir, Punjab and the Rajputana area, now known as Rajasthan. Risley considered the Indo-Aryan type as a pure race in India with no interbreeding. The name Indo-Aryan simply signifies the Aryans of India as opposed to the Aryan populations elsewhere in the world. They are considered as Vedic Indians and their physical features are

derived from the physical features found in the populations of the Punjab region. They are tall, fair with long heads, dark eyes and sharp noses.

3. The Mongoloid race in the foot hills of the eastern Himalayas (including present-day states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur) and Assam in India and Nepal and Burma (in Risley's classification which is modern day Myanmar).
4. The Dravidian type extending from Ceylon (modern day Sri Lanka) to the Gangetic plains of the Indian soil via peninsular India. They are considered to be the original inhabitants of India. Their physical features include a shorter stature, dark eyes and skin, long heads and broad noses. Ghurye further sub-divided this type into four types as follows.
  - (a) the Pre-Dravida type: they are found in large parts of the Indian land ranging from the jungles of southern India to the western parts of the country, the central hilly regions, current Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Their characteristic physical features include long heads and broad noses.
  - (b) the Munda type: they are found in parts of West Bengal, Chhota Nagpur Plateau and Bihar. They have broad heads and noses.
  - (c) the Dravida type: they are found in the Malabar region of India. They have long heads and medium-sized noses with very little facial and body hair. They might have come to India from Mesopotamia or Arabia.
  - (d) the Western type: this group corresponds mostly with the Scytho-Dravidian type discussed below.
5. The Aryan-Dravidian type of population of the Gangetic valley, Bihar, parts of Rajputana (or Rajasthan) and even parts of Ceylon. They have long heads and medium height. Their complexion is light brown or black. They are a race that resulted from interbreeding between the Aryans and the Dravidians.
6. The Mongolo-Dravidian type of peoples of lower Bengal and Orissa. They are broad to medium nosed, broad heads, of medium height. They are also usually darker in the colour of their skin.
7. The Scytho-Dravidian race of Western India, living east of the Indus river. They are fair with broad heads, fine noses and are of medium stature.

**Ghurye** (1932) himself gave his own racial classification of the Indian population based on Risley's classification. According to him, the major racial groups of India were: (a) the Indo-Aryan (b) the pre-Dravidian (c) the Dravida (d) the Western (e) the Munda (f) the Mongoloid.

**Dr. A.C. Haddon**(1924) did not agree with Risley's classification of the Indian population and put forth his own classification based on three geographical regions – the Himalayas, the Northern or Gangetic Plains and the Deccan Plateau regions.

- 1) The Himalayan Region : this region consists of two racial types primarily.
  - a) Indo-Aryan type with long heads, long sharp noses, tall stature, brown skin colour, long narrow faces with well-developed foreheads. These peoples are found in Punjab and Western Himalayan regions.
  - b) Mongoloids with broad, short heads, broad noses and found in the North-Eastern Himalayas such as the Lepcha, Garo, Naga, etc. tribes.
- 2) The Northern Plains: the people of this region have long heads with long faces, long noses, well-developed foreheads, light brown skin colour and dark eyes and hair with medium to tall stature.
- 3) The Deccan region: this region has five main racial groups.
  - a) Negrito: they have dark skin, dark eyes, medium sized heads, broad flat noses, protruding foreheads. They are found in the Nilgiri Hills and the Andaman Islands where they represent true Negrito characteristics.
  - b) Pre-Dravidian: they have short heads, medium stature, very dark skin with dark curly hair. The Bhils, Gonds, Santhals, Mundas, etc. are a part of this group.
  - c) Dravidian: they have short heads, medium stature, broad noses, dark brown skin, dark and wavy or curly hair. The people of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, etc. are examples of this race.
  - d) Southern Brachycephals: they have short to medium sized heads and broad noses and dark brown complexion. They are found in parts of Tamil Nadu.
  - e) Western Brachycephals: they are found along the western coast of India from Gujarat to Coorg. They have medium sized heads, broad to medium sized noses, light brown skin colour and are tall in stature.

Another famous anthropologist who classified the Indian population into racial groups was **Dr. B. S. Guha** (1937). He traced six major racial strains in the Indian population with nine sub-strains.

- 1) The Negrito : they are considered to be the original inhabitants of India. They are dark skinned with short statures, dark curly hair, bulbous foreheads, broad flat noses and thick everted lips. They are commonly found in

Southern India and some examples are the Kadars and the Puniayans.

- 2) The Proto-Australoid: they are considered as the second oldest inhabitants of India. Their characteristic physical features include broad heads and noses, short statures, dark brown complexion, dark and curly or wavy hair. The Oraons, Santhals, Mundas, Chenchus and other tribes are the best examples of this racial type.
- 3) The Mongoloid: their distinctive feature is the epicanthic fold of the eyes. Other features include scanty facial and body hair, flat faces with prominent cheekbones and straight hair. They are usually not of dark complexion. They are subdivided into the following two types:
  - a) Palaeo-Mongoloid of the sub-Himalayan region of north eastern parts of India like Assam or the tribes of hilly Chittagong. They have long or broad heads, medium height, medium sized noses, prominent cheekbones, flat faces and dark to light brown complexion.
  - b) Tibeto-Mongoloid of Bhutan and Sikkim regions. They have large, broad heads, are tall in height, have long flat faces and medium sized noses, light brown complexion, epicanthic fold of the eyes and little or no facial and bodily hair.
- 4) The Mediterranean : there are three sub types of this racial grouping, discussed as follows.
  - a) Palaeo-Mediterranean who have long bulbous foreheads, medium stature, dark complexion, small broad noses, narrow faces with pointed chins and have little facial and body hair. The Telegu Brahmins and Nairs of Kochi are some examples of this race.
  - b) Mediterranean who have long heads, arched foreheads, narrow noses, medium to tall stature, light skin, dark eyes and hair and plenty of facial and bodily hair. They can be found in parts of Maharashtra, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, etc.
  - c) Orientals whose only distinguishing feature from all other Mediterranean sub-types is their long and convex noses. The Pathan, the Benia and the Punjabi Chhattris are good examples of this group.
- 5) The Western Brachycephals: this race too is divided into three.
  - a) Alpenoid with broad round heads, medium stature, prominent noses, light complexion and plenty of hair on face and body. Their examples would be the Baniyas of Gujarat and the Kayasthas of Bengal.
  - b) Dinaric who are broad headed with long, convex noses, long faces, tall stature, dark skin, hair and eyes. The Brahmins of West Bengal

and Mysore are the best examples of this racial group.

- c) Armenoids can be distinguished from Dinarics only by their very prominent noses and well developed occipital bones. The Parsi population of Mumbai are the best examples while the Bengali Baidyas and Kayasthas also sometimes show these features.
- 6) The Nordics: they have long heads, protruding occiputs, arched foreheads, long, sharp noses, tall stature, strong jawlines, robust physical built, blueish or greyish eyes and fair or reddish white complexion. The people from northern India, especially from Punjab and Rajasthan regions, are good examples. They had probably come to India from Russia or Siberia via Central Asia.

These are some of the most acclaimed racial classifications of the Indian population but they have been discredited on various grounds, once again pointing to the fallacy of a simplistic classification based on biological and physical traits. Racial classification is a matter that goes well beyond simple biology. As pointed out in the introduction, it is a social matter which is the root cause of the prejudice attached with certain races and their consequent discrimination. This will be discussed in the following section.

#### Things to Do

Find out more typologies of the Indian population into different racial groups based on physical features of individuals.

## 10.4 Prejudice and discrimination

As already mentioned, race is now considered to be more of a social construction than a biological reality. The prejudice and discrimination on the basis of race is known as **racialism** or **racism**. The Collin's Dictionary of Sociology defines racism as *a set of beliefs, ideologies and social processes that discriminate against others on the basis of their supposed membership of a racial group*. Racialism results from the assumption that certain intellectual and consequent cultural traits among different groups of people are a result of the physical characteristics found amongst these people, thus establishing a direct connection between biological traits and cultural practices. On the basis of this connection, certain traits and those groups holding those traits have been designated as superior and some others as inferior. At the root of this hierarchization lies *ethnocentric attitudes*. Ethnocentrism is not uncommon in human society. The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology defines ethnocentrism as the practice of studying different societies and making judgements

about them based on one's own cultural assumptions or biases. It leads to the assumption that the cultural practices and values in one's society are better or correct compared to those found in other societies. This leads to a hierarchization of the values, norms, practices, religion, attitudes, etc. where these aspects found in societies or groups other than one's own are seen as peculiar, immoral and wrong. Ethnocentric attitudes are dysfunctional for the group considered inferior to one's own since it leads to discrimination and prejudiced attitudes. Ethnocentrism leads to abusive and oppressive treatment of other cultures and is also a justification for such treatment. Such oppressive treatment of other cultures based on ethnocentric ideas about superiority of certain physical, intellectual and cultural traits compared to others is essentially racism.

The concept of race was used as a way to categorize peoples of the world especially as western European countries began to control large parts of the world through colonization. There arose a variety of racial theories in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe that tried to justify the social order that kept the Europeans on top of the hierarchy of all groups of people. This theory of European superiority was probably first propounded by Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau who proposed three major races in the world's population based primarily on skin colour. These three races were – the Caucasians or white skinned peoples; the Negroids or dark skinned peoples; and the Mongoloids or those of yellow skin colour. According to Gobineau, the Caucasians were the most superior of all races because they were more intelligent, highly moralistic and possessed greater will power and it was because of these reasons that they were able to colonize other countries and spread Western ideas and practices all over the world. In his opinion, the Negroids were in the lowest position in the racial hierarchy owing to their animalistic nature, immorality and unstable emotional states. Such ideas, proposed and theorized by many others, led to the dawn of a global scale of racial prejudice and discrimination seen in the Nazi ideology as adopted by Adolf Hitler, the Ku-Klux-Clan in the United States of America and the practice of apartheid in South Africa (Giddens 2006).

There have been many attempts made by Caucasoids to prove themselves to be superior to the Negritos on the basis of their intelligence due to reasons such as slightly larger skull sizes compared to that of Negritos. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish (1944) showed that the Negritos who got better educational opportunities compared to the Caucasians scored well thereby proving that the size of the skull determining level of intelligence is inconclusive. Such theories of superiority have been refuted by a wide array of scholars. Dr. Otto Klineberg (1935) argued that differences in physical traits were based on environmental factors rather than coming



about as a result of heredity. The differences in cultural traditions and practices are simply manifestations of different values, ideas and qualities found among different groups of people and no one quality is inherently superior or inferior to another. The white race, mainly the Aryans and the Nordics, have created and maintained hierarchies of races based on ethnocentrism when, in fact, there are no real connections between race and culture since cultural practices and artefacts live on even after civilizations have perished. The ethnocentric attitude of the white Westerners has even less foundation because, as Ruth Benedict (1934) pointed out, most of the key elements that the Western civilizations have used to develop and prosper are in fact inventions made in other parts of the world by other racial groups. Examples would be paper which was invented in China or food grains originally cultivated in parts of Asia. Thus, the culture of one specific racial group is a result of the admixture of a variety of cultures borrowed and learnt from other racial groups in different parts of the world. Therefore, there is no scientific and logical reasoning behind the theories of racial superiority as given by Gobineau and others. Moreover, there is no one race left on the planet that might be considered completely pure with no interbreeding at any stage of its history. Thus, we can debunk racial superiority or racial purity as a myth. This leads us to look for the causes behind the false belief of racial superiority so that we can come to the roots of prejudice and discrimination based on race, which is what interests sociologists in the study of race that has otherwise been purely a domain of anthropology.

#### 10.4.1 The Nature of prejudice

Prejudice can be understood as “*an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization*” (Allport 1954). It is something that is felt and/or expressed towards other individuals or groups. It is based on strong feelings of in-group versus out-group and is therefore a case of group conflict. When the feelings of conflict are between racial groups, we call that *racial prejudice*. In-groups and out-groups are common to all societies. What creates prejudice out of such groups is their hierarchization into superior and inferior groups which indicates status differences among different people in a society due to a “them” versus “us” mentality. It might even be posited that one group derives its identity through its distinctions and differences from the other group which leads to greater in-group cohesion and a sense of opposition, dislike or even fear of the out-group. Prejudice leads to the growth of intolerance and might in turn lead to a violation of rational thought. By the intolerant and irrational attitude towards the out-groups, prejudice leads to oppression of the members of the out-groups or the inferior groups by the dominant or superior groups or the in-groups. Prejudice can be seen in many aspects of social life but here we look specifically at the problem of racial prejudice and will go on to show how that leads to discrimination.

### 10.4.2 Causes of racial prejudice

There can be a variety of explanations as to why certain communities indulge in racial discrimination. The conflict theory perspective suits particularly well to understand these discriminations which sees the basis of racial discrimination as economic inequality. According to Noel and Vander Zanden (Rao 2009), racism may develop as a result of the following reasons:

- 1) *Visible differences in physical and/or cultural characteristics between groups*: when groups of people are aware of each other's existence and of the differences between them, they often identify themselves as members of distinct groups as a result of that. Thus, the seeds of ethnocentrism are sown which lead to the development of racist mentalities.
- 2) *Competition between the different groups*: when groups realize that there are scarce resources such as power, money, etc., they will begin to compete with each other for amassing their share of the resources and thereby secure their own interests. This might lead to one group denying access of the other to the scarce resources.
- 3) *Groups with unequal power* : if one group is more powerful than the others then its members will lay claims on scarce resources at the expense of the share of resources for other groups. This will lead to the development of inequalities in such a society.

These three conditions make possible the growth of ethnocentric attitudes and allow racism to thrive. The groups with greater power and access to scarce resources use justifications based on physical, intellectual and cultural traits to establish superiority over other groups and continue wielding greater control over the scarce resources. If the groups that are considered inferior would try to assert themselves in gaining access to resources, then they might be thwarted and repressed, often brutally due to prejudices based on socially constructed racial differentiations.

There are other causes of racism too that have been put forward by other theorists. For example, according to Simpson and Yinger (Rao 2009), there are four basic beliefs that lie at the roots of racism. They are:

- 1) A belief in the doctrine of inherently superior and inferior races based on biological characteristics.
- 2) A belief that personalities and mental capabilities are determined by the physical differences between races.
- 3) A belief in distinct and identifiable racial cultures.

- 4) A belief in the differences of ethical and moral standards of people belonging to different races.

Overall, the following points may be cited as causes for the growth of racial prejudice:

- 1) *Socialization* : Prejudice is not hereditary or in-born. It is a learnt aspect of social life and interaction through the process of socialization. Socialization is a life-long process and therefore racial prejudice may be learnt either in childhood or even later on in adulthood. Feelings of fear, dislike, suspicion, avoidance, right and wrong are learnt by the younger generations from the older generations and learnt by adults when they move to a different setting or even due to changes in present settings. These feelings are so internalized that they seem natural and normal and not socially constructed.
- 2) *Ethnocentrism* : The term signifies a perspective that centralized one's own group and scaled and rated all the other groups one came across based on the high opinions and views about the status of his or her own group. Such a feeling of ethnocentrism arises out of a "we-feeling" or a feeling of oneness with the members of one's own group vis-à-vis the members of the out-group. When this ethnocentric attitude leads to the growth of hatred towards the other groups, it leads to prejudice.
- 3) *Economic Interests* : Greater opportunities for economic betterment can be a cause for racial prejudice. In the United States of America, for example, the Negro race provided a source of cheap manual labour and aided the economic development of the whites or Caucasians through the practice of slavery and other methods of economic discrimination of the African race which consequently led to a lack of other opportunities among them such as good education, good healthcare, etc. Thus, economic interests can be the basis of prejudice and lead to discrimination.
- 4) *Political Interests* : the dominant racial group not only has economic advantages but also political advantages. The Caucasians of the USA, owing to economic and political advantages, thwarted any attempts of the dark skinned Negroes to gain political power to fight against their oppression in a systematic manner. In South Africa, apartheid was a political practice of discrimination against the aboriginals and peoples of colour by the white skinned colonizers.
- 5) *Scapegoating* : the practice of the dominant groups blaming the minority groups for a degradation in the social, economic or cultural aspects of the dominant groups might be understood as scapegoating. Even if the racial

minorities do not have any role to play in the changing ways of life, such as economic depressions, changes in art or religious practices and traditions they are often blamed by the racially dominant groups.

- 6) *Pseudo-Scientific Theories*: many scientific theories have falsely maintained that races are natural, biological groups. These theories, owing to their scientific nature, have been accepted by many people around the world and has led to the entrenchment and intensification of racial prejudice among them. Ignorance about the baselessness of such theories and a lack of recognition among many for a long time that racial categories are in fact socially created has caused the persistence of racial prejudice.
- 7) *Stereotyping*: many groups are viewed by other groups in terms of stereotypes or uninformed, simplistic generalizations about those groups which have no real scientific validity. Stereotyping leads to a justification of the behaviour of one group over the other and can create, maintain or aggravate racial prejudice and discrimination.
- 8) *Self-Fulfilling Prophecy*: the ideologies behind racism are what keep the practice intact and thriving in spite of scientific data pointing to gross inaccuracies of racial divisions of society. The hierarchization of groups is like a self-fulfilling prophecy. When a particular group of people believe that they are in fact inferior to another group based on physical, intellectual and cultural traits, they behave in a manner so as to maintain the dominance of the so-called superior race. Since some groups are considered inferior to others, they are denied opportunities received by the groups considered superior and they are segregated to the low status jobs, poor quality education, poor infrastructure, etc. Thus, the self-fulfilling prophecy of racial ideology aids the creation and maintenance of prejudice and discrimination of some groups by others.

#### **Things to Do**

Find out examples of racial discrimination in recent times in India that have been reported by the media.

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## **10.5 Racial discrimination and its links with racial prejudice**

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Discrimination is the practice whereby certain people are not given the opportunities or advantages as received by others owing to their membership in certain social groups such as race, caste, religion, etc. Therefore, while prejudice is

a matter of feeling, discrimination is the expression of such feelings in terms of treatment and behaviour. It is the groups that are considered to be inferior to others that are discriminated against. Discrimination can exist with or without prejudice. Some people might discriminate against others even without feelings of prejudice against those people and some people might be prejudiced about others but not discriminate against them. Even though these are possibilities, discrimination as a result of prejudice is the most frequently found type of discrimination.

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## 10.6 Conclusion

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Discrimination can be on an individual level or on an institutional level. The debasement of a Negro by a Caucasian on the basis of assumptions about inferior intelligence of the former is an example of discrimination on an individual level. When the entire Caucasian population of a society restricts the Negroes from certain necessities for a basic standard of living such as education, healthcare, political representation, as it happened in the case of apartheid, then it is institutionalized discrimination. Such a mass level of discrimination is a result of prejudices of the entirety of one population vis-à-vis another that causes them to accept, uncritically, their feelings of prejudice. In India, the Indo-Aryans are often known to discriminate against the Mongoloid owing to differing physical features. They are harassed, debased, made fun of and often victims of violent crimes. This is an example of discriminatory attitudes owing to prejudices against the Mongoloids.

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## 10.7 Summary

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Thus, the concept of race is essentially a man-made or a social construction rather than a result of biological or natural differences of any kind, physical, emotional, intellectual, cultural or social. Initial ideas about classification of the human population were based on race as a naturally occurring phenomenon based on physical characteristics like complexion, face shape and structure, eye shape and colour, hair colour and texture, etc. Subsequent researches have falsified the racial classification of peoples and laid bare the social roots of it seen in such social phenomena as ethnocentrism, socialization, stereotyping, etc. Owing to its social nature, racial division of society has led to a hierarchization of the races which in turn has become a cause of prejudice and discrimination. It can be reduced by encouraging cooperation between people of different racial or ethnic groups on a variety of levels such as business, politics, socio-cultural intermingling, etc. One of the keys to the removal of racial prejudice is educating the people about the social basis of racial stratification of society so that baseless theories of biological

naturalness of race are abolished. Legal measures to eliminate prejudice and discriminatory practices must also be adopted by the governments all over the world. These measures will help curb the birth of racial prejudice and end racial discrimination.

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## 10.8 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) What are the defining characteristics of the Mongoloid race?
- b) Who are the Mediterranean race?
- c) How did Ghurye sub-divide the Dravidian race?
- a) Define prejudice and discrimination.
- b) What is the nature of prejudice?
- c) What are the links between ethnocentrism and prejudice?

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) Explain the meaning of race and its general typology.
- b) How is the racial classification of Risley different from that of Haddon?
- c) Explain the racial classification of the Indian population after B.S. Guha.
- d) How are prejudice and discrimination interrelated in the case of racism?
- e) What are the general causes of racial prejudice?
- f) Racial classification is a social creation – explain.

#### Things to Do

Find out the efforts made by the Indian government to combat discriminations of certain groups of people based on physical traits that might be equated with racial groups.

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## 10.9 References

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## **UNIT 11 □ Ethnicity**

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### **Structure**

- 11.1 Learning Objectives**
- 11.2 Introduction**
- 11.3 Types of ethnicity**
- 11.4 Ethnicity as a source of conflict in India**
- 11.5 The problems of identity assertion and ethnic conflicts in India**
- 11.6 Ethnicity and its challenges to the Indian federal system**
- 11.7 Conclusion**
- 11.8 Summary**
- 11.9 Questions**
- 11.10 References**

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### **11.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand the notion and meaning of the words ethnicity and ethnic group.
- ⊙ To grasp how Ethnicity plays an important role in assertion of identity.
- ⊙ To learn about the different types and forms Ethnicity
- ⊙ To be aware of the ongoing ethnic strifes and conflicts in India
- ⊙ To analyze how acute poverty and inequality along with political maneuvering and deleterious effects of hasty globalization are critical factors responsible for the intensification of ethnic assertions in India.
- ⊙ To assess how rising ethnic tension is threatening the unity and integrity of the nation and choking developmental efforts

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### **11.2 Introduction**

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The term ethnicity is related to the concept of collective identity. It has its root in the Greek word 'ethnikos' which refers to 'gentiles' or 'pagans' (considered derogatory); referring to people who are not Christians or Jews (Sollors, 1996: 2).



However, the term in its modern sense as used in social sciences today refer to ‘people’ or ‘nation’ in a way that describes “a group of people possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity who are, at least latently aware of having common origins and interests. An ethnic group is a group of people united on the basis of some shared experience or some common physical or socio-cultural attributes like race, culture, language, religion, region, nationality, heritage etc. Yinger (1997: 3-4) defines ethnic group as a segment of a larger society which is seen by others to be different in some combination of the following characteristics – language, religion, race and ancestral homeland with its related culture; the members of the ethnic group also perceive themselves in that way and they participate in shared activities built around their (real or mythical) common origin or culture. Weber (1997: 18-19) defines ethnic groups as those groups which entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical types or customs or both. This subjective belief is important for the propagation of group formation. Furthermore, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists.

Ethnicity involves a feeling of consciousness among the members of an ethnic group of the existence of such shared characteristics. It also involves the process of mobilization of people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests. Ethnicity, thus, involves the process of interaction between two or more groups. Barthes (1969) says that the issue of the identification of social boundary is intrinsic to the concept of ethnicity. Each ethnic group draws a boundary to identify its own members and to distinguish the “we” group from other ethnic groups. Like race, the term “ethnicity” is difficult to describe and its meaning has changed over time. Like race, individuals may be identified or self-identify with ethnicities in complex, even contradictory, ways. For example, ethnic groups such as Irish, Italian American, Russian, Jewish, and Serbian might all be groups whose members are predominantly included in the racial category “white.” Conversely, the ethnic group British includes citizens from a multiplicity of racial backgrounds: black, white, Asian, and more, plus a variety of race combinations. These examples illustrate the complexity and overlap of these identifying terms. Ethnicity, like race, continues to be an identification method that individuals and institutions use today—whether through the census, affirmative action initiatives, non-discrimination laws, or simply in personal day-to-day relations. Writing on ethnicity in South Asia, Phadnis and Ganguly (2001) posit that ethnicity is a dynamic and fluid concept. Its basis is not pre-determined but keeps on changing depending on the circumstances existing at a particular time. A person’s identity is multi-faced and keeps on flitting from one to another depending on the circumstances.

For instance, ethnicity based on religion at one time may give way to another like region or language whenever there is a change of interest or circumstances.

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### 11.3 Types of ethnicity

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Confusion regarding the nature of ethnicity was often derived from a lack of an adequate typology of ethnic groups and ethnic identities. Significant criteria of classification of any phenomena can be those which refer to those characteristics of the phenomena which have an effective influence, in our case, on interethnic group relations and on the interaction process among individuals of various ethnic backgrounds. What follows is not a complete classification of types of ethnic groups. It uses as criteria of classification locus of group organization, degree and nature of self-awareness in ethnic organization, structural location in interethnic relations and the generational factor. According to these criteria we can distinguish the following types of ethnic groups: primary and secondary ethnic groups, folk-community and nationality-community ethnic groups, dominant majority and subordinate minority ethnic groups, immigrant or “young” and established or “old” ethnic groups.

- **Primary and secondary ethnic groups** : This distinction refers to the place of origin where the group’s culture emerged as a distinct entity. Primary ethnic groups are those which exist in the same place in which historically they have been formed. They are indigenous groups. Examples are the French in France, Germans in Germany, etc., and also Native Indians in the Americas, Andalusians in Spain, etc. Secondary ethnic groups are those which have their origin in society different from the one in which they currently exist, as for example, the Italians, Germans, etc. in Canada or the United States. They are, as it were, transplanted groups which share their cultural and historical background with the society from which they emigrated, but which do not depend any more on the original society for their existence. This does not preclude the possibility that the primary ethnic group at some time in history might have been itself a secondary ethnic group in relation to its own ancestors. In history, however, the shift from the secondary to primary ethnic groups has been rather infrequent. In the past, great migrations of peoples have taken place only in certain periods of history. Migrations of peoples who provided the bases for the European primary ethnic groups have taken place in prehistoric times and formation of most European ethnicities, the German, French, Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, etc. was a long historical process after the original migrations. Indeed, often it is forgotten that contemporary ethnic groups have important

features which trace their origins to prehistoric times and which are still quite viable. In modern times, in the Western world, American, Canadian and several Latin American ethnicities can be said to be in the process of formation as primary ethnic groups. Development of secondary ethnic groups has been a much more common phenomenon in modern times, especially in the context of migration to the New World, and it can be argued that the secondary ethnic groups will be even a more prevalent phenomenon in the future as international migration increases.

- **Folk-community and nationality-community ethnic groups :** The distinction between the folk community and nationality as types of ethnic groups was originally drawn by Ihor Zielyk (1975). It can be incorporated here with some modifications. The basic principle of distinction here is cultural self-awareness. Nationality groups are those which are culturally highly self-aware. That is, their members share an image of themselves as a collectivity united by a distinct culture rather than by their kin or clan. An essential part of this image is a conception of history of the group as legacy. Organizational life of the ethnic community articulates this image in its normative systems. As Max Weber has pointed out, the significance of nationality is anchored in the conception of uniqueness, irreplaceability or superiority of cultural values that are seen as preservable or possible to develop only through the efforts of the group itself. This includes a certain sense of collective mission. An ethnic group which is a folk community is one whose members are predominantly of peasant background. The community is little differentiated in social status. The character of social relationships among the members of the community is determined by kinship and close family friendships. The centre of social organization is the religious institution, the church, around which develop other organizations and which exerts a pervasive influence on the whole community.

Members of the nationality community are differentiated in social status. Many of them have experienced some form of social mobility into professional occupations. Likewise, organizationally, it is a differentiated community. But the manifest goals of the organizational life are not fulfillment of individual members' interests, but fulfillment of collective goals of the community to which individual interests are expected to be subordinated. There is also a tendency toward integration of organization into all-inclusive bodies. The culture of the nationality community develops what Redfield called a "great tradition", including literary, artistic and intellectual achievements. The culture, however, tends to center around an ideology. An essential part of the ideology is a conception of the group's

history as legacy. This may be an ideology of messianism referring to freedom from collective oppression or exploitation or an ideology of maintaining and fostering a “cultured” or a “civilized” way of life. Modern and contemporary history is characterised by many previously folk community-type groups transforming themselves into nationality-type groups. Nationalism has been a central factor in the process of this transformation. In this process, many groups focalize their ideology around a territory which they claim to be legitimately theirs. Examples can be Quebec, the Native peoples in Canada, Native peoples in Australia and other parts of the world. Hence a strong feature of the ideologies expounded by these groups is irredentism and the idea of sovereignty or self-determination. Many of these groups refer to themselves as nations. Sociologically, a nation can be defined as a nationality community that has its own independent state. A nation, thus, can be conceived as the outgrowth of a high degree of self-awareness of an occupationally differentiated ethnic group with a territorial claim.

- **Majority and minority ethnic groups :** Sociologically, the concepts of majority and minority refer not to numbers but to power. Simply stated, the distinction is between those groups which have or have not power in society. Often the concept of ethnicity is confused with that of minority and all ethnic groups are seen as minorities. By this, the majority groups become ethnicityless and it becomes difficult to understand what culture of the “general” society is all about, or if it is there at all, and consequently the meaning of interethnic relations becomes confusing. Majority ethnic groups are those who determine the character of the society’s basic institutions, especially the main political, economic, and cultural institutions. They determine the character of the norms of society as a whole, including the legal system. Their culture becomes the culture of the total society into which the minority ethnic groups assimilate. The minority groups may preserve their institutions and culture in larger or smaller degree or they may influence the character of the dominant institutions in larger or smaller degrees, but usually, the framework for intergroup processes is provided by the institutions deriving from the culture of the majority groups. The majority groups, because of their position of power, usually are at the top of the ethnic stratification system, and the status of other ethnic groups is assessed in relation to them. Much of the dynamics of interethnic relations derives from the structure of dominance and subordination involved in the majority-minority ethnic group relations. Majorities are the main definers of external ethnic boundaries and hence in a position to have the deciding voice regarding public policies and legislation regarding minorities.

- **“Young” and “Old” ethnic groups :** A common confusion in the discourse on ethnicity is that of ethnicity and immigration. Ethnicity often is erroneously identified with immigrants, but immigrants make up only one type of ethnic groups. We can distinguish between “young” groups, i.e., those made up predominantly of the first - the immigrant - generation, and whose second generation is either small in size or young in age. The “old” groups are those already established in the larger society, i.e. they have at least a high proportion of adult second and adult third or consecutive generations. By this distinction, it is incorrect and misleading to speak of all ethnic groups as if they were immigrants. Members of the old, established ethnic groups usually do not like to be confused with immigrants. The issues which these two types of ethnic groups pose are different. The concerns of the young groups can be characterized as essentially the problems of adjustment to society at large, whereas those of the old groups, as interests of persistence. Among the old ethnic groups in Canada one can include the British, French, German, Scandinavian groups, Dutch, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Jewish, Doukhobors, Mennonites, Indians, the Inuit, Blacks, except for those from the West Indies, Chinese, Japanese and others. Among the relatively young groups, one can include the Greeks, Portuguese, various Latin American groups, East Indians, except for the Sikhs, and others. In classifying ethnic groups as young and old, one should take regions into account. Groups which are old may be old in one region of the country but young in another. The Chinese, for example, are an old group in Western Canada, but a young group in the Toronto area. The old ethnic groups can be subdivided further into those which add significantly to their population by means of a relatively continuous stream of new immigrants and those who have no significant numbers of new immigration and hence can increase their population only by natural growth. Such groups as the French, Native Peoples and Doukhobors and others are examples of the latter. Groups with a continuous stream of new immigration face special problems of interrelationship between the old and the new sectors of the ethnic community. Among such problems are the questions as to what extent the ethnic institutions and organizations established by the old community are able to serve the needs of the new immigrants, to what extent status or class differences between the old community and the new immigrant create tensions or conflict between them, to what extent the demands exerted on society by the new immigrants differ from or contradict the demands placed on it by the old community, etc.

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## 11.4 Ethnicity as a source of conflict in India

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India has been a witness to rising ethnic tensions and conflicts in recent years. The surge in ethnic unrest and conflicts in India has become a matter of serious concern. Linguistic assertions, communalism, regionalism, caste conflicts and tribal identity movements— all are on the rise. They are not only choking the developmental efforts but also threatening the unity and integrity of the nation. Acute poverty and inequality, political maneuvering and deleterious effects of hasty globalization are some of the critical factors responsible for the intensification of ethnic assertions in India. Many sociologists have, quite rightly, highlighted the problems encountered in the process of nation-building as a consequence of increasing ethnic problems. Kothari (1988) asserts that ethnic upsurges and “assertions of cultures” in India are the consequences of excesses of modernization and the homogenizing trend of modern states and of their technological/educational imperatives. In his words, ethnicity “is a response-including reaction – to the excesses of the modern project of shaping the whole humanity and its natural resource base...” Such views are also echoed by scholars like Pandey (1990) and Oberoi (1994) who consider recent surge in ethnic assertions a consequence of modernity and that traditional India was free from such fixed identities. However, the noted scholar and Dalit activist Gail Omvedt (1990: 726) criticizes such a romanticized view of traditional India. She holds that traditional India was not characterized by multiculturalism but by hierarchy which pervaded every aspect of social life. Some of the critical factors responsible for inflamed ethnicity in India are:

1. India is a plural society. It is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here. Because of intense competition for scarce economic resources and the heightened consciousness among people of different groups to preserve their age-old cultures, India has always been vulnerable to assertions of ethnic identities.
2. Lopsided economic development of the country because of which some groups feel that they have been marginalised and completely left behind in the process of development. This makes them highly susceptible to the politics of ethnicity.
3. Representative parliamentary democracy in India where different ethnic groups (castes, religious groups, linguistic groups etc.) compete for political power by stressing on horizontal solidarity and consolidation of shared interests.

4. Increasing politicization of caste and religion. Caste and religious identities are often whipped up by political leaders to mobilize people for their vested interests and petty political mileages.
5. Fear among minorities (both linguistic and religious) that they might get assimilated into the dominant culture leading to the dilution of their cultural heritage. Hence, there is an increasing stress on ethnic identity to forge horizontal solidarity. Such feelings have also increased because of the process of globalization and cultural homogenization occurring everywhere. Cultural globalization is even causing the Hindu majority to assert itself and is spawning Hindu revivalism in India.
6. Intense feeling of alienation among the tribes of India because of faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and forest, reducing them to abject poverty and destitute.

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## 11.5 The problems of identity assertion and ethnic conflicts in India

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The articulation of ethnic identity and assertion in India primarily takes the following forms:

- **Linguistic ethnicity** : The question of language is fundamental to ethnicity. Language is often a point of ethnic distinction. Language is a powerful social tool, capable of arousing strong emotions. It is intimately connected and intertwined with the culture of a community, and is basic to its survival. At the same time a multiplicity of languages is seen as an obstacle to national integration. Language has always formed the basis of asserting ethnic identity in India. This was well evident during the Dravida Kazhagam (Dravidian Organization) movement in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in 1940s and 1950s when violent protest broke out against the adoption of Hindi as the national language by the government of India. The movement gave the call for the secession of Tamil Nadu from the union of India on the basis of identity centered on Tamil language. As a fall out of intense linguistic feelings, many states were carved out based on languages by the State Reorganization Act of 1956. In 1960, following widespread agitation and violence, the state of Bombay was bifurcated to form the linguistic states of Maharashtra and Gujarat; in 1966, the Sikhs secured a Punjab state; and in the following years, several tribal states were carved out of the Northeast. In 1987, India's twenty-fifth state was created, as the former

Portuguese colonial enclave of Goa was elevated to statehood. Since then four more states have been created and language played an important part if not the sole factor for the birth of a state. The pressure continues even today. In the late 1980s, Nepalis in West Bengal's Darjeeling District raised the demand for a separate "Gorkhaland" state from West Bengal. After two years of violence, in which more than 300 people were killed, the Gorkha National Liberation Front accepted a proposal for what would be, in effect, an autonomous region within the state of West Bengal. Lately, however, it has renewed its demand for a separate Gorkha state. Recently, linguistic identity was again on display in the state of Maharashtra in Central India, where in the name of Marathi pride, there were concerted attacks on the helpless and poor Hindi-speaking North Indian immigrants from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The organization of states on a linguistic basis provides the framework for expanded political participation. It permits people for more effective access to government but with the drawback that these practices, may all too often, reflect the parochialism of language and region. The creation of linguistic states has reinforced regionalism and stimulated demands for increased state autonomy. India's Constitution guarantees freedom of movement with only a few qualifications, yet almost every state outside the Hindi heartland of central India has spawned a militant nativist movement directed against outsiders and it has been most vociferous in North East where a heterogeneity of tribes have been waging different movements because of their historicity sought freedom, autonomy and separate statehood.

- **Religious assertions and communalism :** This is probably the most difficult and intricate socio-political issue that the Indian state has to grapple with when it comes to nation-building, especially the communal tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. Mutual distrust between the two communities is very high. The recent surge in Hindu nationalism has further intensified the feeling of cultural assertiveness on both sides. Post-independent India is replete with gory incidents of Hindu-Muslim riots. Writing on communal strife in India, noted historian Chandra (1999: 131-164) holds that communalism in India is a modern phenomenon. It has its roots in British imperialism and emerged out of modern politics based on mass mobilization and imaginary communal interests. The British policy of "divide and rule" in India sowed the seeds of antagonism and distrust between the Hindus and the Muslims so deep that the process of bridging the chasm between the two communities is still far from over. Communalism is basically an ideology that spawns hatred based on religious constructions. In modern



times, Indians have become highly susceptible to being swayed by communal ideologies and tendencies. Huge population of India causing acute population resource imbalance, uneven development leading to poverty, inequality and unemployment and the politics of hatred and cynicism have created huge disaffection among the people especially among the youth. Under these circumstances, they see other communities as responsible for their deprivations and abject conditions. Such passions are generally whipped up by religious leaders and unscrupulous politicians for their vested interests. Chandra asserts that animosity based on religion always has underlying socio-economic factors. Communal flare-up or communal riots are just an outward manifestation of this deep-rooted communal ideology. What we have to really fight against in modern India is this deeply entrenched ideology of antipathy and aversion based on religious constructions.

- **Tribal movements** : This is not unique to post-independent India. The British period was full of incidents when tribes rose in revolt against the officials, the landlords and the money-lenders when they were forcibly evicted from their traditional land. Even in independent India, the tribes constitute the most neglected lot. Their lack of development and displacement from forests and traditional lands has caused huge disaffection among them. This has led to the resurgence of tribal identity movements in different parts of the country. An important dimension of this is what is called the “ethno-ecological movement in which the tribes are not only fighting against their displacement but also against the ecological destruction of their natural habitats.

There are two major tribes namely Bodos and Karbis in the lower Assam who have been fighting for autonomy and statehood during different phases of their movement’s evolution. The two tribal movements, the Bodos and the Karbis are described differently because of locational advantages and disadvantages. Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hill Districts are hill Districts, which under provision of Schedule VI of the Indian Constitution and can have an autonomous District council for the Karbi population. In contrast, the ‘plains tribes’ of Assam, numbering to about a dozen, the Bodos (or Bodo Cacharis) being the most numerous, have no clearly demarcated area which they can claim as their own. Unlike the hill tribes who were viewed as peripheral to the Brahmaputra valley, the plains tribal were considered simply as just another caste of Assam. Though characterized by different racial features and language from the Assamese caste population, the Bodos were eventually absorbed into the Assamese society, and hence were settled without requiring any special Constitutional dispensation. The

All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) was formed in February 1967 which raised the demand for a separate state of Bodoland for the Bodos. Initially the students and the regional party, Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), worked in tandem, but as the PTCA could not fulfil the aspiration of the Bodos for a separate state during the reorganization process, and hence the ABSU withdrew its support in 1979. The PTCA itself split in 1984, with one of its militant leaders, Binai Khunger Basumatary, forming a new party named the United Tribal Nationalists' Liberation Front, Assam (UTNLF). "The UTNLF has been working in tandem with the ABSU and both the organisations have blamed the PTCA for sacrificing the interests of the tribal.

Further the growing menace of Maoist violence in India (also called naxalism) in the tribal dominated regions of the country, where the tribes are engaged in armed rebellion against the state, is a direct consequence of their oppression, displacement, poverty and anger against their cultural erosion under the onslaught of the dominant mainstream culture.

- **Ethno-nationalism** : Ethno-nationalism is on rise in recent years due to large-scale trans-national migrations in the current era of unprecedented globalization. According to Anthony Smith (1993) ethnic nationalism, unlike the territorial or civic versions of nationalism, conceives of the nation as a genealogical and vernacular cultural community. This entails the transformation of ethnic groups into nationalities and their demand for autonomous governance or even secession as sovereign nation states. For e.g. the secessionist movement in Kashmir, the Khalistan movement by Sikhs in Punjab in 1970s and 1980s for a separate homeland and the Naga movement in North-East India. While commenting on ethno-nationalism in Punjab, Gupta (1990: 521-38) avers that the existence of ethnic identity or consciousness of some shared characteristics, per se, is not a sufficient condition for the rise of ethnic conflict. It is the mobilization and manipulation of group identity by the political leadership that leads to ethnicity. He used the term "conspiracy" to denote the deliberate and calculated manipulation on which such ethnic politics is based. Gupta says that the Punjab agitation began with very secular demands like demands for the city of Chandigarh, water distribution and territorial demarcation, but it was soon ethnicized by the political masters and given a communal color as if they were fighting to safeguard the religious and regional identity of Sikhs in Punjab. Delving on ethno-nationalism in Kashmir, Varshney (2010) says that Kashmir presents a very intricate and complex situation. The ethno-nationalism that animates the Kashmiri aspirations for independence has many internal contradictions – it appeals only to the

Muslims in the Kashmir valley, but not to the Hindus in the city of Jammu or Buddhist in the region of Ladakh. Varshney observes that maintaining peace and territorial integrity of Kashmir would be the ultimate test of India's secular credentials.

- **Regionalism** : Regionalism centers around three main factors: i) fear of being assimilated into the dominant culture and, hence, to preserve one's language and culture by demanding an autonomous state, ii) the skewed economic development of India where certain groups feel that they have been left behind despite being rich in resources in their regions and iii) nativistic tendencies – 'sons of the soil' concept in which regional identity becomes the source of ethnic strife. Examples include the Jharkhand movement in the state of Bihar and Telangana movement in the state of Andhra Pradesh, leading to the creation of two new states Jharkhand and Telangana respectively. The simmering movement in the north-eastern state of Assam to expel the immigrants especially from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which often taken the ugly turn of sanguinary strife between the natives and the immigrants. The proliferation of social movements and revolution in recent decades has emerged as a common feature of the political panorama. Ethnic upsurges are therefore leading to various manifestations of regional movements. From Kashmir to Kanya Kumari each and every state is now infected with the disease called regionalism. Examples of Regional Movements like Uttarkhand, Bundelkhand, Jharkhand, Vidarbhas Khand, Boroland, Karbianglong, Garoland, Bhilland etc. have all demanded separate states on the basis of their language, race, culture, economic development etc. It is on this very line that the demand for Gorkhaland in West Bengal comes into the picture as well. It is this strong distinct sense of identity among the hill people of Darjeeling which make them feel that they are identity wise different from the people residing in the plains and hence in order to give recognition to this very identity of the hill people, is continuously demanding for autonomy and statehood.
- **Casteism** : A rather inconclusive debate rages as to whether caste can be considered an ethnic group. A large chunk of that debate centers around the relation between caste and race. Scholars such as Berreman (1963) contend that caste is quite akin to race in its attributes and have highlighted the striking parallels between the two; others such as Dumont (1961) hold that the caste system, indigenous to India, has several unique features of its own which prevent it from being subsumed within the larger rubric of race. Beteille (1992: 37) says that many American social anthropologists while working on racial segregation in the southern states of the United States in

1930s found it useful to speak of a caste system in representing the cleavages between blacks and whites in rural and urban communities there. They found strong similarities between caste system and stratification based on race. In fact, Myrdal (1944) employed similar terms and categories in his classic study of the American Negro.

During the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) held in South Africa in 2001, several Dalit activists made a strong pitch for the inclusion of caste within the rubric of race because of common features such as descent and birth defining them, intergenerational discrimination, and both race and caste as sources of institutionalised prejudices, biases and oppression. However, Beteille (2001) disagrees with the whole idea of equating caste with race. He avers „treating caste as a form of race is politically mischievous...(and) scientifically nonsense. Drawing on Franz Boas (1940) assertion that race is a biological category and should be distinguished from other social groupings based on language, religion, nationality, style of life or status, Beteille (2001) says “The practice of untouchability is reprehensible and must be condemned...but that does not mean we begin to regard it as a racial discrimination...Every social group cannot be regarded as a race simply because we want to protect it from prejudice and discrimination.” Cox (1945) also posits that while race relations are physical, caste relations are cultural. Further, race sentiments and interests tend to be universal; while caste sentiments and interests tend to be localised. If a part of the membership of a caste is to migrate to a distant area, the likelihood is that it would become a new caste; not so, however, with a race. Within the broader frame of ethnicity, to Beteille (1992: 51), caste has a rather ambiguous position. The caste system may be viewed as a particular case of ethnic differentiation. Whether racial differences exist between castes or not, they are often differentiated from each other culturally, in their diet, dress and rituals. The boundaries between castes are also maintained by the rules of endogamy. However, in a caste system, different groups are all integrated within a hierarchical order. Ethnic groups are not necessarily arranged in a hierarchy and they are not always integrated within a unitary system. However, it cannot be gainsaid that parliamentary democracy in India and the implementation of caste based reservation in jobs and in educational institutions have led to a heightened consciousness among different castes of shared socio-economic and political interests and a feeling among the members of a caste as belonging to one group. Caste has become an easy tool in the hands of the politicians to mobilize people. This is evident from the emergence of various caste based political parties in India such as the Bahujan Samaj Party (a Dalit based party) in the state of Uttar Pradesh or Rashtriya Janta Dal (a party of intermediate castes) in the state of Bihar. The increasing awareness of the caste groups sharing a common interest and,

hence, some shared sociocultural attributes and the stress on horizontal solidarity have led to what Stephen Barnett (1975) calls „the modern transformations of caste to ethnicization (Reddy 2005: 547). Commenting on caste-based ethnicity, Rudolph and Rudolph (1967: 32-36) hold that in a representative democracy like India, numerical strength is of great significance. It is in the interests of all castes to come together. That is why there is a spurt in caste associations and caste federations. Rudolph and Rudolph call these associations “paracommunities”. These paracommunities enable caste members to come together and pursue social mobility and economic gains and political power collectively. According to Reddy (2005: 547), for Susan Bayly (1999), the ethnic character of caste lies in its becoming an urgent moral mandate in Independent India, “a bond of collective virtues and obligations on the basis of which public-spirited people should take decisive action when they hear the call to arms”. Bayly’s analysis highlights the tendencies of caste groups to function as pressure groups or lobbies of sorts, emphasizing their propensities “towards rivalry and antagonism”.

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## 11.6 Ethnicity and its challenges to the Indian federal system

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The challenge of ethnicity to federalism has found expression in the form of autonomy movements, insurgency, ethnic conflicts and riots. Federal arrangements are particularly appropriate for a multi-ethnic state as they enable ethnic communities to exercise a significant degree of autonomy; can accommodate diverse cultural and linguistic traditions; can provide for parity among ethnic groups; and establish a pluralistic basis for their relationship with the Center.

India is a federal system with a strong central government. The Constitution also lists state and concurrent powers, but provides the center with a capacity to intervene in state affairs and even to dismiss elected state governments and impose its own authority through “President’s Rule.” Under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1966-77; 1980-84), centralization of power increased dramatically, both within government and in the structure and operation of the ruling Congress party. The results were an increasing, almost pathological, imbalance in the relationship between the center and the states and growing demands for autonomy voiced by non-Hindi states. In Tamil Nadu, for example, anger at the status of Hindi as the national language besides the non Brahmin Dravidian ideology became the catalyst for the rise to power of ethno-regional parties; similar discontent was seen in Andhra, resulting in the victory of the Telugu Desam party; and in West Bengal, where the Communist Party (Marxist) functions as a regional party. Most notable, however, is Punjab,

where in 1982 the Sikh-dominated Akali Dal pushed demands for greater state autonomy and Sikh militants launched a campaign of terrorism for an independent nation of Khalistan. Ethnically or religiously based parties serve as vehicles of regional identity within a united India, but can also threaten cultural minorities by wielding nativist appeals to the local indigenous population, i.e. “sons of the soil” (Assam, also to some extent Shiv Sena in Maharashtra). The indigenous interests are also supposedly being endangered by migrants from other parts of India or religious and linguistic minorities for which they claim against. Such appeals dramatically expose the tensions that underlie beneath the multicultural surface of Indian democracy.

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## 11.7 Conclusion

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Paul Brass (1992) discusses the response of Indian state to ethnic tension in India. Indian state s response to ethnicity has been a mixed one. Overall, Paul Brass highlights the following responses of the Indian State: a) all demands short of secession have been allowed full expression, but secessionist demands have been out-rightly rejected; b) regional demands based on language/culture have been accommodated, but those based on religious differences have not been accepted; c) an ethnic demand has only been accepted when there is a broad-based popular demand for it and d) views of other affected groups involved in the dispute have also been taken into consideration in arriving at any conclusion. India is a multi-cultural nation. Its diversity is its greatest strength. Forging unity among different ethnic groups holds the key to India s success as a vibrant democracy. This requires multi-pronged strategy – balanced regional development, inclusive economic development, safeguarding the interests of ethnic minorities and tribes, stamping out all communal and casteist tendencies and fostering a sustained interaction among different cultural groups in the country.

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## 11.8 Summary

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An ethnic group or an ethnicity is a grouping of people who identify with each other on the basis of shared attributes that distinguish them from other groups. Those attributes can include common sets of traditions, ancestry, language, history, society, culture, nation, religion, or social treatment within their residing area. Ethnicity may be construed as an inherited or as a societally imposed construct. Ethnic membership tends to be defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, history, homeland, language, or dialect, symbolic systems such as religion, mythology and ritual, cuisine, dressing style, art, or physical appearance. Ethnic groups may share a narrow or broad spectrum of genetic ancestry. depending on group identification, with many groups having mixed genetic ancestry. The concept of 'ethnicity' contrasts

with that of 'race' in that it is concerned with group cultural identity or expression whereas 'race' focuses on physical and biogenetic traits. Ethnicity is often a major source of social cohesion as well as social conflict.

Conceptually, ethnicity is a search for an identity by a group and a demand that this identity be publicly acknowledged. However, it also has a practical aim for that group, namely, the demand for progress, for a rising standard of living, for a more effective political order, greater social justice and of playing apart in the large arena of the world politics of exercising influence among the nations.

Ethnic lines will not disappear in the near future and ethnicity will persist. Ethnic behaviour, attitudes and identities have been, are being and will be determined by not only what goes on among the ethnics themselves but also by the developments in the larger society and by how society treats ethnics. In most multi-ethnic societies the various ethnic groups vary in wealth, power and status and ethnicity is a major factor in stratification despite weakening traditions. As a result, most individuals will continue to think of their ethnic group first when they examine their own identity. The solution is to harmonize the individual, ethnic and human wide identities. All societies must create an environment which protects the right to ethnicity, strongly supports the concept of mutual respect and also works at making ethnic identity a relatively small part of a person's identity. The ethnic distinctiveness must not be given preference over the equally crucial issues of human individuality on the one hand, and identification with the national society on the other. A balance has to be reached so that ethnic resurgence does not endanger individual selfhood and national integrity and, in turn, individualism and nationalism do not pose a threat to ethnic identities.

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## 11.9 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) What is ethnicity? What are its types?
- b) How does ethnicity serve as a source of conflict in India?

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) What are the problems of identity assertion?
- b) What challenges do ethnicity pose for our federal India?

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## **UNIT 12 □ Linguistic Groups**

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### **Structure**

- 12.1 Learning Objectives**
- 12.2 Introduction**
  - 12.2.1 The Indian census and linguistic groups**
- 12.3 Types of language groups**
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  - 12.4.1 Indo-Aryan group**
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- 12.5 Linguistic reorganization in India**
- 12.6 Linguistic conflicts in India**
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### **12.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about the definition of linguistic groups and its types in India.
- ⊙ To learn about the Indian Constitution's understanding of linguistic groups found in India.
- ⊙ To learn about the typology of language groups recognized by administrators and academicians.
- ⊙ To learn about the various linguistic groups found in India.
- ⊙ To learn about the linguistic reorganization of the states and union territories in India.
- ⊙ To learn about the effects of such reorganization in the form of conflicts based on linguistic lines.

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## 12.2 Introduction

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A linguistic group may be understood as a group of people who are tied to each other based on commonality of language. Linguistic diversity is a good example of overall diversity in culture. Different linguistic groups have mixed with each other socially and culturally over centuries to create new patterns of language and dialect altogether, although they can be traced back to some language used in history. Therefore, linguistic diversity usually denotes and goes hand-in-hand with cultural diversity.

Just like India is a land of a variety of so called “races” or ethnic groups, there are also many language families that have existed amongst these various groups. Maintaining peace and unity in such a diverse nation is a matter of concern.

**Do You Know?**

India is often referred to as “a veritable tower of Babel” or as a “museum of tongues” owing to the number of languages spoken in different parts of the country.

The languages spoken in different parts of the country are vastly different. While Northern India predominantly speaks Hindi, Southern India speaks a variety of Dravidian languages such as Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, etc. and North-Eastern hilly tribes speak a completely different set of languages. There are broadly four different language families into which the Indian languages may be classified. These are: the Aryan family or the Indo-European family which includes the Indo-Aryan languages which comprise the majority linguistic group in India, the Iranian language group consisting of Afghani or Kabuli or Pashto speakers and the Germanic language group which consists of the English speakers; the Dravida language family spoken mostly throughout southern India; the Nishada or Austric or Austro-Asiatic family of languages and the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burmese or Kirata family. The Eighth Schedule of the Indian constitution recognizes a fifth group of language – the Semito-Hamitic which consists of Arabic or Arbi speakers. Even though cultural intercourse has led to the mixing of various dialects and elements of languages and led to the creation of new ones, overall these distinct language families can be identified. The levels of development and complexity differ from the more dominant linguistic groups. The most used and therefore prominent linguistic group in India is the Indo-European group. The Dravidian group is second only to the Aryan language family. The Austric and Sino-Tibetan/Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken by a small percentage of people.

### 12.2.1 The Indian census and linguistic groups

The Indian Census gives us the best overall view about the number of languages in India and their status in the bureaucratic structure, i.e., official languages, scheduled and non-scheduled languages, mother tongues, etc. There are two official languages simultaneously used in India at the central government level as per the Indian Constitution's mandate, i.e., Hindi in the Devanagari script and English. The intention was to make Hindi the only official language as per Article 346 but completely replacing English with Hindi was deemed unfeasible and therefore these two languages are used for all official purposes by the central government in India. The Constitution also allows the use of local languages as official language at the state level.

The Indian Census has divided the languages into five overall groups or families and for official purposes then divided them into Scheduled and Non-Scheduled languages. The linguistic groups recognized by the Indian census are as follows: the Indo-European linguistic group including the Indo-Aryan language comprising of seventy-eight percent of the total population of India, the Iranian and the Germanic languages; the Dravidian linguistic group, the next biggest linguistic group with close to twenty percent of the population; the Austro-Asiatic group; Tibeto-Burmese linguistic group; and Semitic-Hamitic linguistic group. According to the latest Census held in 2011, there are twenty-two scheduled languages, or languages that are recognized in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India, and 99 non-scheduled languages that are not included in the Eight Schedule. Each language has numerous internal variations in the form of individual mother tongues, a proof to the link between cultural diversity and diversity in language. According to the 2011 Census, more than ninety-six percent of the Indian population speak Scheduled Languages and the rest speak the Non-Scheduled Languages. The Eighth Schedule also specifies twenty-two languages as the official or Scheduled languages of the Indian nation. These include Assamese, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Kashmiri, Nepali, Konkani, Manipuri, Marathi, Odia, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Telegu, Tamil, Urdu, Sindhi, Bodo, Dogri, Maithili and Santali. In what follows, we will go through a description of each language family to find out more about them.

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## 12.3 Types of language groups

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Usually, five types of language groups are considered for analysis. They are:

1. Mother Tongue

2. Regional Language
3. Official Language (or the Lingua Franca as termed in India)
4. Classical Language
5. Foreign Language or International Language

The mother tongue is given the greatest amount of importance traditionally because it influences the process of nurturing an individual the most, thereby determining the nature of individuals to a great extent. The regional language is important next in the Indian context because there are different regional languages spoken by people in different regions, often divided state-wise and therefore plays a role in the process of identification with a particular state. Regional language can, thus, be a source of ethnic identity. The national language is important in the sphere of politics and administration. The national language is also an indicator of the cultural heritage of a nation. Therefore, in India, Hindi is the national language as it is the most closely connected with the cultural heritage of India. International languages are also important for a nation to be able to make a mark in the international political, educational, economic and other arenas. Linguistic groups are usually identified with the help of mother tongue and/or regional language.

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## 12.4 Distribution of linguistic groups

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Just as the Indian population has been classified by many theorists based on their physical features and ethnic traditions into different races, so too has the Indian population been classified on the basis of languages used, which relates directly with ethnic diversity. However, unlike the hierarchical classification of peoples that is race, linguistic groups are simply classificatory categories without any values or prejudices attached to them. The linguistic groups and racial groups usually go hand in hand. The following sub-sections give an account of the various linguistic groups found in India.

### 12.4.1 Indo-Aryan group

This group of languages as we find in its present form developed over a long period of time in three phases. The Old Indo-Aryan stage spanned between 1500 BCE and 600 BCE; the Middle Indo-Aryan stage spanned between 600 BCE and 1000 CE; and the New Indo-Aryan languages between 1000 CE and 1300 CE. These languages have taken their current shape and form as a result of the influence of languages such as Sanskrit and Persian and Hindi and Urdu in their modern forms are prime examples of such influence.

As already mentioned, the most used linguistic group in the Indian nation is this group. The speakers of this language group are spread across a wide area in the central, eastern, western and northern parts of the country. This linguistic group includes twenty-one languages, which are – Assamese, Bengali, Bhili or Bhilodi, Bishnupuriya, Dogri, Gujarati, Halabi, Hindi, Kashmiri, Khandeshi, Konkani, Lahnda, Maithili, Marathi, Nepali, Odiya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Shina, Sindhi and Urdu. Of the total population of India, 78.05% population in 2018 identified and returned one or the other of the twenty-one languages within this linguistic group as their mother tongues, making this the most widespread linguistic group of India. There are three sub-groups into which this linguistic group is divided – outer, inner and mediate.

The outer sub-group consists of the north-western, southern and eastern parts. The north-western groups include speakers of the languages Lahnda and Sindhi and their speakers are mostly concentrated in Gujarat and Maharashtra. The southern group of the outer sub-group consists of Marathi and Konkani languages and some tribal languages too. Marathi is spoken in Maharashtra and Konkani in Goa. In the eastern zone there are four major languages that are spoken – Odiya which is the official language of Orissa, Bengali which is the official language of West Bengal, Bihari spoken in Bihar and has three different dialects and Assamese spoken in Assam as the official language.

The mediate sub-group consists of languages spoken in the eastern-central parts of the country. The languages included in this group are Awadhi, Bagheli and Chhattisgarhi which are together known as Kosali language or Eastern Hindi. These languages are spoken in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

The inner sub-group consists of two main groups of language – Pahari and Central. The Pahari language family is spread over three regions – the western, the central and the eastern. The western group of languages are mostly spoken throughout the state of Himachal Pradesh and includes such languages as Mandi, Sirmauri, Gaddi, Chamba, etc. The central group of Pahari languages include Garhwali and Kumaoni and are spoken in the Himalayan state of Uttarakhand. The predominant language in the Pahari group is the eastern Pahari language of Nepali spoken by 0.24% of the Indian population in parts the hills of West Bengal, Assam and in the north eastern states such as Mizoram, Nagaland, etc.

Apart from these languages, there is another group of languages spoken by a small population in India – the Dardic language group. There are three main sub-groups of languages within this group: the Shina group that includes the Kashmiri

language which is usually considered to be an Indo-Aryan language due to its Sanskrit and Prakrit influences but also has Dardic Aryan bases, the Shina proper language and the Kohistani language; the Khowar or Chitrali language; the Kafuistani language.

### 12.4.2 Dravidian group

This group is the second largest linguistic group in India with 19.64% of the Indian population speaking different mother-tongues within this group. Most of the languages spoken in this group have developed independently without being influenced by Sanskrit unlike in the case of Indo-Aryan languages. However, scripts of some of these languages are derived from Sanskrit. There are seventeen languages spoken by people in this language family. They are – Coorgi or Kodagu, Gondi, Jatapu, Kannada, Khond or Kondh, Kisan, Kolami, Konda, Koya, Kui, Kurukh or Oraon, Malayalam, Malto, Parji, Tamil, Telugu and Tulu. The main languages in this group are Tamil, Telegu, Kannada and Malayalam. All of these languages have been given official recognition in the Indian Constitution. The speakers of this language are divided into three geographical regions – southern, central and northern plateau regions.

The southern region consists of three official state languages – Kannada of Karnataka, Tamil of Tamil Nadu and Malayalam of Kerala. Besides these languages, this area also has some tribal languages that are in use such as Coorgi, Tulu, Yerava, Yerukala, Toda, etc.

The central region's official state language is Telugu used in Andhra Pradesh besides which there are a lot of tribal languages in use in this region too spread over states like Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Some of the important tribal languages spoken in this region are Gondi, Khond, Parji, Kolami, Konda, etc.

The northern region of this linguistic group is located in Bihar and includes tribal languages such as Kurukh and Malto.

### 12.4.3 Austric group

The Austric or Austro-Asiatic linguistic group consists of fourteen languages according to the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. These are – Bhumij, Gadaba, Ho, Juang, Kharia, Khasi, Koda or Kora, Korcu, Korwa, Munda, Mundari, Nicobarese, Santali and Sabara. Out of these fourteen languages, only Santali is an official or Scheduled language and the rest are Non-Scheduled languages. This group of languages are used for the most part by the tribal population of the country, comprising about 1.11% of the total population of India. This linguistic group

comprises of some of the oldest languages of the Indian sub-continent and its speakers are found in various parts of the country and at one point were even found in other countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Hawaii Islands, etc.

The Austro-Asiatic language family is specifically confined to the Indian subcontinent and consists of two broad groups of language – Munda and Monkhmer which is further sub-divided into the Nicobarese and Khasi languages. The dominant language in the Monkhmer branch is Khasi with more than fourteen lakh people speaking this language as of 2018 and Nicobarese speakers are less than thirty-thousand in population.

The Munda branch includes a large group of people who identify and return one or the other of the languages in this branch as their mother tongues. The major Munda languages include Santali, Ho, Bhumij, Korku, Kharia, etc. This linguistic group is found scattered in different parts of the country and are not confined to only one specific part of India but are most concentrated in the eastern and central parts of the country over states like Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, etc. Thus, these are some of the major non-scheduled languages spoken over vast stretches of the nation.

Khasi is predominantly spoken in the north-eastern state of Meghalaya but is also spoken in other north-eastern states like Assam and Tripura as well as in Jammu and Kashmir. The Nicobarese language is spoken only by people in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands with a small number of people in Tamil Nadu also speaking this language.

#### **12.4.4 Tibeto-Burmese group**

The Tibeto-Burman linguistic group is a sub-group of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family whose another sub-group is the Siamese-Chinese linguistic group. While the Siamese-Chinese linguistic group falls outside the formal boundaries of the Indian nation, the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic group falls inside the Indian territorial boundaries. The Tibeto-Burmese linguistic group consists of sixty-six languages – Adi, Anal, Angami, Ao, Balti, Bhotia, Bodo, Chakesang, Chakru or Chokri, Chang, Deori, Dimasa, Gangte, Garo, Halam, Hmar, Kabui, Karbi or Mikir, Khezha, Khiemnungan, Kinnauri, Koch, Kom, Konyak, Kuki, Ladakhi, Lahauli, Lakher, Lalung, Lepcha, Liangmei, Limbu, Lotha, Lushai or Mizo, Manipuri, Mao, Maram, Maring, Miri or Mishing, Mishmi, Mogh, Monpa, Nissi or Dafia, Nocte, Paite, Pawi, Phom, Pochury, Rabha, Rai, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Sherpa, Tamang, Tangkhul, Tangsa, Thado, Tibetan, Tripuri, Vaiphei, Wancho, Yimchungre, Zeliang, Zemi and



Zou. Out of these sixty-six, only two languages, Bodo and Manipuri are Scheduled Languages and the rest as Non-Scheduled Languages as per the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. These languages are mostly spoken in the north-east Indian states like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, etc.

### Things to do

Find out where the Siamese-Chinese linguistic group is mostly found. Is there any Siamese-Chinese language spoken in India?

The Tibeto-Burmese branch is often sub-divided into three further linguistic groups – the Tibeto-Himalayan, North-Assam and Assam-Burmese. The Tibeto-Himalayan group is again sub-divided into two other groups, the Bhotia or Bhutia or Tibetan group and the Himalayan group of languages. The Bhotia or Bhutia linguistic group is concentrated the most in Jammu and Kashmir and quite a few speakers are also found in Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. The Tibetan language is spoken in the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal and even in Karnataka. Close to two lakh people in India speak this language. The languages included in this family are Sherpa, Lahauli, Balti, Ladakhi, etc. These languages are spoken the most in the Himalayan states such as Sikkim, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh. The Himalayan group of languages include such languages as Lepcha, Chamba, Lahauli and Kinnauri. These languages are spoken the most in the states of Sikkim, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. These languages are spoken by about four lakh people of the Indian population.

The current state of Arunachal Pradesh covers the North Assam branch of languages. There are six languages in total that are spoken in this region. They are – Miri/Mishing, Dafla, Mishmi, and Adi.

The Assam-Burmese or Assam-Myanmari linguistic group is the most important in this language family with a great number of people speaking some or the other language in this family as their mother tongues. The most commonly spoken languages in this group include Bodo, Naga, Kachin, Kukichin and Myanmari. The Bodo group of languages include languages such as Bodo, Garo, Tripuri, Mikir, Reang, Kachhari, Dimasa, etc. There are close to fifteen lakh speakers of this language as per the 2011 Census of India. The maximum number of speakers are from Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, etc.

Among the Naga group of languages, the most commonly spoken ones are Angami, Lotha, Tangkhul, Konyak, etc. The speakers of these languages are mostly concentrated in Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur.

The Kukichin or Kuki language group is found mostly in the states of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and some speakers also returned the languages from states like Tripura and Meghalaya. The languages commonly spoken in this group include Manipuri, Thado, Hmar, Kuki, etc. This linguistic group is quite small with less than one lakh speakers according to the 2011 Census. The speakers of this group of languages inhabit the area along the Indo-Myanmar border extending from the Naga Hills to the Cachar Hills.

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## 12.5 Linguistic reorganisation in India

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Secessionist movements based on linguistic lines are not new in India. Even before independence from British rule, there was such a movement that led to the creation of the state of Orissa in 1936 after years of agitation beginning from 1895. After the independence of India from British rule the erstwhile independent territories of the princely states were integrated into the general Indian territory. There continued movements and agitations for the creation of states based on linguistic line even during this time.

In 1948, the Linguistic Provinces Commission or the Dhar Commission was created under the leadership of a judge of the Allahabad High Court, S.K. Dhar, to examine whether linguistic division of states was a viable option for the proper integration of all parts of India, including the princely states. However, the Commission decided that more than language, factors like history, geography and economy were more important in determining reorganization of states as that would be more convenient from an administrative point of view. After that another committee was formed led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya named the JVP Committee in 1948 to re-examine the issue. This Committee too did not want the linguistic reorganization of states. However, in 1953, the state of Andhra Pradesh was created forcefully by the agitation of Telugu speakers and consequent death due to fasting of one of the leaders, Potti Sriramulu. Thus, the formation of a separate state of Andhra based on language led to further demands for statehood among various other linguistic groups. As a result, the State Reorganization Commission or the Fazl Ali Commission with Fazl Ali as the chairman, was formed. Based on the recommendations of this Commission, the State Reorganization Act was enacted in 1956 as a result of the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act.

In 1956, with the States Reorganisation Act, the states and territories of the Indian nation were reorganized on linguistic basis. The various parts of the nation

were divided into two groups – states and Union Territories. Thus, the following changes came about as a result of linguistic reorganization of states since the Act:

1. Andhra Pradesh was formed with the formerly known Andhra state and the Telugu speaking regions of Hyderabad. (The state was further divided into Andhra Pradesh and Telengana on 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2014.)
2. Assam was divided to form Meghalaya in 1969.
3. Bihar was reorganized by transferring parts of its territory where the Bengali speaking community inhabited the most to West Bengal.
4. The states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created by dividing up the state of Bombay.
5. Nagaland became a new state in 1969 to placate the Naga speaking community.
6. Punjab was created as a separate state for the Punjabi speakers in 1966.
7. The state of Kerala was formed by merging the Travancore-Cochin states with the Malabar district and parts of the Madras Presidency. The Kanyakumari district was transferred to the Madras state.
8. Madhya Pradesh was created out of Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal and the Marathi speaking areas were given to the Bombay State.
9. Mysore State was enlarged by adding to it Coorg state as well as areas of Kannada speaking populations settled in Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency and Hyderabad State.
10. Rajasthan was also enlarged by adding to it parts of Ajmer, Bombay and Madhya Bharat states.

### **Things to Do**

Find out other changes brought in to the state boundaries of India as a result of the State Reorganization Act.

Apart from these changes, the State Reorganization Act also proposed the formation of Zonal Councils for promoting inter-state cooperation. The Act recommended the formation of five zonal councils for the states of the five zones in India – northern, eastern, central, western and southern. The membership of the council was proposed as follows: one union minister as appointed by the President, the chief ministers of the states included in a zone, two ministers of each state in

the zone, one member from each union territory as appointed by the President and the advisor to the Governor of Assam specifically in the eastern zone. Apart from them, the zonal councils also were to have advisors.

**Things to Do**

Find out how union territories were reorganized as per the Act.

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## 12.6 Linguistic conflicts in India

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Diversity of various forms has been the hallmark of the Indian nation and history and linguistic diversity is one such forms of diversity, as is amply described in previous sections. In ancient and medieval times Sanskrit and Persian acted as links between different linguistic groups in India and therefore conflicts based on language were not commonly known. Even in British India, the foreign language brought in by the British, i.e., English, served as the language that linked different parts of the country. However, since independence especially, tensions based on differences of language have become common. This is especially so in the state borders where two or more languages are spoken. In Southern India, the recognition of Hindi as the official language has created great furore and caused conflicts. Often, certain linguistic groups are discriminated against by others owing to their language. Such discrimination based on language is called *linguism*. There are various causes and effects of linguism.

### 12.6.1 Causes of linguism

There are a variety of causes for the development of discriminatory feelings towards other linguistic groups. Some of them have been listed below.

1. Territorial Causes: Identifying with a particular geographical territory and its associated socio-cultural aspects such as religion, food habits and also language can lead to the development of feelings of unity and loyalty towards one's own group vis-à-vis those who speak other languages. This distinctive identity based on language can lead to the discrimination of those not speaking the language that one identifies with.
2. Historical Causes: Since states were divided on linguistic lines post-independence of India, therefore linguistic groups have been territorially segregated leading to the development of geographical identification with their own language and hence linguism.
3. Political Causes: Political parties might often instill feelings of linguism

among the people of a region as vote-bank politics.

4. Psychological Causes: Language, especially the mother tongue and regional language, has a psychological aspect to it since it is a source of identification, homogeneity and, consequently, ethnocentrism. This can lead to the growth of sectarianism, regionalism and separatist feelings, thus causing linguism.

### Things to Do

Find out events that exemplify the causes and consequences of linguism in India.

## 12.6.2 Consequences of linguism

There are various ill-effects of linguism. Some of them are as follows:

1. Growth of Regionalism and Parochialism: Linguism can lead to the growth of regionalism and parochialism that can in turn cause ethnocentric feelings. This will lead to conflict.
2. Growth of Linguistic Politics: Linguism has caused the growth of linguistic politics where political parties are formed on the basis of language to serve the needs of the speakers of such language. This can enhance conflicts between different linguistic groups and these political parties might act as a barrier to the proper functioning of the government.
3. Linguistic Minorities: Those who are in a minority position in terms of language in a particular area are often harassed and abused thus threatening the unity and integrity of the nation.
4. Secessionist Demands: Linguistic groups have been demanding the redrawing of state boundaries on linguistic lines from a long time. These demands for separate states based on language also harm the unity of the nation, thus eroding feelings of being a part of one and the same nation.
5. Border Disputes: It is not uncommon for two or more states whose populations are making secessionist demands to be in contradiction with each other over the demarcation of territory for each state. Tensions are common along the borders of the involved states.

The linguistic division of India might be harmful for national unity and internal security and safety according to some. However, in order to deal with the common conflicts of linguistic groups related to sharing territories, resources and opportunities and discrimination of some groups by others, such a re-partitioning of state borders is necessary for appeasement and peaceful coexistence.

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## 12.7 Conclusion

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It is evident after reading this chapter that language is an important aspect of a society's existence. In fact, human society exists because of language. It gives identity to the people who speak it, it is a medium of transmission of cultural values and traditions, social norms and laws as well as of emotions. India is unique in the matter of languages since there are numerous languages spoken by different communities in the country. As such, it is also a major factor behind conflict in society since language has been the basis of many secessionist movements in India over the years as we saw in this chapter. The importance of language has been officially recognised by our government and the independent government has been taking many steps to give different languages of India their due social status through various means of bureaucratic recognition such as official language, scheduled language, non-scheduled language, etc. Thus, language is not only cultural and social but also political. As such, it is imperative that as students of social sciences, we study languages and understand the social, cultural and political aspects of it so that we are able to analyse the society we live in much better.

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## 12.8 Summary

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India is a diverse and multilingual country, as is evident from the above discussion. These varieties of languages, running into thousands, are at various stages of development. Some of these languages are well developed with rich literature while others are simply dialects without any literary tradition of their own. These languages are also spoken over a variety of geographical locations covering differing territorial span. Some are widely spoken among the majority of the Indian population spanning over a large land-area while some others are spoken in small pockets by a few thousand people only.

The tribal or Non-Scheduled languages are grouped under the Tibeto-Burmese and Austric groups while the Scheduled languages and official languages at both the central and state government levels are grouped under Dravidian and Indo-Aryan linguistic groups. The Indo-Aryan group comprises of the maximum number of speakers in the Indian population, being heavily influenced by Sanskrit and Persian languages. The Dravidian group of languages comprises of some of the oldest language families in India.

The interests of different linguistic groups have always differed from one another and often led to ethnocentric attitudes and the growth of linguism. Linguism can be

cited as a cause for the discrimination of certain communities by another, as much as race. Often, racial and linguistic discrimination goes hand-in-hand since linguistic groups and racial groups are classified in the same manner. The abuse, often violent and physical, of citizens from the north-eastern states of India at the hands of those from northern or central India is a case in point. If not abusive, there are instances of neglect or disrespect of certain linguistic groups in India such as the languages spoken in Southern India are often made fun of by those living in other parts of India owing to the vast difference between the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan languages. The administration of the country should take adequate steps to counter the negative effects of linguism and ensure that the Constitution is followed properly in order to maintain unity, peace and prosperity in the country.

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## 12.9 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) Define linguistic group.
- b) Which languages are spoken in the Dravidian linguistic group?
- c) Which areas and languages are included in the North-Assam and Assam-Myanmari language families?
- d) What is the national language of India as per the Indian Constitution?
- e) Write briefly on the Semitic-Hamitic linguistic group.
- f) Define linguism.
- g) What are zonal councils?
- h) How was the state of Andhra Pradesh formed?
- i) Which Commission was successful in linguistically redefining the boundaries of Indian states?

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) Differentiate between Scheduled and Non-Scheduled Languages as typified by the Constitution of India. List the languages found in each type.
- b) What are the usual types of linguistic groups used for analysis? What is the importance of each type?
- c) Describe in detail the linguistic group most influenced by Sanskrit and Persian languages.
- d) Write a detailed description of the Tibeto-Burmese group of languages.
- e) Write a note on the linguistic group which has only one Scheduled Language

out of the fourteen languages spoken in that language family.

- f) What are the causes of linguism?
- g) Write a note on the attempts of the Indian government to linguistically reorganize states after independence.
- h) Write a note on the States Reorganization Act of 1956.
- i) What are some of the causes of linguism?

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## 12.10 References

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## UNIT 13 □ Feminism and Gendered Stratification

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### Structure

#### 13.1 Learning Objectives

#### 13.2 Introduction

##### 13.2.1 Basic concepts

#### 13.3 Gender identities and inequalities

#### 13.4 Gendered stratification and discrimination in everyday society

#### 13.5 Feminism

##### 13.5.1 Feminist theories

#### 13.6 Conclusion

#### 13.7 Summary

#### 13.8 Questions

#### 13.9 References

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### 13.1 Learning Objectives

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about the basic concepts related to the understanding of gender as a form of stratification.
- ⊙ To learn about the multiplicities and hierarchies between the genders in order to understand the levels of stratification.
- ⊙ To gain an understanding of the levels of gendered stratification.
- ⊙ To learn about the feminist theories that have evolved in order to explain and counter gendered stratification.

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### 13.2 Introduction

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Just as race, class, caste, ethnicity or language are the bases on which the population of a society is divided into various hierarchical groups with more or less power and privileges, the same is with gender. *Gendered stratification* may be understood as the unequal distribution of wealth, power, privileges and resources of a society between men and women. The gendered aspect of stratification can be understood from the abuse of women and also certain men as well as the unequal participation of women and men in the public sphere such as in education, economic

activities, political activities, etc. It is common knowledge that in most societies, especially the patriarchal ones, it is the men in the population who are in a better bargaining position whether in the privacy of the home or in the public sphere. The women are often considered as second-class citizens which reduces their importance in the development and progress of not only their own selves but also of the society as a whole. Even though it is well known that women are lower down in the gender hierarchy of most societies, it might not be easily understandable as to why the scenario is such. To be able to understand why gender is a basis of stratification at all, we need to realize a basic but an important difference – the difference between *sex* and *gender*. Such a difference and the concept that gender can be a basis for stratification was a result of the emergence of the feminist perspective that helped uncover the ways and sources of discrimination of women and even men by society in general, specifically the patriarchal society. It was in fact shown by feminists that the household is one of the main contexts in which gendered stratification and discrimination take place on a regular basis through the unequal distribution of tasks and resources and privileges.

### 13.2.1 Basic concepts

*Sex* is simply the biological difference between a male and a female body. It includes differences in the physiological and genetic differences between males and females such as differences in reproductive systems, in height, in tone of voice, etc. *Gender*, however, is a socially and culturally constructed concept that is attached to each sex. Femininity and masculinity are the two axes of gender. *Gender role socialization* is a major form of socialization that every individual goes through to become legitimate males and females with appropriate gender-based behaviours and roles. *Gender identity* is thus created on the basis of whether a person, irrespective of his or her sex, identifies as masculine or feminine. A person whose sex is male may not always identify as masculine and there might be a female who identifies as a masculine. Thus, gender relates to the socially approved roles and behaviours that are considered as legitimate for each sex and every member of a society is expected to follow these roles and behaviours to be accepted in that society. In fact, those who do not conform to gender norms are often considered as deviant. Thus, it is evident that gender norms are attached with some values. These values are again hierarchically organized in each society, with the general trend being that the values of femininity and the female gender are lower down in the hierarchy compared to the male gender.

Gender role socialization is, evidently, different for males and females which explains why most males and females around us behave in certain typical manners and engage in certain typical activities which are different from each other. Females are taught to be docile, obedient and do household work while men are encouraged

to be aggressive and get engaged in activities outside the house, whether that is play for young boys or employment for men. The primary and secondary agents of socialization such as family, peer, teachers and even the mass media are aids in the process of gender role socialization. Children begin to internalize the expectations of gender roles and behaviours based on their sex and behave in a manner that continues to keep the distinction between masculinity and femininity alive. Thus, gender differences are not created biologically but are socially constructed. Therefore, like all forms of stratification, gendered stratification is also a social construct based on certain naturally found differences.

According to Moser (1993), there are three roles are played usually by most women – *reproductive, productive and community managing*. Men usually play *productive* and *community political* activities. The reproductive role includes things like child bearing and rearing, domestic chores and all tasks related to the reproduction and maintenance of the existing as well as future labour force. Productive role includes those works that are economically gainful for both men and women and at all levels of the economy. The role of community management is done usually by women as voluntary work as an extension of their reproductive role. Women tend to do such kinds of work that help in preserving and maintaining the community resources such as resources of healthcare, education or even forest resources that are a source of food and fodder for villagers. The role of community political activities are played by men as mentioned above. It includes activities of the national and local level politics. Even this kind of a role also accrues economic benefits to the men.

The gender identities are affected by another factor too and perhaps most strongly, i.e., *intersectionality*. Intersectionality is a concept that says that a person's social experiences will be determined by the multiplicity of group memberships that the person has. Thus, intersectionality proves that the experiences of discrimination will be a result of the admixture of a variety of forms of deprivations and/or advantages that accrue to a person through his or her various social characteristics such as age, gender, caste, class, race, etc. As such, intersectionality opens our minds to the fact that not all women will face the same forms of discrimination owing simply to their gender and that discriminations and deprivations of gender are tied to other forms of stratification as well. For example, in India a woman belonging to a lower caste will face much greater discriminations or barriers to opportunities owing to both her gender as well as her caste.

Since gender is essentially a social construct therefore it is something that is actively done by each member of the society in the process of creating his or her gender identity. It is because of this that West & Zimmerman (1987) came up with

the concept of *doing gender*. We do gender in and through our everyday interactions with people around us. The way we choose to dress, speak, modulate our voices, etc., i.e., our general overall demeanour, is a matter of doing gender in order to be socially accepted and thereby continue the differences and hierarchy in gender roles. Thus, a large part of the academic circle now believes in the *social construction of gender* and rejects the thesis that differences between men and women at the social level are innate and natural. It is society that perceives that certain differences exist between sexes and it is society itself that goes on to perpetuate those differences, thus leading to the growth of stratification, discrimination, deprivation and gender identities.

These above concepts therefore tell us amply well that gender is a social construct on the basis of the biological aspect of bodily differences. Gender is then actively created by indulging in certain activities and forms of behaviour and these activities and behaviours are ordered hierarchically in society accordingly adding a hierarchy to the genders as well. It signifies a normative conception of what it entails to be a man or a woman in a society that is attained through the process of socialization.

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### 13.3 Gender identities and inequalities

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As already mentioned, the genders are hierarchically organized, i.e., masculine is above feminine. However, the hierarchy is not simply of the masculine and the feminine. There is also a hierarchy even within masculinity as introduced by R.W. Connell in 1995 in her book ‘Masculinities’. In this book, Connell showed with the help of field research that masculinities differ in different social contexts and there are differential amounts of power attached to these different types of masculinities. The four main types of masculinities are *hegemonic*, *complicit*, *marginalized* and *subordinate*. Hegemonic masculinity is the most privileged and dominant form of masculinity and it is based on the idea of the “ideal” man. It is the most authoritative form of masculinity. This form of masculinity is a matter of cultural dominance. It represents the white, heterosexual, middle-class masculinity that is characterized by physical strength, involvement in paid work and the suppression of emotions. The idea of complicit masculinity is that such men comply with the ideas and ways of hegemonic masculinity but are unable to achieve the status of hegemonic masculinity which is reserved for only few men in a society. They gain the advantages of hegemonic masculinity. Marginalized form of masculinity is the kind that is unable to conform to the ideas of hegemonic masculinity or lacks some of the features of hegemonic masculinity. For example, a non-white man or a disabled man will be an example of marginalized masculinity. Subordinate masculinity is that form of

masculinity that is not only non-conformist with the ideas of hegemonic masculinities but is also at times expressive of the opposite gender's identity. For example, an "effeminate" man whose demeanour is like a woman's will fall under this category. Thus, the greatest amount of power is with the hegemonic masculine person and as one moves down the hierarchy of masculinity the power keeps decreasing and there is greater and greater comparison with the feminine gender. With this understanding that the idea of masculinity is not one clean board we realize that there are inequalities not only between genders but even within each gender. Distinguishing between masculinities on the basis of the amount of femininity that is associated with each type of masculinity, points towards the fact that the feminine is always below the masculine. Connell, in fact, went on to argue that all forms of femininity are aligned below hegemonic masculinity. *Emphasized femininity* complements hegemonic masculinity by being compliant, nurturing and empathetic and accommodating the interests and desires of men. There are *resistant femininities* that reject the idea of emphasized femininity by resisting conventional ideas and roles of women such as lesbians, spinsters, manual workers or even feminists. These forms of femininities were largely hidden from the general society until very recently. Connell believed that globalization was the root cause of changes in the gender order by bringing about greater interaction between local and global gender orders and thereby creating new "world gender order".

At the root of gender inequality might be the concept of patriarchy. Technically, patriarchy is a system in which the resources, powers and privileges of a society are passed down the male line in a family. This power of the male is reflected in every sphere of life – public and private. Such power and dominance of men over women can even result in men being violent towards women as a result of their belief in their supposed power. Thus, according to feminists, patriarchy is the sole cause of gender inequality which results not only in the discrimination or even abuse of women but also of men, especially those men who do not conform to the standards of hegemonic masculinity. Gender roles and gender stereotypes emerge out of patriarchy. For example, the idea of a man being the 'natural' breadwinner of the family and a woman being the 'natural' caregiver of the family is the result of patriarchy. This creates pressure on the men and women to conform to these norms of society. Even when women are involved in work in the public sphere they are still expected to carry out their household chores without any compromises. In spite of numerous women being a part of the workforce today, work cultures are still embedded in and uphold gender stereotypes. Women are usually allocated such roles at work that involve caretaking or routine work without much leadership or decision-making powers involved. Even when women do hold positions of leadership at the workplace, they are expected to be perfect with their caretaking and care-giving

chores at home or face flak. They are at the same time expected to also behave like men in the workplace since it is assumed that efficiency in the public sphere is directly linked with masculinity, especially hegemonic masculinity. Thus, patriarchy creates a pressure on members of each gender to conform to the so-called norms that are set for each gender, thus reiterating gender inequality. Patriarchy combined with intersectionality weaves different stories of differences and discriminations in society for men and women. What is required is the liberation of gender from its stereotypical roles which will allow for the true empowerment of men and women and also for the free expression of one's gender identity.

The view that gender identity can fall either into the male or female category depending upon one's sex is not a universal one. One's sex is not going to ensure one's gender identity. Even if a person is born as a biological male, he might identify as a female in terms of gender roles. A person might also be born as an *intersex* individual, i.e., an individual who has both male and female genitalia. The gender roles with which a person identifies is not a given no matter what the sex is of that person. Gender roles had been quite fluid in the ancient and medieval times and are becoming so again in the modern society with its emphasis on rights, liberty and dignity for humans. The modern society gives greater freedom for expression of variations in one's gender identity. Terms such as gender queer, transgender and gender fluid are commonly used nowadays to signify anyone who does not follow the stereotypical gender roles and norms or is not a *cisgender*, i.e., a person who identified as the same gender as his or her sex. In fact, many nations have now begun to actively collect statistical information about the number of people in their populations who identify as non-cisgender.

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## 13.4 Gendered stratification and discrimination in everyday society

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The way gender plays a role of stratifying and hierarchizing society can be understood when we take into account certain aspects of social life and try to study the experiences of women. Let us go through some such aspects and gain perspective on the experience of being a woman in certain contexts.

**a) Women in the workplace :** The values attached to different jobs are different and certain types of work are labelled as men's work and certain other types of work as women's. Any work that requires the use of physical strength or mental capacities tend to be labelled as men's work while the work that is related to taking care of the other or routine in nature is labelled as women's work. It is true that

there is increasing participation of women in the workforce and in paid employment especially with the decline in agriculture in many parts of the world. In spite of a closing gap between men and women in terms of participation in the workforce, there is a concentration of women in certain kinds of jobs only. These are usually the low-paying jobs that often do not provide great room for professional improvement or need serious decision making. The most commonly held jobs among women are those related to administrative support work, i.e., secretarial work, or jobs in the health care sector such as nursing or jobs in the childcare sector such as teachers especially at the pre-primary and primary levels. Men hold the more responsible positions that also fetch higher salaries and give greater scope for self-improvement in terms of greater challenges and greater opportunities for promotions. The concept of *glass ceiling* becomes important here. It is the invisible, subtle and indirect barrier used especially by the corporate companies to keep women (and other minority members of a society) away from powerful positions. It ensures that for the most part women are allowed only up to a certain level of power and money and beyond that it is the exclusive realm of men. Since direct discrimination against women is no longer legally permissible in the modern day society, therefore the glass ceiling has been devised which is the limit till which the women are generally allowed by society to achieve in their careers. Thus, apart from burdens of housework and being stereotyped into only certain kinds of work, the glass ceiling is an important factor that aids and abets the gendered stratification and discrimination of society. The glass ceiling is shattered more frequently in today's times due to effects of education and the greater acceptance of women in certain societies only. For most women in poor countries where the literacy rates are poor and patriarchy is still at its peak, the glass ceiling is too strong to be shattered. It is ingrained in women by the society that they are fit to remain only under the glass ceiling since they have other responsibilities to take care of at home.

**b) Double duty of household work :** It is not uncommon to see that women have to bear the double burden of not only work outside the house in paid employment but also inside the house as caretakers of the household. In spite of a large number of women being inducted into the workforce, the general idea among both men as well as women remains that housework is the domain of women alone. This is not to say that modern men do not help out in housework but the majority of the responsibilities are still with the women, especially the ones related to cooking, cleaning, etc. Men are usually more involved in such chores that require them to go out of the house such as grocery shopping. Thus, there still remains a clear imbalance in the amount of work a woman does for the house versus what a man does. This is unpaid work that the woman does for the reproduction of the members of the



household for their next day at work and it is given as much importance as the paid work done by women themselves at work. The women are also continuously scrutinized over the quality of their work at both home and in the workplace. It is not possible for them to go slack on any one of them or they will face criticism from the society of being a bad wife or a bad mother for not looking after the family due to work pressures or they would be the bad worker for giving too little time to paid employment and therefore be vulnerable to losing their jobs. Thus, women walk a very tight rope in the modern industrialized society where it has become more or less necessary for them to bring home some money in order to have a certain “lifestyle” and at the same time share the load of looking after the house and the members of the family almost single-handedly.

**c) Women and education :** Education has been considered a matter for men since history. In the world religions, education has been deemed as reserved for men since they are the ones who go outside the house to earn a living and women are taught how to take care of the household. This trend has of course changed over the years and now women are regularly educated. Women’s education is a major agenda for governments to increase the overall levels of development of a country. There are many policies being implemented at the local, national and international level for the education of women. In India, the Right to Education Act of 2009 has been a major policy implemented to include all children, including girls, from the age of 6 to 14 in education. Schools exclusively for girls are set up all over the nation. Programmes like Sakshar Bharat and SABLA are being implemented in order to educate and empower the girl child. Yet, it is saddening to see that in spite of many policies and programmes implemented by the governments, men tend to predominate at least in numbers if not in performance in education. Girl children are often made to drop out of school, more so in the rural areas, to either help out their mothers at home or are married off. Education is thus a dream for many girls even today. In fact, patriarchal ideas of women not being worthy for investment in their education since they will be married off or that women are subordinate to men and therefore should not be too educated are still strong. Thus, women’s education still needs to go a long way. Much like in the case of employment, in education too girls have been typically segregated and kept away from the sciences and technological studies since it has been believed that women are not intelligent enough to be able to understand and analyze such subjects. Therefore they have been concentrated the most in the sphere of humanities and social sciences which in turn have been labelled as women’s subjects as they do not require the skills of natural science and mathematics. In fact it is considered that all men should be in the sphere of science and technology and those men who study humanities and social

sciences or even fine arts are considered to be somehow less male as such subjects do not conform with the idea of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, gender plays a crucial stratifying role in education.

**d) Women in politics :** Although women are nowadays common figures in politics yet they do still remain a minority. Historically, it has been more men than women who have been involved in political and administrative work as seen by the number of male heads of kingdoms. The very term kingdom emerges out of the belief that a territory is ideally looked after by a man, a king. The trend of male heads of territories continues to this day and the heads of modern nation states are men by an overwhelming majority. Apart from leading a nation, even at the local level there are much fewer women than men who are involved actively in political activities. In case of India, the government has decided to reserve seats for women in all public bodies including in the grassroot bodies. However, although women are elected to the local, state and national level political bodies, yet many a times their voices remain unheard since other members cannot look past their gender. Moreover, especially at the grassroots level, women are elected to the local political body but do not have actual power to make decisions on their own and are used by the male members of the community as puppets to push forward their own agendas and ideologies. Therefore, although the number of women in politics is on the rise and faster than ever before, it does not automatically mean the empowerment of women. Women, especially in rural areas, still are unable to reap the benefits of political power.

These above broad areas of gendered stratification show that it is indeed difficult for women to be taken seriously in most societies even today. There are many women of course who are able to benefit from good employment, healthcare, education, etc. and therefore have voices but for a large number of women, voice remains a distant dream owing to the barriers they have to face by being born a female. It was these kinds of discrimination that women have been facing for the longest time since history that feminism began to eradicate such discriminations against women and try to bring about a more equal society. Let us now turn to some of the feminist theories that have tried to explain the gendered stratification of society.

#### **Things to Do**

Find out the various policies and programmes implemented by the Indian government for the development of women.

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## 13.5 Feminism

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Feminism emerged in the West as a response to the patriarchal and sexist society and began the fight for a more equal society for men and women. It emerged from the recognition that gender identities and gender roles are stratified hierarchically in every society with the feminine being below the masculine for no rational reason. Feminists have tried to change this kind of social organization and the position of gender roles and identities throughout all modern human societies. The first wave of feminism happened in the 1840s in the United States of America when women began to oppose the oppression of women by drawing a comparison between women and the slaves in the then American society. The first wave of feminism led to the emergence of the right of women to vote in national elections only in 1920, after a long struggle. However, the next struggle has been even longer, continuing from the 1960s till the contemporary times which is known as the second wave of feminism. This struggle was begun to address the variety of discriminations and abuses faced by women but the struggle has not ended till now with new issues and problems cropping up continuously. Although feminism is the struggle for the equality and empowerment of women everywhere, yet it is important to realize that not all women everywhere face the same forms of discrimination or abuse. This makes it important for more contextually and historically relevant feminist ideas and methods to be used so that the requirements of different women are met adequately. Before we get deeper into the theories of feminism, let us first grasp the ideas of feminist thinking.

According to Macionis (2011), there are five general ideas or principles that all feminists agree upon in spite of differences on a variety of other issues. One is to increase equality in society not only between men and women but also internally within each gender. As the hierarchies of masculinity points out, there are differences even within masculinity and this leads to discrimination and abuse of men too. Thus, feminism tries to approach the idea of equality in general and fight for the equality of anyone that is oppressed. Feminism challenges the status quo and thus pushes boundaries of stratification and differentiation. Two, by increasing equality, feminists try to bring about emancipation and expansion of opportunities for making a choice amongst all the people. It opposes the binary division of the social world and tasks within it as masculine and feminine and instead fights for the expansion of all choices equally to all members of a society without any judgement or fear of stigma. Three, feminism, as already pointed out, tries to bring down the structure of hierarchical stratification of society in terms of roles, responsibilities, privileges and resources between men and women. Thus, feminists oppose all cultural norms that restrict participation and opportunities for women thereby helping in their

empowerment. Four, feminism has played a tremendous role in bringing to light the nature and extent of violence that women face in their everyday lives and has been consistently fighting to end such violence. Finally, feminist movements have helped women internalize the idea that their sexuality is their own matter and they should be free to control and tailor their sexual identities and practices as they desire. All prejudices against women's sexual roles and desires are being challenged in order to promote sexual freedom among women. Feminist movements have also helped in bringing to the forefront demands for recognition, freedom, rights and justice for the queer community thereby promoting their sexual freedom as well.

### 13.5.1 Feminist theories

The feminist movement in the USA gave rise to a large and variegated body of feminist theories that have tried to explain gendered stratification of society and show paths to emancipation. Feminist sociological perspective emphasizes on the centrality of gender and the differential experiences emerging out of one's gender identity when analyzing the social world. The feminist perspective believes that women's experiences are unique and cannot be explained or understood by using the perspectives that are used to understand men's experiences. Since women's experiences are not the same everywhere and at all times due to the intersectionality of a variety of other stratifying factors such as race, class, ethnicity or caste in the case of India, therefore one overarching theory cannot fully address the range of issues and experiences faced by all women everywhere. Moreover, different feminists have had different outlooks towards gendered stratification and have posited different approaches to fight patriarchy and sexism. With this knowledge of variety, let us take a look into the broad types of feminist theories that have emerged.

**a) Liberal Feminism :** These feminists view the subordinate role of women in society as a result of cultural attitudes towards women which has historically put barriers to their participation in the wider society and gain equal access to opportunities and resources such as good education and healthcare. They do not think that the discrimination against women is part of a larger social structure and identify individual areas such as access to education or participation in politics where discrimination happens as a result of sexist cultural attitudes. They focus on using democratic and legislative means to establish equality in society and protect women from discrimination. Thus, they aim to work within and through the existing political and economic structure to bring about a change in culture and attitudes rather than bring down the structure altogether. It is because of this that they are considered to be a moderate form of feminism in terms of aims and methods of reaching them that does not shake up the entire foundation of society. Critics of liberal feminism

say that liberal feminists have been unable to address the root cause of gender inequality and discrimination by looking at deprivations independently and in isolation from each other, thereby missing the greater structure of deprivations and discriminations that women face. Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill were some important liberal feminists.

**b) Radical Feminism :** This perspective believes that men deliberately promote the exploitation of women and gain benefits out of it. As such, patriarchy is the root cause of gendered stratification and discrimination according to the radical feminists which has existed across time and space. Patriarchy is first and foremost found in the family and therefore the family is a major arena of gender discrimination. In the home patriarchy is expressed through men's demands of care and comfort from the women at home while actively stopping them from engaging themselves in gainful employment outside the home, thus denying women access to power and resources. Personal is political according to radical feminists. Shulamith Firestone (1970) was of the belief that men control women's sexuality and their role in reproduction and thus make women dependent on the men for survival and livelihood. For her, the emancipation of women would come about by abolishing the institution of family. Other radical feminists believe that violence of men against women, especially in intimate relationships, the everyday interactions between men and women and even the gender standards for women such as certain kinds of bodies and looks as beautiful and others as not, or even the need to be beautiful in order to be a significant part of society, are all ways in which women are oppressed by men. Legislative and other democratic means will not change or stop such forms of oppression according to radical feminists which is why they advocate a complete overhaul of the patriarchal social structure and bring about a new social order altogether. Radical feminists have been criticized by pointing out that universalizing patriarchy blinds us to other factors like race, class, etc. are important causes that crosscut patriarchy to oppress women and using such an approach runs the risk of biological reductionism. Popular radical feminists were Shulamith Firestone, Andrea Dworkin, bell hooks (although more a part of black feminism), Mary Daly and many others.

**c) Socialist Feminism :** Based on the Marxist ideology of class oppression, this form of feminism looks at how class oppression and gender oppression interact with each other in the modern capitalist society. Socialist feminist focus on the various ways in which the capitalist system oppresses different groups of people such as the ethnic minorities, the working classes, the poor and even women and say that bringing down the capitalist system should also be accompanied by dismantling the system of gendered stratification so that equality can truly prevail. Socialist feminism opposes both liberal and radical forms of feminism. They challenge

liberal feminism on the ground that simple legislative changes cannot bring about changes in the general structure of society, polity and economy. Therefore, policy reforms are inadequate. They differ from radical feminists on the ground that they believe that for true emancipation of the oppressed, men and women must fight against the structure together rather than women fighting against men. For socialist feminists, the roots of women's oppression are much deeper than patriarchy and sexism. Important names in this field are Barbara Ehrenreich, Donna J. Haraway, Sheila Rowbotham, Juliet Mitchell and others.

**d) Black Feminism :** As the name suggests, this kind of feminism emerged to address the experiences of oppression among non-White women in the USA. This form of feminism looks at women's oppression through the lenses of class and race as a result of a long history of slavery in America. Black feminism is an ideal example of intersectionality when addressing gendered stratification. Black feminists have argued that liberal or radical forms of feminism have considered the oppressions of white, middle-class women alone and their experiences are completely different from the experiences of poor black women. Black women face double discrimination – they are discriminated against due to not only their gender but also their race. Thus, black women realized that they needed a new theory to address this duality in their oppression and discrimination and this led to the emergence of black feminism. A well known black feminist bell hooks showed how the centres and sources of oppression among black women are different from those of white women and argued for a new form of feminism for them. There are many important black feminists with some being bell hooks, Michele Wallace and Patricia Hill Collins.

**e) Transnational Feminism :** This form of feminism looks at gendered discrimination from a global perspective taking into account various factors like nationality, colonialism, racism, imperialism etc. and shows how discrimination results from race, gender, sexuality and economic activities and powers. They too argue like black feminists that the experiences of different women in different parts of the world need to be addressed in more contextually and historically specific ways rather than from the overarching perspectives of feminism that emerged in the West. Leela Fernandes and Wendy Harcourt are important names in this field.

**f) Postmodern Feminism :** The basic idea is the same as black feminism, i.e., the experiences of women are different in different parts of the world and hence all women cannot be clubbed under the same identity of womanhood without taking into account the differences prevalent across cultures and times. They reject the claim that a woman is a single and universal identity based simply on gender. As such, postmodern feminism accepts that a variety of experiences and standpoints

may emerge from different women in different parts of the world and this perspective accepts each of these standpoints as valid. They do not accept any grand theory on women and feminism. It celebrates variety and otherness and tries to give voice to the variety of experiences individuals may have by showing differences in a positive light. As postmodern feminism does not believe in an overarching theory blanketing all women and all experiences everywhere, therefore it is in conflict with other feminist theories that do believe in such overarching theories. Susan Bordo, Helen Cixous, Luce Irigaray, Gayle Rubin are well known postmodern feminists.

**g) Dalit Feminism :** As the name suggests, this form of feminism emerged among the Dalit women in India to address their deprivations and oppressions and find a way for their emancipation. Dalit women face multiple forms of deprivations and discriminations due to their gender as well as their caste much like in the case of black women. Caste and gender coincide to deprive dalit women of adequate education, healthcare, economic and political power thereby keeping them in a deprived state. Dalit feminism tries to break this cycle of deprivations of dalit women. This form of feminism also looks at the victimizations of all women in general, thereby making all women dalit in a sense. They challenged the caste system and the sexual oppression of women and showed that the two are intricately linked with each other. The basic idea of dalit feminism has been to create a sense of sisterhood among all women to fight against the threats of violence, rape or sexual assault especially in public arenas such as at the workplace. Some dalit feminists who are worth mentioning are Sharmila Rege, Bama, Urmila Pawar.

#### Things to Do

Find out the names of the works produced by the above mentioned feminist authors.

## 13.6 Conclusion

It is evident from the above discussion that the ideas of gender, sex, sexism, patriarchy and feminism are all interlinked and play out in our everyday lives from the way we present ourselves to others to the experiences we have and to even how we think of ourselves. The roles that we play and the worth that we give ourselves are often the results of the ways in which society looks at us purely through the lens of gender. Not only women but even men are victims of patriarchy and sexism by making them equate their worth as men with certain typical forms of tasks and behaviours, specifically those associated with hegemonic masculinity. As such,

feminism is a movement not only for women but even for oppressed men. Gendered stratification of society is a representation of the power structure of a society and feminism is a branch of knowledge and activism that aims to challenge that power structure and bring about social change. Although feminists have been able to bring out many changes on many levels in the lives of women in societies all over the world, these achievements are not equitably distributed. The main reason for that has been explained with the concept of intersectionality which shows how deprivations are linked on many levels and gender is but one factor in this framework of deprivations. It is due to the importance of intersectionality of varying forms of deprivations that a variety of feminisms emerged which tried to address the specific forms of oppressions faced by particular groups of women which might be completely different from the oppressions of some other women. Thus, in understanding the gender aspect of a society, we need to keep in mind that gender is a social construct rather than a naturally found phenomenon (which is sex) and it is because of its social basis that gender plays such an important role creating a particular form of social structure.

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## 13.7 Summary

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Before beginning to understand feminism and gendered stratification, it is important that we first realise the difference between the biological sex and the social gender. It is the social gender which is at the root of gendered stratification because it attaches with each gender certain norms and values which coerces people of certain genders to specific types of behaviours and attitudes. Women are constantly facing discriminations and censuring in the male dominated society, whether it is at home, or in education, in the workplace or even in politics. Such censuring is directly related to patriarchal ideals that are sown deep into our society. In order to counter such patriarchal values feminism emerged and different branches of feminist theory have given different routes to end patriarchy. Waves of feminist action have come and gone but some types of feminism remain as the most important. Radical feminism has tried to tear down the society as humans know it and build afresh in order to give women equal status and rights. Liberal feminists have been less radical and have demanded only some changes in the society so that women could be accommodated with the men. Socialist feminism tries to show the links between class oppression and gendered oppression. Black and Dalit feminisms try to show how the experiences of black and Dalit women are different from white and upper caste women due to which they are doubly discriminated against. Postmodern feminism is similar in this regard because it too tries to study the differences in experiences of discrimination among different groups of women. Transnational



feminism looks at gendered discriminations from a global perspective. Feminism has led to various women's movements all around the world and it has led to the growth of more and more resistance and scholarship on the matter of not only the discriminations faced by women but equally by another very big marginalized community the LGBTQ. The fight for rights and justice of women are important in bringing about more rights and equality in the whole society.

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## 13.8 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) What is the relationship between sex and gender?
- b) How does intersectionality crosscut gender?
- c) Discuss the hierarchy of masculinities and femininities after Connell.
- d) Differentiate between liberal and socialist feminisms.
- e) Write a note on radical feminism.
- f) Use an appropriate feminist theory to explain the oppression and discrimination of women in the workplace.
- g) What is feminism? What are its basic ideas?

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) Discuss the various terminologies in the study of gender and stratification and the interrelationships between them.
- b) Gender identities and inequalities are operative beyond biological sex-based identities – discuss.
- c) Gender identity is fluid in contemporary times. Explain how.
- d) Write a note on the areas of gendered stratification in modern society.
- e) With the help of appropriate examples, show how women face dual discrimination at the workplace and at home especially in the modern Western societies.
- f) Understanding historical and contextual differences are important to address oppression. Throw light on this statement with the help of feminist theories.

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**Web Links**

[http://www.myacpa.org/sites/default/files/Feminist\\_Theoretical\\_Perspectives\\_pasque\\_wimmer\\_REV.pdf](http://www.myacpa.org/sites/default/files/Feminist_Theoretical_Perspectives_pasque_wimmer_REV.pdf) (accessed on 8/9/2019 at 1:38 PM).

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## **UNIT 14 □ Social Mobility: Meaning, Forms and Nature**

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### **Structure**

- 14.1 Learning Objectives**
- 14.2 Introduction**
- 14.3 Social mobility: The concept**
  - 14.3.1 Types and forms of social mobility**
  - 14.3.2 Absolute and relative mobility**
  - 14.3.3 Problems in the analysis of social mobility**
- 14.4 Factors influencing the prospects of mobility**
- 14.5 Studies on social mobility: Britain**
  - 14.5.1 Embourgeoisement thesis : The Affluent Worker (1961)**
  - 14.5.2 Proletarianization of the middle class**
- 14.6 Changes in patterns of mobility in the Post-Fordist economy**
  - 14.6.1 Economic restructuring**
  - 14.6.2 Changes in the labour market**
  - 14.6.3 Impact of globalization on social mobility patterns**
- 14.7 The Nuffield Study on social mobility**
- 14.8 Patterns of social mobility in India**
- 14.9 Conclusion**
- 14.10 Summary**
- 14.11 Questions**
- 14.12 References**

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### **14.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn the conceptual relevance of social mobility.
- ⊙ To analyze the problems encountered by sociologists in studying social mobility
- ⊙ To examine the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization

- ⊙ To examine the patterns of social mobility in Britain with the aid of pioneering studies
- ⊙ To examine patterns of social mobility in India.

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## 14.2 Introduction

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Social mobility has been a prominent concept in the discipline of sociology. The period between 1970s and 1990s witnessed seminal changes in the social structure of the countries of the world, due to industrial and economic growth. This subsequently led to the decline of working class occupations and an expansion of middle class employment opportunities. Studies suggest that relative social mobility did not expand proportionately with the expansion of the state education system (Nunn, 2007). The comparative framework of analysis was adopted for the study of social mobility. Comparative studies infer that social mobility levels in Britain have declined over the recent years, as compared to the US. There has been a progressive systematization of the study of social mobility in the post wars years. Emphasis is now placed upon quantifying cross-national differences and standardizing mobility data.

However, this domain was characterized by conflicting theoretical propositions. With accelerating economic development, industrial societies would become meritocratic societies and enjoy higher rates of social mobility propounded the functionalist theory. A greater equality of opportunity would characterize these societies. While the Lipset-Zetterberg hypothesis (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1956) maintained that the rates of mobility would be invariant. Large-scale empirical comparative research was conducted to ascertain which of the theses accurately describes social mobility in industrial societies. Erikson and Goldthorpe's study- *The Constant Flux (1992)*- was significant in this regard. The effects of class inheritance and similarities in patterns of social mobility over time and place were demonstrated in the study.

The resurgence of the need for an pent analysis of the concept of social mobility has characterized academic knowledge creation endeavours of the 20th century. Research investment in mobility research surged in the early 1970s, especially in Britain. Payne delineated 5 sub-clusters of work within the arena of social mobility study. The first of these subfields concentrates on discovering and describing large-scale flow of people between social origin and social destinations- it augments our knowledge about the patterns and rates of mobility. It includes the analysis of social mobility. The second cluster comprises of the task of modelling mobility tables.

These two clusters together form the core of mobility research. The third cluster focuses not on mobility per se but rather considers it as a subsidiary process which illuminates the more important topic of social class (Payne, 1989). The fourth cluster aims at exploring wider issues with data gathered in mobility studies. These areas of analysis include occupational and industrial change, role of women, policy performance of education systems (Payne, 1989). The fourth cluster draws succinctly from all prior clusters and is aimed at comparative analysis of national systems in the context of macro-sociology. There exists significant overlap among these clusters, however the value of their identification is the provision of a heuristic structure to understand a complex social phenomenon. These clusters help subdivide the complexity of the phenomenon of social mobility into manageable units.

The last large-scale social mobility study conducted in the United States was in 1973, since then only small-scale surveys of adult population have been undertaken. The most notable among them is the General Social Survey (GSS). However these studies are associated with problems of a very small sample to succinctly drawn on national or regional generalizations.

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### **14.3 Social mobility : The concept**

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Social mobility is defined as a transition of individuals or groups from one position in the social hierarchy to another. An open or fluid society is one where individuals are able to move freely, as a result of factors such as aptitude, intelligence, ability and effort, up the social scale, regardless if their social position in childhood (Heath and Payne, 1999). Prospects and trends of social mobility are often used to determine the levels of social equality. Social mobility is thus related closely to concepts like inequality, social exclusion and inclusion, class and social stratification. Mobility can be analyzed at an individual level or at a collective level. The latter is known as structural mobility. Functionalists like Parsons propounded that the process of differentiation in society, resulted in the creation of mobility prospects. The discourse of meritocracy is also embodied in such an analysis of social mobility, as it emphasizes that roles are dispensed by those with the most suited set of skills and abilities. Marxian analysis of social mobility is radically different from the functionalist perspective. Marx proposed that class solidarity would be significantly hampered by acceleration in the rates of social mobility. He also predicted downward mobility in capitalist economies, wherein the petty bourgeoisie would merge with the ranks of the proletariat. Ralph Dahrendorf and Frank Parkin refer to social mobility as a safety valve, which allows for the effective venting of in-built tensions, preventing any major revolutionary changes.

The concept of social mobility refers to the phenomena of shifting from one social position to another, either in comparison with family background or with previous employment. The former is intergenerational social mobility that studies the transmission of social status from parents to children, while the latter known as intragenerational social mobility investigates the employment trajectories of individuals over their life course. Social mobility can be measured in absolute and relative terms. Mobility tables aid in the computation of absolute social mobility to illustrate measures such as immobility and mobility rates, vertical and horizontal mobility, upward and downward mobility. Relative mobility in the other hand illustrates the degree of openness of a given society.

### 14.3.1 Types and forms of social mobility

Horizontal and vertical social mobility are distinguished as two types of social mobility. Horizontal social mobility refers to changes in the occupational position or role of an individual or a group, without an alteration in its position in the social hierarchy. It does not involve a shift into a higher or lower stratum. Horizontal dimension of social mobility can only provide a limited explanation for the nature of stratification system characterizing each society. Giddens and Sultan (2014) define horizontal mobility as lateral mobility referencing and emphasizing upon geographical movement between neighborhoods, towns or regions.

Vertical social mobility refers to the alteration in the position of an individual or group in the social hierarchy. It indicates the upward or downward change in the rank of an individual or group. According to the direction of transition, vertical social mobility can be further classified into ascending and descending social mobility- social climbing and social sinking respectively. Giddens and Sultan (2014) define vertical social mobility in terms of the socio-economic scale, where gain in income, property or status are stated as indicators of upward mobility and the loss of the same is an indicator of downward mobility. Both are combined in their manifestation in modern societies according to Giddens.

We can also distinguish between intragenerational and intergenerational mobility. The former refers to social mobility within a single generation. It is measured by the comparison of the occupational status of an individual at two or more points in time (Covington, 1997). A person who begins her or his working life as an unskilled worker may be employed later as an accountant or banker, this would be an instance of intragenerational mobility.

Intergenerational mobility, on the other hand, refers to social mobility between generations. Comparison between the occupational statuses of the present generation

with the previous generation is the basis of measuring intergenerational mobility. Hence, if the son of an unskilled worker becomes an accountant, then he is said to be intergenerationally mobile.

### 14.3.2 Absolute and relative mobility

Absolute mobility refers to total mobility which takes place in a society (Crompton, 1993). The measurement of absolute mobility is derived from the study of the mobility table that illustrates the number of individuals within each social class who have been socially mobile. Relative mobility is measured by the comparison of the mobility prospects of different social groups at the same point of time. The transformed occupational structure of post-war Britain was responsible for high rates of absolute social mobility noted in Goldthorpe's study. Upward mobility, especially for the members of the working class was a more plausible prospect due to the expansion of service and intermediate jobs. The chances of upward mobility for a miners' son, was considerably improved by 1970. This indicated an elevated rate of absolute mobility. However, this room created at the upper levels was more likely to be filled by some social groups than others. Hence, in terms of relative mobility, the prospects or chances of upward mobility for one group is relative to other groups in society. Goldthorpe hence argued that relative mobility rates had remained largely unaltered- indicating an absence of equality of opportunity. He therefore concluded that class inequalities in Britain had not been reduced even though the absolute mobility rates were soaring. In 1987, Goldthorpe published an updated second edition of his study, where he propounded that for the working class, mobility chances had been polarized. Their chances of becoming a part of the service class had improved however the economic recession since 1972 had also initiated a higher risk of unemployment.

Turner has devised two ideal typical patterns of upward mobility- contest mobility and sponsored mobility. An individual or a group, through his own efforts and achievements actualize mobility under contest mobility. Wider rules govern the contest, but there is a sufficient choice of strategies employed by each individual. Mobility is granted or offered by the elite or higher social groups instead of being achieved due to individual efforts, under sponsored mobility.

### 14.3.3 Problems in the analysis of social mobility

There are several problems with undertaking a nuanced study of social mobility. Explaining social mobility is often reduced to explaining the difference between the earlier and later statuses (Hawkes, 1972). Hawkes in his influential article on '*Some methodological problems in explaining social mobility*' (1972) highlights two methods to the study of intergenerational mobility. The first approach seeks to explain the

intergenerational difference between subsequent generations, while the second aims at explaining the difference in the latter generation's status by including the prior generation's status as an explanatory variable in this analysis.

There are certain problems with the measurement and study of social mobility. The measurements and analysis of social mobility is based on examining the relationship between social origin and social position attained, hence it tends to exclude people who have never been employed or whose parents were unemployed. Most researchers use occupation as an indicator of social class and employ diverse criteria for ranking occupations. Some emphasize upon economic rewards associated with occupations while others on the prestige conferred by each occupation. Hence occupational classifications differ and are not necessarily comparable. Comparative studies on social mobility are inherently difficult because the decisive characteristics of social class varies from one country to another. Most mobility studies are premised on a certain theoretical conception of social class, hence all forms of social mobility analysis is based on certain assumptions about the social world. Another problem is that a person's occupation does not necessarily indicate the extent of their investments in the private industry, hence it is problematic to identify the bourgeoisie on the basis of occupations. Another issues with the study of social mobility is its normative character. Data on women's mobility has been neglected by numerous studies on social mobility. The differential patterns of female mobility are overshadowed by the and rocentric analysis of mobility data. Until the 1980s and 1990s social mobility of women had been neglected. Social mobility scholars justified this lack of data on women's social mobility due to their "negligible" participation in the labour force. Some of these scholars adopted the "dominance approach" that inferred married women's social positions from that of their husbands. 1980s onwards the "individual approach" was implemented taking into account women's employment situations to systematically compute their social mobility (Wright, 1997). Moreover, succinct distinctions between full time and part time jobs are neglected in most social mobility studies.

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## **14.4 Factors influencing the prospects of mobility**

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Education is considered to be an important resource in accelerating social mobility in most industrial societies. Human capital development and enhancement through education is considered to be of foremost value in attaining higher social positions in modern societies. The expansion of universal education is considered to be central in enhancing mobility. However in the case of Britain and many other Western countries, relative mobility has been stunted even with the expansion of educational opportunities. Social capital refers to the network or relationships that



derive from a particular social position or group membership (Putnam, 2000). Putnam differentiates between bonding and bridging social capital. The former refers to links within the social groups, while the latter to links between different social groups. Their influence on social mobility is complex. Social mobility may be constrained by enhanced bonding social capital within working class communities. Bonding social capital possessed by the middle class families on the other hand enable them prevent downward mobility of their less able children. Social capital of the middle class families encompassing more advantageous social networks enable and aid in the process of upward mobility. They also offer protection against possibilities of downward mobility.

Cultural capital transmitted from families to their subsequent generations in objectified, embodied and institutional forms is significant in determining the trends of social mobility. Additionally, the early home environment, family structure, pre-school structure- play a significant role in this regard. As Bourdieu says that our habitus is seminal in the creation and sustenance of our dispositions and beliefs. Our life chances are shaped and circumscribed by these dispositions and beliefs. Changes in the labour market has led to the emergence of jobless growth. Certain specific population groups have experienced long periods of inactivity as a result of these changes. Downward social mobility is more likely for women who are trying to re-enter the labour market in the positions held at the time of their departure.

Referred to as contextual indicators, historical context of childhood socialization can have a lasting impact in determining adulthood opportunities. Historical contexts generate different mobility chances, hence some generations are more likely to benefit from ascending social mobility while others benefit from descending. Chauvel (1998) in his study demonstrated the acceleration if inequality of opportunity across generations in France. The post war generation enjoyed the benefits of rapidly expanding higher education and favourable labour market conditions. These advantages were progressively muted in the subsequent generations. Educated youth of the subsequent generations faced obstacles in establishing themselves in the Post-Fordist labour market.

The effects of social mobility on the individual's well-being has been analyzed in terms of the tension produced due to a dissonance between the social origin milieu and the social destination. The socialization hypothesis propounds that socially mobile individuals tend to adhere to the dispositions they have embodied in the context of their social origin. Conversely, the adaptation hypothesis argues that individuals adapt attitudes and dispositions of their new social environment. A more systematic focus on all aspects of an individual's life needs to be undertaken to understand the relationship between social mobility and quality of life.

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## 14.5 Studies on social mobility: Britain

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Glass and Goldthorpe are the pioneering figures in the study of social mobility in Britain. Class origin and class destination- identified as competitive explanatory variables- are analyzed by both these scholars. Upward mobility trends have been identified in the successive generations of post-world war Britain. Absolute mobility rates have increased while the relative mobility rates seem to be unchanged.

Glass (1954) analyzed mobility patterns in Britain as he was concerned with the declining fertility rates in the country. He focused on the accessibility of positions of prestige and influence to people born in various social groups. *Social Mobility in Britain*(1954) was published by Glass that continues to serve as an indispensable guide for social mobility research. National family surveys, population register data and census reports were analyzed by Glass in a demographic framework to produce his theoretical contributions on social mobility.

Goldthorpe (1967) developed a seven fold class scheme that was grouped into three main clusters-the service class and the intermediate class and the working class. Intergenerational mobility patterns of the 1970s among industrial nations were analyzed by Goldthorpe. *Social mobility and class structure in modern Britain* (1980) highlighted the similarities in relative rates of social fluidity among Western Europe and American societies with market economies and nuclear family systems.

### 14.5.1 Embourgeoisement Thesis: The Affluent Worker (1961)

Lockwood and Goldthorpe conducted the pioneering study titled *The Affluent Worker* in 1961-62, that studied the attitudes and behaviour of high wage earners in three Luton-based companies and the factors that shaped these attitudes. During the 1960s social scientists claimed that there was a wholesale shift in the class culture and broad social position of the skilled stratum of the working class. A new stratum of affluent workers was advancing by virtue of better pay and working conditions, a specialized skill sets and individualist orientation of the workers. Assimilation of these workers into the middle class due to enhanced affluence levels, was instrumental in the imbibing of middle class values and social life among the workers. This was the process of embourgeoisement.

Embourgeoisement is a process through which the increasing affluence of the working class provided an impetus for the adoption of middle class values and their subsequent absorption within the middle classes. The study entailed a comparative analysis of workers engaged in different types of production systems. Goldthorpe's

(1967) study presented the impact of better pay and new forms of work on the real position of the workers, as essentially dubious. There was an absence of collective upward mobility into the ranks of the middle class. The study revealed minimal changes in the attitude of workers with regard to them imbibing middle class values. A higher level of deprivation is experienced by these workers in terms of circumscribed chances of occupational advancement. The study highlighted a significant aspect of the life of affluent workers- that they led more privatized and home-centered lives as compared to the previous forms of living, characterized by the company of kins, neighbours and friends. There was a loss of shared working class sociability. An enhanced instrumental attitude came to be embodied by the workers engaging in long periods of tedious overtime work. Privatization and instrumentalism were central in the cultivation of a individualistic outlook among the manual workers, leading to the consequent weakening of communal and kin orientation (Bilton, 1980). This did not produce a desire to identify with middle class values and life-styles. However, a negligible proportion of these workers had actually adopted middle class life-styles and assimilated successfully into the ranks of the middle classes.

### **14.5.2 Proletarianization of the middle class**

Another significant process operating within the folds of social mobility is the process of proletarianization. It is a process whereby some parts of the middle class are absorbed into the working class. A significant proportion of people now occupy intermediate positions between the middle and working class occupational groups. These intermediate positions are characterized by an amalgamation of some features of middle class status and working class material rewards and job security. The jobs encompassed by these occupational groups are typically low paying with an equally precarious level of job security. The growth of the tertiary sector has been instrumental in the expansion of these forms of employment. This has led to a boom in office, administrative, retail and personal services jobs that are characteristically low paying and insufficiently secure. The tedious and routine character of these forms of ‘office work’ now come to almost mirror the features of the Fordist assembly line production system.

With the progressive surge of globalization and the expansion of the service industry, we are simultaneously witnessing an acceleration in the process of proletarianization. Goldthorpe argues that despite having low pay sometimes lower than blue collar workers- office staff have high job security, enjoy ‘staff’ status and are ‘functionally’ associated with but marginal to the established middle class (Bilton, 1980). Goldthorpe proposes the creation of a ‘white collar labour force’ that is

characterized by considerable horizontal movement of workers between similar status jobs and which in turn hampers the development of a strong sense of collective identity and work-based culture.

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## **14.6 Changes in patterns of mobility in the Post-Fordist economy**

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Restructuring of the economy and its increased orientation towards the service sector during the 1970s and 1980s, was instrumental in impacting mobility patterns in the Western European industrialized countries. The adoption of the Post Fordist model that was aimed at targetting specific markets and committed to the ideology of lean production produced changes in the labour market. The segmentation of the labour market followed.

### **14.6.1 Economic restructuring**

Workers were now classified as core, peripheral and structurally unemployed workers. The bulk of manufacturing jobs came to be replaced by service sector employment, needing specialized skills and knowledge. A skills-gap was created by these restructuring endeavours- in the older generation of workers, making them unlikely to find secure work again (Bilton, 1980). The creation of a ‘knowledge society’ also circumscribes mobility prospects due to the loss of skills and the advent of precarious employment opportunities.

This restructuring of the economic structure was mirrored in the domain of health and welfare- that were progressively privatized. Hence these changes are seminal in the effective polarization of the labour market and also in determining mobility possibilities for each segment.

### **14.6.2 Changes in the labour market**

Segmentation of the labour market was responsible for its progressive polarization, where the well paid secured jobs are for the middle and upper-middle classes and the insecure, low paid work is for the sons and daughters of the older working classes. The prospects of mobility for the latter is circumscribed -even through the attainment of education and training- as the structure of the labour market is such that it does not generate a significant number of skilled jobs. Post Fordist economies are characterized by the inevitable growth of low paying, part time jobs. Jobless growth is the grim reality of these economies.

Similarly, another significant impact of these changes on the pattern of mobility is that maintaining middle class status and avoiding downward intragenerational mobility becomes more challenging for the white-collar workers. For many in the middle class stratum such changes lead to downward mobility. The scale of this downward mobility into the ranks of the underclass varies by region and gender. Bagguley's study(1990) of the socio-economic changes in the area around Lancaster showed that the downward mobility of men in the area was twice the national average due to the restructuring of the economy. While women were more likely to survive in the service class- hence relative to the national average, women's upward mobility rates were higher in this area. However, relative to the male worker, women were disadvantaged in terms of pay and conditions. Brown and Scase's (1991) notion of entrepreneurialism suggests that there is the emergence of greater numbers of self-employed consultants in the ranks of the middle classes. This connotes a minute degree of upward mobility.

The prospects for mobility of new recruits in the labour market depends on the class position of the family, cultural, economic and social capital, skill sets developed, gender of the recruit, credentials etc. Some scholars argue that the prospects of entry into the labour market and consequent status mobility are negligible to the new job seekers as globalization has 'exported' jobs to cheaper labour markets across the world (Bilton, 1980). Other scholars believe that the fate of employment and mobility is intimately associated with the cyclical periods of booms and recessions that affect the economy as a whole.

### **14.6.3 Impact of globalization on social mobility patterns:**

At the first instance, globalization may be regarded as a facilitator of social mobility, due to its integrative qualities that erode the traditional barriers to mobility. However, a reappraisal of such arguments is necessitated by the grim ground realities. Transnational corporations are the central players in a globalized world. They necessitate the implementation of a standard protocol of production in each of their units. Globalization of production has also impacted patterns of mobility, as it leads to the outsourcing of jobs to cheaper labour markets. It also creates pockets of well-paid work as well as cheap, casualized, low skilled work in the local regions of most countries (Bilton, 1980). Globalization has invariably impacted the creation of class identity and occupational class. It has contributed to the effective operation of the Post-Fordist economies by the creation of part time, low paying jobs that stunt the prospects of mobility.

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## 14.7 The Nuffield Study on social mobility

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The Nuffield studies (1972) were designed to research a number of theses with regard to social mobility. The study was based on interviews of 10000 men in England and Wales. Goldthorpe allocated these men to seven social classes, using his self-formulated class schema. Class distinctions were identified on the basis of market situation (source and levels of income, security of employment) and work situation (degree of control, authority in the job). These classes were then grouped into three clusters-service class, intermediate class and working class. The service and working classes were identified by Goldthorpe (1967) as representing opposite ends of the hierarchy of privilege, while the intermediate class occupied an ambiguous position. Goldthorpe's study has been pertinent in the development of a class structural approach to social mobility based on intergenerational male mobility. One central conclusion of the studies was that the rates of relative mobility- as the key marker of class inequality- remained unchanged. Recent research has also challenged the hegemony of the Nuffield studies, by shifting their focus on work-life mobility, the relationship between class mobility, gender and ethnicity. The creation of new data sets were also instrumental in developing an approach departing from the one promulgated by Goldthorpe.

The *National Child Development Study* (NCDS) pioneered by Peter Saunders(1996) is important in this regard. It analyses the relationship between social background, individual development and social mobility in Britain. Similarly, the *Scottish Mobility Study*(1987)by Payne emphasized upon mobility between occupations than between classes. It also concluded that relative class inequalities had been modified to a certain extent. Payne suggested that the British society is less closed and static than its representation in Goldthorpe's study.

Saunders (1990) also countered Goldthorpe's findings and argued that absolute mobility rates cannot be neglected. The new opportunities presented by the advent of capitalism cannot be overlooked, even though they may have not eliminated class inequalities. He also challenged Goldthorpe's argument that abilities and talents are randomly distributed across all social groups and Goldthorpe's denial of natural inequalities acting as decisive factors in shaping class destinies. Saunders acknowledges the unequal distribution of talents across social groups.

Goldthorpe's findings tend to suggest that there is an absence of a high degree of closure at the top of the British stratification system. He has been widely critiqued for ignoring the presence of the ruling class elites. There exists a high rate of elite self-recruitment in Britain-which refers to the process by which members of wealthy

and powerful groups are drawn from children of those who already belong to it. Willmott and Young's study (1970) in the London area found that 83% of managing directors were sons of professionals and managers. Stanworth and Giddens' survey that out of 460 company chairmen in 1971, only 1% had a manual working class background and 66% were from the upper class.

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## 14.8 Patterns of social mobility in India

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M.N Srinivas (1953) theorized on the process of Sanskritization as a vehicle of social mobility in the Indian caste system. However, mobility through the process of Sanskritization was slow and difficult to attain. There are hindrances to the process in the form of opposition from the upper castes or the dominant castes of the village. This may extend from social and economic sanctions to the use of physical force as was noted by Cohn (1959) in his study of the Thakurs and their use of violence against the Chamars, trying to adopt upper caste practices.

Saleth (1997) examined various socio-economic reports in India and concluded that the employment options outside farm sector grew enormously after the post liberalization period. This in turn contributed to occupational and spatial mobility for the rural peasants and labourers.

K.L Sharma (1986) analyzed the intertwining relationship between caste and class in India. To examine social mobility in India, neither the 'caste-alone' or the 'class-alone' approach is sufficient. Castes have been operating as classes for all practical considerations and class relations are as ancient as caste relations. Sharma agrees with Yogendra Singh's analysis that caste and kinship undergo adaptive transformations without completely being 'diffracted' into class. Thus, class segments operate within the framework of caste categories with a new sense of identity. Social mobility in India has to be analyzed in relation to both these axes. Similarly, Anil Bhatt points out each caste comes to be internally differentiated in terms of the classes of its constituent members. Status incongruity, relative openness, mobility characterize the amalgamation of these two stratification axes.

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## 14.9 Conclusion

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Mencher and Guhan (1983) and Harris, Jeyaranajan and Nagarajan (2010) analyzed land holding patterns and labour mobility in the village of Iruvelpattu, Tamil Nadu. The Vanniyars and Paraiyars were the two major labouring caste communities, while the Reddiars were the landowning dominant caste in Iruvelpattu. Reddiars gradually moved out of the village to settle in urban centers, in reaping the

benefits of modern education and in pursuit of employment opportunities. The combined benefits of green revolution and modernized of agriculture led the Vanniyars to slowly become the land owning caste group in the village. 56% of the village population comprised of Vanniyars while 39% are Dalit. 31% of the population engaged in non-agricultural labour. There has been a diversification of employment followed by a subsequent rise in occupational and labour mobility.

Sanjay Kumar, Anthony Heath, Oliver Heath published a study on the basis of analyzing sample data from 1996 National Election Study to highlight the '*Determinants of social mobility in India*' (2002). They focus on individual intergenerational mobility in evaluating the role of the processes of modernization and of caste and community in determining the prospects of mobility. They conclude that 67% of the total sample have remained the same class as their fathers, 19% have experienced upward mobility and 7% have undergone downward mobility. There is also a net surplus of upward mobility over downward mobility, generated by occupational changes in India. However, class inequalities continue to persist in terms of life chances and prospects of mobility.

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## 14.10 Summary

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The study of social mobility is a crucial aspect in the analysis of social stratification systems because the nature, form, range and degree of social mobility depends on the nature of stratification systems. Horizontal and vertical social mobility are distinguished as two types of social mobility. We can also distinguish between intragenerational and intergenerational mobility. There are certain problems with the measurement and study of social mobility. Both processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization characterize patterns of social mobility in the industrial societies. Although factors like globalization, expansion of education opportunities and the labour market have led to an increase in the equality of opportunity in certain countries, yet in most industrialized countries intergenerational mobility remains largely circumscribed. Research on social mobility suggests a significant rise in the rates of absolute mobility, while the rates of absolute intergenerational mobility remain diverse in most industrialized countries of the world. Economic growth, migration are used to explain this cross-national variation. In terms of relative social mobility, some states are considered to be part of the more fluid societies while some others are part of less fluid societies.



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## 14.11 Questions

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### I. Answer briefly :

- a) Delineate some problems in the study of social mobility.
- b) What is meant by embourgeoisement and proletarianisation?
- c) How are mobility prospects shaped?
- d) Differentiate between absolute and relative mobility.
- e) Who conducted the Nuffield Study on social mobility?
- f) Name the author of *Social Mobility in Britain*.
- g) Differentiate between intragenerational and intergenerational mobility.

### II. Answer in detail :

- a) How is mobility conceptualized by sociologists?
- b) Explain the various types and forms of social mobility.
- c) Why was the Nuffield Study important?
- d) What are the mobility trends that can be noted in India?

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## 14.11 References

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## **UNIT 15 □ Institutionalised practices : Education**

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### **Structure**

- 15.1 Learning Objectives**
- 15.2 Introduction**
- 15.3 Approaches to the study of education**
  - 15.3.1 The functionalist analysis of education and mobility**
  - 15.3.2 The conflict analysis of education and mobility**
- 15.4 The Vocabulary of education and mobility**
- 15.5 Relationship between education and the axes of stratification**
  - 15.5.1 Education, mobility and social class**
  - 15.5.2 Education, mobility and caste**
  - 15.5.3 Education mobility and gender**
- 15.6 Britain and India : A brief comparison**
- 15.7 Conclusion**
- 15.8 Summary**
- 15.9 Questions**
- 15.10 References**

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### **15.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand the salience of education in determining mobility patterns
- ⊙ To examine the various perspectives on education
- ⊙ To interrogate the vocabulary of education
- ⊙ To understand the influence of education on the other axes of stratification
- ⊙ To understand education in Britain and India

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### **15.2 Introduction**

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The salience of education as a seminal institution to guide, facilitate and impede mobility is indisputable. However, a certain criticality has to be adopted in the analysis of the institution of education. This necessitates the discarding of the taken for granted

relationship between education and mobility. This relationship needs to be problematized to nuance our understanding of the institution of education and the diverse stratificatory processes operating in societies. Democratizing the access to education does not indicate egalitarian trends. The absolute levels of education reached maybe only elementary in facilitating mobility (Neelsen, 1975). Institutional differences may be considerably more significant in dictating the degree of segregation of social groups in a society. Other stratificatory axes may assume instrumental roles in dictating and circumscribing the possibility of mobility in a society for an individual or a group.

There exists an erroneous conception of education as not solely a means for social mobility but the end of the entire process. The notion of education as a gateway to facilitate upward mobility in society must be rejected, to posit a challenge to its grandiose role in determining social mobility. An exhaustive analysis of education as an institution necessitates its review from diverse perspectives and lens.

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## **15.3 Approaches to the study of education**

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Education is envisioned as a social institution which enables and promotes the acquisition of skills and knowledge, to facilitate the maintenance of the existing social order. Functionalists recognize the decisive role played by education to facilitate the harmonious operation of society. Education is envisioned as an institutional conduit for the perpetuation of collective sentiments of group life. The absence of these elements of ‘essential similarities’ would impede cooperation and social solidarity- jeopardizing the possibility of a harmonious group life. The advent of certain functional imperatives with industrialism are met by education. Functionalist theorists like Durkheim, Parsons and others supported the creation of a standard educational curriculum to be diligently applied in all educational institutions- to instill in the pupils a sense of shared norms and values. Functionalists emphasize on the role of education in the construction of shared identities- particularly the forging of national identities through a standardized curriculum.

### **15.3.1 The functionalist analysis of education and mobility**

Durkheim identified education as a key agency of socialization- enabling the transmission of social values and norms from one generation to another. It is an essential contributor to social stability and solidarity. He envisioned Moral Education as a crucial element for harmonizing society. Durkheim was preoccupied with the principle of moral education- the moral guidelines and mutual responsibilities that aid in the mitigation of competitive individualism that would have otherwise proven detrimental to the existence of social solidarity (Giddens, 2014).

Drawing from the structural-functional approach to education one can argue that the need for specialized skills in an industrial society is necessitated by technological advancements. The emergence of highly specialized occupations coupled with the requirement of enhanced human expertise is supported by the education system (Bilton, 1982). Formal education performs the function of disseminating these skills to satiate the needs of the changing society. It provides training in specific skill set development to ensure the perpetuation of social equilibrium.

The allocative functions of education are also emphasized upon- whereby education embodies a sophisticated mechanism for the selection of individuals for employment according to their skills and talents. Vocational education is instrumental in disseminating the prerequisite skills needed for the fulfillment of specialized role-functions to maintain solidarity.

This approach was critiqued for its undue emphasis on the correlation of eligibility and proficiency. Moreover, the allocative functions of schools have been critiqued for an inherent ascriptive status bias. Caste, class, gender, ethnic backgrounds all are considered instrumental and pivotal in confirming pupils to the statuses they are born into. Schools do not perform as neutral selective agencies- as they are invariably conscious of the social backgrounds of the students.

In a study conducted by A.L. Peaslee (1969) on education's role in development, empirical evidence suggested that in countries like Russia, USA and Japan, the enrollment rate at the post-primary level exceeded the rate of economic growth over significant periods of time. Similarly, the overproduction of educated unemployed people in a number of third world countries, including India, refutes the correlation of education and development.

This functional analysis of education remains unduly hinged on the idea of stability and status quo. It is essentially against any form of mobility that would upset the existent social order. Hence, the commonly held notion of educational attainments as an avenue to achieve mobility in society is repudiated under this perspective. The social order is overemphasized and held sacrosanct in the functional discursive analysis of education. Social mobility of the individual through the acquisition of educational credentials and skills assumes a secondary status under this form of analysis. This understanding of the institution of education as the seminal pillar of the social order is substantively critiqued by the conflict perspective of education.

### 15.3.2 The conflict analysis of education and mobility

The conflict approach to education does not assign any specific, unfaltering role to education. It emphasizes on the relationship between education, mobility and stratification. This perspective propounds that the educative process will be more exclusive and selective, if the allocative power of education is more decisive. The inequalities in society will be reflected in its corresponding education system.

Bowles and Gintis in *Schooling in Capitalist America (1976)* illuminate upon the potent link between education and capitalism. The fragmentation of tasks and hierarchies of authority that characterizes the capitalist work space is mirrored in educational system. The breaking of the curriculum into subjects is reflective of task fragmentation in the capitalist economy. They also emphasized on the lack of uniformity in schools- stressing on the differential treatment of children in schools in correspondence with their social backgrounds. An instance was noted by them to illustrate this point was that schools catering to largely working class children emphasis on supervision, obedience, rule-following, and the inculcation of a certain form of industrial discipline. Contrary to the same, schools catering to the more privileged students focus on building the future elite. They state that inequalities that characterize capitalist societies are not products of differential intelligence levels in society but rather are consequences of the exploitative capitalist relations of production.

Schools play a seminal part in the reproduction of this generational inequality. They mould pupils to fit perfectly into the occupational roles predestined for them by their current ascriptive social positions. Education is not only responsible for the persistence of this inequality and an nihilation of mobility, but it also produces a justification for the existence of this inequality. Individuals reconcile with their positions in the social hierarchy due to the indoctrination of educational discourses that justify these positions on the basis of the presence or absence of merit and intelligence. Placement in the lower rungs of the social hierarchy are accepted by individuals as essentially personal failures to succeed in 'an equal educational field' due to lack of intelligence, motivation or effort.

Education systems of all societies disseminate the ideologies of the dominant ruling group. Conflict theorists propose the idea of indoctrination through the education system. It is an instrument for the perpetuation of hegemonic discourses and values in all societies. Education is a tool at the disposal of the power elite in all societies. The chances of social mobility for the lower stratas of societies are adversely affected by structurally determined relative deprivation and the degree of

incompatibility between dominant and subcultural norms (Neelsen, 1975). Success of individuals from the lower stratas of society will depend upon the strength of education as an allocative principle (Neelsen, 1975). A higher demand for equality of educational opportunities will embody higher internal qualitative differentiations in pedagogies- reflective of the attempts of dominate groups to maintain their exclusivity.

Empirical research has brought to the forefront evidence of the education system reproducing the existing social inequalities rather than levelling life chances. One such study was conducted in UK by Paul Willis in 1977. He conducted his fieldwork in a Birmingham school to analyze why working class children are generally able to secure working class jobs, even after receiving formal education. His research revealed the fostering of an “anti-school subculture”, in which young boys were preoccupied with a concern for earning substantial amounts of money to sustain themselves. They, hence displayed minimal interest in acquiring education or building a career. He further argued that this phenomena in a pertinent way mirrored blue-collar cultures- whereby failing at school prepared them for working class employment.

Conflict theorists emphasize on the analogy of the structures of formal education and the corresponding structures of work life in a capitalist society. They emphasize the indoctrination of certain values that foster and support the status quo, impeding the scope or possibility of mobility. ‘A conforming attitude fosters success’ is one of the many ideologues disseminated by this standardized education system. School education legitimizes and prepares its pupils for a future of submission to the tyranny of living and working under the structures of the capitalist hierarchy. It creates ‘perfect workers’- this analysis in itself is testimony to the inbuilt objective of annihilating mobility embodied by the education systems of the world.

Similarly Illich (1971) also argued that schools are designed to perform the function of being custodial organizations that effectively debar the young from the public domain by keeping them occupied. An uncritical acceptance of the existent social order by this hegemonic pedagogy results in the potent death of criticality in the pupils. Children are sensitized to know their class positions and adhere to the same. The very desire or possibility of mobility is annihilated. Hence to argue that schooling and education invariably foster social mobility is grossly erroneous. They impede one’s prospect for mobility on both psychological and material levels. The need for ‘Deschooling’ was advocated by Illich (1971). It entails the dual process of liberation of the hitherto captive educational resources as well as freedom from an oppressive, standardized curriculum, as educational curriculum also operates to negate the possibility of establishing an alternative social world. They produce the existing

social reality as immutable. This critique of curriculums highlights the role played by them in effectively circumscribing mobility

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## 15.4 The Vocabulary of education and mobility

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Educational attainments of an individual are intimately connected to future occupational placements and income differentials. However, these credentials do not solely act as a prerequisite for social mobility. Educational opportunities in societies maybe skewed marring the possibility of perfect job allocations. Conversely, equality of educational opportunities does not necessarily guarantee equality of occupational opportunities. The complex asymmetrical patterns of life chances come to be successfully structured by the institution of education.

A critical element in the analysis of education as an institution of facilitating or impeding mobility is the linguistic element it embodies. The linguistic medium of instruction in educational institutions is seminal in shaping an individual's chances of mobility. Education no longer solely holds the reigns of mobility. Mobility prospects are correlated with a certain form and content of educational vocabulary—the dominance is secured by English in this regard.

As pointed out by D.L. Sheth (2017) in *The Great Language Debate: Politics of Metropolitan Versus Vernacular India*, 80% of students graduating from colleges and universities have studied through the medium of a regional vernacular. However, the entrance examinations or qualifying interviews are invariably conducted in English. Even if these students are allowed to take recourse to vernaculars for the interviews and examinations, their prospects of securing jobs or elite positions in an institutional milieu dominated by English remains bleak. This results in the emotional alienation of non-English educated youth from the national mainstream. He identifies the linguistic dominance of English in education and employment as a potent barrier to the social mobility of these individuals. The life chances of these individuals are severely affected by their poverty of knowledge in a specific hegemonic linguistic system.

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## 15.5 Relationship between education and the axes of stratification

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According to Bourdieu's theorization, student achievement and performance are outcomes of a complex interplay of expectations, cultural capital and degree of selection. He successfully establishes structural links between educational processes



and social stratification. The unequal distribution of cultural capital and class inequality are intimately linked to the processes of pedagogy, evaluation and curriculum. Certain cognitive classifications are instilled by the education system that reinforce social distinctions. Bourdieu defines academic meritocracy as a form of aristocracy. Inherited cultural advantages are concealed in the discourse of natural abilities of individuals. Good academic performance of students can be correlated to the inheritance of the most socially valued forms of cultural capital from parents—hence these cultural heirs are able to utilize cultural capital to secure a good academic performance.

### 15.5.1 Education, mobility and social class

Bourdieu's theory of capital and academic classifications is important in the evaluation of the degree to which social mobility is facilitated or circumscribed by education. Traditional pedagogy serves the interests of the dominant class by demanding a uniform mastery over language from all its students—that can be acquired only in the dominant class family. Language deficiencies of those without cultural capital remain unaddressed (Bourdieu 1974). Cultural disadvantage is left unattended, while cultural privilege is reinforced through the style and content of curriculums in educational institutions. Bourdieu concluded that academic judgments are social judgments that ratify and reproduce social class distinctions.

The choice of educational institutions can be linked to the advantages of social and cultural capital that middle class families are able to pass onto their children. Burgess (2004) study of schools in UK suggest the segregation of schools by locality, class and wealth levels. Alex Nunn (2007) propounded that there exists a monopoly of the middle classes in the enrollment of their children in the best schools, while children from the working class are more likely to attend less successful schools. Similarly it is also asserted that social class influences the subject choice of the students thereby impacting their prospects of future employment and social mobility. Children of working class origin are likely to select technical subjects because of the proximity to parents' manual job experience and because these fields lead to secure labour market prospects (Alex Nunn et al., 2007.p.45).

In a study titled *Education, Inequality and Social Mobility in Central India*, conducted by Peggy Froerer, published in the *European Journal of Development Research* in 2011, education came to be identified as a vehicle for the creation of new inequalities in the village of Mohanpur in rural Chhattisgarh. The study highlighted the importance of education in combating to an extent the existing forms of inequalities, but producing new ones through the attainment of credentials. Froerer

argues that the Catholic Church has played a significant role in the attainment of educational success of the Oraon Christians as compared to the Hindu tribals of the region. The Catholic Church was identified as a potential source of social capital, facilitating the Oraon's engagement with social mobility. The role of the church in the provision of educational capital to the Oraons is highlighted through her fieldwork. This argument emphasizes on the importance of certain forms of capital to enable marginalized groups to transform their social position within the existing hierarchies. The strong correlation of education with economic and social capital in India posits a need for the examination of the impact of education on social inequalities.

### 15.5.2 Education, mobility and caste

The affirmative action policy instituted by the Indian State provided impetus to the politicization of caste. The provision of educational and occupational opportunities to lower caste groups through the reservation policy was designed as a means for facilitating their upward social mobility. In a study conducted in Pune by Rajeshwari Deshpande and SuhasPalshikar (2000, 2007) the empirical data revealed the impact of traditionally ordained hierarchy and limitations it imposes on the ability of vertical mobility for caste groups. They noted that caste was a major factor in predicting mobility. Although upward mobility is aided by education<sup>1</sup>, the study highlighted the overbearing significance of the stratificatory axis of caste in determining the possibility and degree of upward social mobility. 54% of higher occupations continued to be dominated by the upper castes in Pune. On comparing their findings to the earlier phase of the study conducted in the year 2000, they recorded an 8% increase in the engagement of Dalits in very low occupations<sup>2</sup>. They also noted that Dalits have not been able to overcome stagnation as their upward mobility trajectory seems to have been arrested at the lower middle level.

Thorat and Attewell's (2007) study to identify the effects of caste on employment opportunities focused on the job market in the modern private sector. Advertisements from the English newspapers of Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad were selected for the study. CVs were then prepared after the names of the applicants were manipulated to reflect caste or religious identity. The assembly of CVs included nearly identical qualifications and experience, similar educational credentials from equivalent universities etc. In response to a total of 548 advertisements, 4808 applications were submitted. The study concluded that the odds of receiving a response for a Dalit was 0.67 and 0.33 for a Muslim, as compared to an applicant with a high-caste name.

Mobility and employment opportunities are circumscribed and annihilated by

caste identities, despite educational qualifications, as demonstrated in a pioneering study conducted by Banerjee et al (2008). Two sectors of Delhi's urban economy were focused upon in the study. Banerjee submitted resumes in response to the advertisements for call-center and software jobs. These advertisements were selected from leading English newspapers and two popular online job portals- naukri.com and monsterindia.com. Random names were assigned to the resumes. The callback rates for OBCs and SCs were discernibly lower.

These studies are suggestive of the deeply ingrained caste bias in the domain of employment that are instrumental in inhabiting possibilities of social mobility. Even if educational credential is deemed necessary for upward mobility through the attainment of gainful employment, the pronounced impact of caste identities annihilates possibilities of such mobility.

### **15.5.3 Education mobility and gender**

Despite the possession of relevant educational credentials, the persistence of gender segregated employment and male-homosociability are instrumental in dwarfing the chances of mobility for women. With the advent of the Post-Fordist economies and the phenomena of part-time employment, the fight of securing gainful career-driven occupations has intensified for women globally. In 2002, 43% of women in Britain were engaged in marginal contractual part-time work despite educational qualifications. The feminization of the labour force must not be construed as provision of high income employment opportunities to qualified women as 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the female labour force was engaged in part-time, low paid, clerical work in Britain. This leads to a significant pay gap in the earnings of women and men, creating a lasting impact on the prospects of mobility.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) argued that bureaucratic organizations were structures of power from which women were excluded- impeding prospects of mobility through gainful employment and career building. Vertical segregation in employment entails the employment of women in middle or low levels of the organizational hierarchy. Women experience the 'glass ceiling' in the workspace where their mobility to the topmost organizational positions is prevented. These invisible barriers of opposition have proven to remain unaffected by the processes of human capital development-through educational qualifications and training programmes.

Focusing on the centrality of content of educational courses we find an implicit attempt to dwarf the forces of mobility. Examining this aspect of education through

a gendered lens we are confronted by the continuance of gender-differentiated subjects in schools and educational institutions. The perpetuation of the analogous relationship of girls with the ‘domestic subjects’ and boys with the ‘hard sciences’ and technical pedagogy is noted. In UK the statistical evidence is staggering. Humanities and education courses comprises of 80% female students while engineering and technical courses accounted for a miniscule 13% of female students. Subject selection is a potential element of achieving proposed mobility, as in a modern capitalist society educational credentials tend to be required for better employment opportunities. Relevant skills are valued more in this compromised and bleak employment climate. The power of gender as a stratificatory axis overpowers any prospect of mobility offered by education.

Halford’s (1997) research suggests that new divisions are emerging in organizations, distinguishing between encumbered and non-encumbered workers, i.e., those with or without caring responsibilities. This is suggestive for further strangling of the possibilities of social mobility through employment for women. The persistence of the broad contours of occupational segregation will continue to inhabit any and all prospects of mobility for women. Education, hence cannot be the sole determinant or assurance of social mobility.

Gendered inequalities and obstacles to mobility are evident in the general household survey 1991 conducted in Britain, where the data revealed that the returns to education were grossly unequal for women and men. The gross median weekly earnings of women with degrees in full-time employment was £300-£350 comparable with their male counterparts earning an average of £400-£450.

If education is considered an indispensable prerequisite for social mobility, then the prospects of securing this mobility for women in India are truly limited. According to the data published by United Nations Development Program’s Human Development Report 2013, only 26.6% women above 25 years received a secondary education in 2010, compared to 50.4% of men and only 29% of Indian women above the age of 15 in 2011 were a part of the country’s labor force, compared to 80.7% men (Thomas, 2013).

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## **15.6 Britain and India : A brief comparison**

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The purpose of education was initially defined as the ‘equal opportunities’ and then as ‘employability’ in Britain. In the post war decades, equal educational opportunities were deemed as central to the creation of open societies. The discourse of meritocracy gained prominence in this regard. It entailed a system based on merit

where an individual could advance in the occupational hierarchy on the basis of purely personal merit. This discourse of meritocracy dictated that an individual's ability- formed and defined by the education system- would determine his occupational status, irrespective of other intersectional hierarchies and inequalities. Success or failure of an individual would remain uninfluenced by his current social location.

The dominance of the functionalist school of thought during the 1950s and 1960s also came to be mirrored in the domain of evaluating the significance of education. It was examined not as a means of personal advancement or mobility but rather as a remedy for various social evils and the key to establishing a prosperous society. These preoccupations were succinctly discarded in the course of the next two decades and emphasis was played upon the standardized forms of assessment. The purpose of education now came to be defined by employability- dissemination of specific skills necessary for employment in the industrial capitalist economy. The operation of free market mechanism came to characterize the operation of schools- drawing a close analogy of schools with businesses.

The national education policy of 1968 marked an integral step in the reconstruction of the education system in Post Independent India. It entailed a commitment to promote national progress, a common sense of citizenship and culture and to strengthen national integration. The improvement in the quality of education at all stages was deemed as a succinct priority by this policy. The implementation of the policy has been questionable as is demonstrated by the current crisis of affordable quality education in the country.

Several legislative measures have been undertaken by the government of India to universalize primary education in the country. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE) enacted in April 2009, was one such succinct endeavour. However evaluating the degree of successful implementation of the Act, Disha Nawani in her 2017 study reveals that only 9.54% schools in India are compliant with the norms of the act. Similarly, Radhika Saraf (2016) points out that the focus of the Indian government in the introduction of "skilling" programmes in government schools for secondary education will further constrict the prospects of mobility by education for the poor. Skill training would restrict mobility and obstruct self-actualization processes. Children from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and first generation learners would suffer from the implementation of such a thrust in the education policy of the country. A parallel with the business-education model of Britain can be witnessed in India. Ramamurthy and Pandiyan contend that the National Education Policy (NEP) 2016 has been seminal in instituting

the core of a neo-liberal education system- one that is essentially market oriented. The government's inability to spend 6% of the Indian GDP on education (based on the Kothari Commission recommendations) had ensued the intensification of the process of privatization in the sphere of education.

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## 15.7 Conclusion

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The call for the development and necessity of an engaged pedagogy by bell hooks (1994) is recognized as seminal in the process of self-actualization of the individual. It is only within the domains of an engaged pedagogy that students develop meaningful knowledge and education becomes liberatory. Pedagogical practices should be such that provide students ways of knowing that in turn enhance their capacity to live fully and deeply. She vocalized her stance against the banking system of education as it blunts the potentials of criticality in the students. Such an approach to education- one that embodies the significance of freedom and self-actualization- is necessary to refresh our understanding of pedagogical practices.

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## 15.8 Summary

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Interrogating education's link with social mobility we conclude that although it is a significant factor that shapes the prospects of mobility, it operates in conjunction with other axes of stratification in a society. Education maybe regarded as a potent channel of mobility as it is correlated with occupational and income opportunities. However, it is not a sufficient guarantee for upward mobility. While according importance to the role of education in determining social mobility we have to be equally sensitive of the other dimensions of the prevalent stratificatory axes. The overwhelming power and significance of certain other dimensions of stratification like caste, class, gender maybe instrumental in diminishing the facilitative nature of education in securing mobility. Through the use of various instances we have secured affirmation of this argument. By the dissemination of classicized values and discourses education is instrumental in circumscribing mobility and in reinforcing ascriptive identities and social positions. Education hence functions as an agent of impeding trends of social mobility.

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## 15.8 Questions

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### 1. Answer briefly :

- a) Delineate the core arguments of the functionalist perspective on education and mobility.

- b) What is meant by “Deschooling”?
- c) How does language play a role in determining mobility through education?
- d) How is the approach to education in India different from that of Britain?
- e) Who pioneered the study of education, cultural capital and mobility?
- f) Name the authors of *Schooling in Capitalist America*.
- g) What is the full-form of RTE?
- h) Which author voiced the need for an ‘engaged pedagogy’?

## 2. Answer in detail :

- a) Analyze the relationship between education and mobility.
- b) Critically examine the conflict perspective on education.
- c) Trace the link between education, caste and social class.
- d) What role does gender play in determining educational attainments and future prospects of mobility?

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**Footnotes**

<sup>1</sup> The study showed that 70% of those secured upward mobility were educated.

<sup>2</sup> The study classified occupations into upper or higher, upper middle, middle, lower middle, poor or low, and very poor or very low.

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## **UNIT 16 □ Migration: Forms and Causes**

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### **Structure**

- 16.1 Learning Objectives**
- 16.2 Introduction**
  - 16.2.1 What is migration?**
  - 16.2.2 Meaning of migration**
- 16.3 Forms of migration**
  - 16.3.1 Concepts relating to migration**
- 16.4 Effects of migration**
- 16.5 Causes of migration**
- 16.6 Factors of migration**
- 16.7 Consequences of migration**
- 16.8 Conclusion**
- 16.9 Summary**
- 16.10 Questions**
- 16.11 References**

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### **16.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- To learn about what is migration.
- To know about the different forms of migration.
- To understand the reasons of migration.
- To understand the causes of migration.

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### **16.2 Introduction**

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India as one of the oldest civilizations and land of opportunities has been remained a magnet for visitors, traders, students and warriors from all over the world since very long. But it had attained a new form and increased enormously in scale during the colonial period. Thereafter, in the light of remarkable changes and developments brought in the social, economic and political set up and advancement

in the technological sector during the last decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the trends of migration from and in India turned to be more dynamic than ever before. The expansion of means of communication and transportation also provided impetus to the movement of people in India not only to the international streams but also within the country. Internal migration in our country was far more contextual in terms of the number of people who moved from one state to other or rural areas to the urban for better future.

Migration and stratification are increasingly intertwined. One day soon it will be impossible to understand one without the other. Both focus on life chances. Stratification is about differential life chances – who get what and why – and migration is about improving life chances – getting more of the good things of life. The process of migration has been one of most dynamic human activities from the beginning of human life. In the earlier days people moved from one forest to another in search of forest products. When most of people discarded forest life and adopted civilized life they developed relationship with domesticated animals and fertile land. As a result, mobility of mankind changed considerably. People continued to move from one region to another in search of fertile land for developing cultivation. Humans moved from early civilized area to other parts of world, partly for agricultural purposes or for trade and partly for investigation. Migration of the people to big cities takes from all the corners of the country with different social and cultural background. When such people meet in cities and stop living together, a new cosmopolitan culture develops. Such cultures are more liberal, impersonal, self-centred and more materialistic.

Human migration is the movement of people from one place to another, sometimes over long distances or in large groups with the intentions of settling to the new location, which can either be permanent or temporary. This type of movement usually covers a long distance, probably from one country to another. Historically this movement was nomadic, often causing significant conflict with the indigenous population and their displacement or cultural assimilation. Only a few nomadic people have retained this form of lifestyle in modern times. Migration has continued under the form of both voluntary migration within one's region, country, or beyond and involuntary migration (which includes the slave trade, trafficking in human beings and ethnic cleansing). People who migrate into a territory are called immigrants (people coming in from elsewhere, while at the departure point they are called emigrants (people leaving their home country).

Migration refers to permanent or semi-permanent change in the place of residence of an individual or a group of individuals from one location to another.

Hence, it is different from the more general term mobility, which refers to all types of movements of people (Rubenstein and Bacon, 1990:75). Thus, the term mobility includes both permanent (and semi-permanent) and temporary movements of people over the earth. When talking about temporary movements, a distinction is generally made between a cyclic and a periodic movement.

A *cyclic* movement includes short duration trips to place of work (i.e., commuting), or frequent business trips of people in business, or movement of nomads, which is comparatively irregular in timings. A *periodic* movement, on the other hand, involves a longer period of residence away from home base than that in the cyclic movement (Blij and Muller, 1986:103). Periodic movement includes the movement of students away to other locations for the purpose of studies, or the movements of military personnel to military base, training schools or combat zones. The movements of migrant labourers and their families are also periodic movements, although they are more cyclic than that of students or military personnel. Still another form of periodic movement is what is commonly known as transhumance – a system of pastoral farming in the mountainous areas wherein people keep changing their abodes along with their livestock between high slopes in the summer and lower valleys in the winter.

### 16.2.1 What is migration?

Migration is not exclusive to humans. Animals migrate too, but in this lesson, we shall look at Migration of people. It is the movement of a person or a group of people, to settle in another place, often across a political or administrative boundary. Migration can be **temporal or permanent**, and it may be **voluntary or forced**. “There are 232million people living outside their country of birth, including myself. All of us are part of a productive global economy that benefits our world as a whole” —Ban Ki-Moon, UN Secretary General. Migration is not a new thing — it is known historically, that people have always had migratory lifestyles. There is enough evidence that people have moved from far away places to inhabit new areas. For example, Migrants from Asia ended up in North and South America over a period of time, via a land bridge over the Bering Strait. There has been several bulk movement of people in the history of humans, all of which were caused by some specific events during those times.

### 16.2.2 Meaning of migration

Migration is the third factor for changes in the population, the other being birth rate and death rate. As compared to birth rate and death rate, migration affects the size of population differently. Migration is not a biological event like birth rate

and death rate, but is influenced by the social, cultural, economic and political factors. Migration is carried by the decision of a person or group of persons. The changes occurring in the birth rate and death rate do not affect the size and structure of the population on a large scale, while migration, at any time, may cause large scale changes in the size and structure of the population. The study of migration is of vital importance because the birth rate, death rate and migration determine the size of population, the population growth rate and thus the structure of population. In addition, migration plays an important role in determining the distribution of population and supply of labour in the country. Thus, the study of migration is also useful for formulating economic and other policies by the government, economists, sociologists, politicians, and planners along with demographers.

Migration shows the trends of social changes. From the historical viewpoint during the process of industrialisation and economic development, people migrate from farms to industries, from villages to cities, from one city to another and from one country to another. In modern times, technological changes are taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America due to which these regions are witnessing large-scale migration from rural to urban areas. Economists are interested in the study of migration because migration affects the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labourers, development of industries and commerce causing changes in the employment structure of the migrated people. Formulation of economic policies has a close relation with the process of migration because migration affects the economic and social development of a country. Out of the many side effects of the population growth in India and other developing countries, an important effect of industrialisation and economic development is the internal migration of the population on a large scale, which has drawn the attention of planners and formulators of economic policies. Thus, migration is a demographic event, whose long term effects fall on the socio-economic and cultural development of any region or country.

Migration is the movement of people between regions or countries. It is the process of changing one's place of residence and permanently living in a region or country. According to the Demographic Dictionary of United Nations, "Migration is such an event in which people move from one geographical area to another geographical area. When people leaving their place of residence go to live permanently in another area then this is called migration." Migration may be permanent or temporary with the intention of returning to the place of origin in future.

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## 16.3 Forms of migration

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The various kinds of migration depend on the flow and number of people often involved, the reasons for their movement, the time they spend in migration, and the nature of that migration. Here are a few forms:

**(i) Immigration and emigration:**

When people from one country move permanently to another country, for example, if people from India move to America then for America, it is termed as Immigration, whereas for India it is termed as Emigration.

**(ii) In-migration and out-migration:**

In-migration means migration occurring within an area only, while out-migration means migration out of the area. Both types of migration are called internal migration occurring within the country. Migration from Bihar to Bengal is in-migration for Bengal, while it is out-migration for Bihar.

**(iii) Gross and net migration:**

During any time period, the total number of persons coming in the country and the total number of people going out of the country for residing is called gross migration. The difference between the total number of persons coming to reside in a country and going out of the country for residing during any time period is termed as net migration.

**(iv) Internal migration and external migration:**

Internal migration means the movement of people in different states and regions within a country from one place to another. On the other hand, external or international migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another for permanent settlement.

**(v) Intercontinental migration:**

It is when the movement is across continents, such as from Korea (Asia) to Brazil (South America). But if the movement is on the same continent, we say *intracontinental migration*. Sometimes, people migrate from one place to the other within the same region, continent or country. This is also known as regional migration or internal migration.

**(vi) Rural-urban migration:**

This involves the movement of people from rural areas or country sides to urban areas of the same country in search of new opportunities and lifestyles.

**(vii) Forced or involuntary migration:**

This is when the government or authorities of a place force people to migrate for a reason.

**(viii) Impelled migration (also called reluctant or imposed migration):**

Here, no one is forced to migrate but due to some push factors such as war, hunger and other difficult conditions, people decide to leave.

**(ix) Seasonal migration:**

Sometimes people move during specific seasons such as crop harvesting and climate to work and then go back when the season is over.

**(x) Return migration:**

This involves the voluntary return of migrants to their original place after they outlive the reasons for which they left. Often times, young people who move into the cities to work return home when they retire to spend the rest of their lives in the quiet of their towns and with old friends and family.

**(xi) Long and short-term migration:**

People may consider migrating for good if the condition in their home is one that is threatening. For example, people move for better health care if they have some disease that requires some level of attention that can only be received in another place. On the other hand, it may be temporal in nature. For example, a person may study in another place, but may decide to stay and work for many years before going back for good.

**(xii) Population transfer:**

It is when a government pushed or forces a large group of people out of a country or region. This is usually based on ethnicity or religion. It is also otherwise known as an **forced migration** or **involuntary migration**.

**(xiii) Impelled migration:**

It is also called an **imposed migration** or **reluctant migration**. A group of people or an individual leaves a country or region because of unfavourable situations due to political, religious, social factors.

**(xiv) Step migration:**

It is a progressive step by step migration from a shorter distance to a rather farther destination in the end. (Example- from city to province to capital to abroad, out of the country.)

**(xv) Chain migration:**

It is a series or connection of migration within a family or a defined group of people like ethnicity. It begins with one individual who brings in other family members after sometime. (Ex. Chinatowns)

**(xvi) Interregional :**

It is the movement of people within countries. It is domestic in nature that is migration from rural to urban and vice versa. This is usually the movement of people from the countryside to cities in search of opportunities. (Ex. Cebu Philippines to Manila Philippines)

**16.3.1 Concepts relating to migration:**

Besides, the following concepts are used in migration:

**(i) Migration stream:**

Migration stream means the total number of people migrating from one region to another or from one country to another for residing during a time period. It is, in fact, related to the movement of people from a common area of origin to a common area of a destination. For example, migration of Indians to America during a time interval.

**(ii) Migration interval:**

Migration may occur continuously over a period of time. But to measure it correctly, the data should be divided into intervals of one to five or more years. The division relating to a particular period is known as migration interval.



**(iii) Place of origin and place of destination:**

The place which people leave is the place of origin and the person is called an out-migrant. On the other hand, the place of destination is the place where the person moves and the person is called an in-migrant.

**(iv) Migrant:**

Migrant is the labour which moves to some region or country for short periods of time, say several months or a few years. It is regarded as a secondary labour force.

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## 16.4 Effects of migration

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Internal migration affects the place where from people migrate and the place to which they migrate. When the migrants move from rural to urban areas, they have both positive and negative effects on the society and economy.

**(i) Effects on rural areas:**

Migration affects rural areas (the place of origin) in the following ways:

**1. Economic effects:**

When population migrates from rural areas, it reduces the pressure of population on land, the per worker output and productivity on land increases and so does per capita income. Thus family income rises which encourages farmers to adopt better means of production thereby increasing farm produce.

Those who migrate to urban areas are mostly in the age group of 18-40 years. They live alone, work and earn and remit their savings to their homes at villages. Such remittances further increase rural incomes which are utilised to make improvements on farms which further raise their incomes. This particularly happens in the case of emigrants to foreign countries who remit large sums at home.

Moreover, when these migrants return to their villages occasionally, they try to raise the consumption and living standards by bringing new ideas and goods to their homes. Modern household gadgets and other products like TV, fridge, motor cycles, etc. have entered in the majority of rural areas of India where larger remittances flow from urban areas.

Further, with the migration of working age persons to urban areas the number of farm workers is reduced. This leads to employment of underemployed family members on the farm such as women, older persons and even juveniles.

Further, out-migration widens inequalities of income and wealth in rural area families which receive large remittances and their incomes rise. They make improvements on their farms which raise productivity and production. These further increase their incomes. Some even buy other farm lands. Thus such families become richer as compared to others, thereby widening inequalities.

## **2. Demographic effects:**

Migration reduces population growth in rural areas. Separation from wives for long periods and the use of contraceptives help control population growth. When very young males migrate to urban areas, they are so influenced by the urban life that they do not like to marry at an early age.

Their aim is to earn more, settle in any vocation or job and then marry. Living in urban areas makes the migrants health conscious. Consequently, they emphasise on the importance of health care, and cleanliness which reduces fertility and mortality rates.

## **3. Social effects:**

Migration also affects the social set-up of rural communities. It weakens the joint family system if the migrants settle permanently in urban areas. With intermingling of the migrants with people of different castes and regions in cities, they bring new values and attitudes which gradually change old values and customs of ruralites. Women play a greater role in the social set-up of the rural life with men having migrated to towns.

### **(ii) Effects on urban areas:**

Migration affects urban areas (or the place of destination) in the following ways:

#### **1. Demographic effects:**

Migration increases the population of the working class in urban areas. But the majority of migrants are young men between the ages of 15 to 24 years who are unmarried. Others above this age group come alone leaving their families at home.

This tendency keeps fertility at a lower level than in rural areas. Even those who settle permanently with their spouses favour small number of children due to high costs of rearing them. The other factor responsible for low fertility rate is the availability of better medical and family planning facilities in urban areas.

## **2. Economic effects:**

The effects of migration on income and employment in urban areas are varied depending upon the type of migrants. Usually the migrants are unskilled and find jobs of street hawkers, shoeshine boys, carpenters, masons, tailors, rickshaw pullers, cooks and other tradesmen, etc.

These are “informal sector” activities which are low paying. But, according to the ILO, the evidence suggests that the bulk of employment in the informal sector is economically efficient and profit-making. Thus such migrants earn enough to spend and remit to their homes.

Other migrants who are educated up to the secondary level find jobs as shophelpers, assistants, taxi drivers, repairing machines and consumer durables, marketing goods and in other informal activities that are small in scale, labour intensive and unregulated. Their earnings are sufficient to bring them in the category of a common urbanite with an income level higher than the unskilled workers.

Another class of migrants that is very small is of those who come for higher education in colleges and institutes to towns. They find good job in the “formal sector”, get good salaries, and follow a good standard of living. These are the persons who remit large sums to their homes and help in modernising the rural scenario.

### **(iii) Adverse effects of rural-urban migration:**

Migration from rural to urban areas has a number of adverse effects. Towns and cities in which the migrants settle, face innumerable problems. There is the prolific growth of huge slums and shantytowns. These settlements and huge neighbourhoods have no access to municipal services such as clean and running water, public services, electricity, and sewage system.

There is acute housing shortage. The city transport system is unable to meet the demand of the growing population. There are air and noise pollutions, and increased crime and congestion. The costs of providing facilities are too high to be met, despite the best intentions of the local bodies.

Besides, there is massive underemployment and unemployment in towns and cities. Men and women are found selling bananas, groundnuts, balloons and other cheap products on pavements and in streets. Many work as shoeshines, parking helpers, porters, etc.

Thus, urban migration increases the growth rate of job seekers relative to its population growth, thereby raising urban supply of labour. On the demand side, there are no enough jobs available for the ruralities in the formal urban sector for the uneducated and unskilled rural migrants.

Consequently, this rapid increase in labour supply and the lack of demand for such labour lead to chronic and increasing urban unemployment and underemployment.

### **Other effects of migration:-**

#### **1. Brain drain:**

Human capital flight is an Economics term equivalent to the Sociology term, brain drain, which refers to the emigration of intelligent, well- educated individuals to somewhere for better pay or conditions, causing the place they came from to lose those skilled people, or “brains”. Brain drain occurs when scientists, engineers, doctors, IT-professionals and other intellectuals migrate to another country for higher studies, to undertake research activities, to get better job and work experiences which they are not getting from their country of origin. India is a very prominent source for supply of professionals. Elites and highly qualified professionals from India are placed all over the World. India is very rich in resources including human resources. India needs to put these resources to optimum utilization to bring amazing results for the country. The intellectuals which India loses every year can help in the effective utilisation of our natural resources. Government needs to take timely and effective efforts to bring these resources back to India.

#### **2. Talent shortage:**

Migration results in to talent shortage in the home country. The educated crowd instead of serving their own country prefers to work for the developed nations for the sake of better pay and standard of living or any other reason. This is evident in India also especially in the field of medical services. Rural areas face acute shortage of medical practitioners. Also, there is huge demand of IT professionals in Telecom software companies which is unfulfilled. Most of the available professionals prefer to go to abroad to meet the requirements of software companies abroad. This results in the crunch for professionals in these sectors.

### **3. Brain gain:**

It can be generally defined as a form of brain drain where human capital moves in reverse from the developed countries to the developing ones. These migrants may accumulate savings; develop skills which could later be utilized in their home. The dot-com bubble, sub-prime crises, 9/11 attack, attack on students in Australia and related issues; in contrast the resilience shown by India made many of these migrants come back home. The expertise of these talented migrants can be used for the establishment and management of enterprises. Brain gain also results in increased capital flows in to the country of origin, which can be used for the better utilization of resources. The returning entrepreneurs can also help India in making a distinguished position in the international markets.

### **4. Cross flow of knowledge and information:**

Thanks to the Indian Diaspora they have become a means for the exchange of thoughts, skills, ideas and practices across the nations. This has helped India becoming an innovative centre especially for IT development. Naturally these resources contributed to the development process in India. In addition to the direct financial advantage Indian Diaspora especially highly qualified ones bring other benefits such as image improvement for the country, knowledge transfers, access to new markets, business networks.

### **5. Financial resources:**

Migration results in remittances. Indians who are earning abroad in foreign currencies send back money home for their families and to fulfil their liabilities. They also travel to and forth and along with them they bring foreign earnings to their country. Estimated at 30 million with a presence in 189 countries, the Indian Diaspora produces an annual economic income of about \$ 400 billion, almost 30 percent of India's GDP. There has been a steady increase in remittances from US\$ 15.8 billion in 2001-02 to US\$ 70 billion in 2011-12. This is highly encouraging and shows the significant aspect of brain gain to our economy. Indian Diaspora has also resulted in increased demand for Indian products in foreign market. This has further helped in the increased consumption of various products of Indian origin which now is equally liked and demanded by Indian and foreign markets. Indians settled abroad are now investing in various businesses in the form of FDI. This has helped in establishing a business network which helps in facilitating capital circulation between India and other countries.

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## 16.5 Causes of migration

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People migrate for a number of reasons. The reasons and causes for migration are:

- Environmental – Better climate, calamities, and natural disasters are examples of environmental causes or reasons.
- Economic – Moving to find work or moving to follow a particular career path is an example of economic cause or reason.
- Cultural – Religious freedom and education is an example of cultural cause or reason.
- Political – Civil war or escaping from political persecution is an example of political cause or reason.
- Social – Moving for a better quality of life or moving closer to a family member or friend is an example of a social cause or reason. These reasons may fall under these four areas: Environmental, Economic, Cultural and Socio-political. Within that, the reasons may also be ‘push’ or ‘pull’ factors.

**Some of the major causes as of migration are highlighted below:**

### **1. Huge population:**

India is known for its huge demographic potential. It has huge population which is educated, English speaking, computer savvy and efficient. This is what is required by developed economies because they lack in terms of working population. Therefore, they attract Indian skilled labours by offering lucrative packages. India on other hand fails to provide good working opportunities to this population. This results in migration of skilled labours.

### **2. Rigid education system:**

One of the important reasons why many students migrate to developed nations is for higher education, because Indian educational system lacks the flexibility which is the need of time. It offers rigid, stereotyped and traditional courses with less or no scope of shifting or changes across the subjects, streams etc. People follow a fixed mindset in opting for subjects, courses and careers. This results in huge demand for some particular type of courses and professions. There is huge commercialization of these courses which results in mushrooming of institutes offering similar kind of courses; this further dilutes the results and quality. The system lacks the format of

standardization. Government needs to take concrete measures to amalgamate Indian education system with global to achieve uniformity and standardization and this is what is required today to meet global manpower demand. There is a need to change the attitude of students, parents also by counselling, suggestions and guidance.

### **3. Educated unemployment:**

As of today status of higher education in India in the year 2010-11 is: 523 universities, 33023 colleges, 11809 AICTE technical institution, 200 distance teaching universities/institutions, 169.75 (in lakhs) enrolment in universities and colleges, 37.45 (in lakhs) enrolment in open distance learning, 18.56 (lakhs) enrolment in post-graduation diplomas, 10364 AICTE approved technical programmes and 26.15 lakhs intake in AICTE approved technical programmes are there. This shows the level of educated youth is high in India. By 2020, India will become the world's largest pool of young people estimated at 820 million as compared to the present number of 400 million. In contrast there is lack of opportunities for job. The Indian employment system is affected by the bureaucratic policies and framework especially at the government or public sector openings. This also leads to migration of qualified people.

### **4. Globalisation:**

In today's globalised and liberalized era there is no restriction on the movement of capital, goods, technology and information. In this context every country is trying to make a distinguished position in the World market. To achieve this well trained man power is a must. In the fight for market shares and under the pressure of growing global competitiveness, the developed countries look for the best and brightest minds to win this battle. With a well-educated and large workforce India is an important provider of highly-skilled specialists for many developed economies including EU countries, which have become increasingly popular destinations.

### **5. Increasing consumerism:**

Consumerism means the growing wants and needs of an individual for goods and services. India is one of the largest and fastest growing economies in the world. The consumer's standard of living is improving and hence his needs are also increasing. Consumerism is justified in today's age of globalization. To fulfill this ever increasing and ever changing needs and wants people look for better paid jobs which will provide better standard of living. Earning in foreign currencies makes it possible.

## 6. Other factors:

Many of the social, economic and political factors also lead to migration. Political instability, red-tapeism, poverty, economic depression, political chaos, rising crime, crises and conflicts, corruption, family reasons, economic depression, low educational standards and inadequate infrastructure are some of the factors which create insecurity amongst the population that makes them leave their place of origin and migrate to better place. The host country, on the other hand, offers rich opportunities, political stability and freedom, a developed economy and better living conditions that attract talent. At the individual level, family influences, personal preferences, career ambitions and other motivating factors can be considered.

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## 16.6 Factors of migration

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### Push factors

Push factors are those that force the individual to move voluntarily, and in many cases, they are forced because the individual risk something if they stay. Push factors may include conflict, drought, famine, or extreme religious activity. Poor economic activity and lack of job opportunities are also strong push factors for migration. Other strong push factors include race and discriminating cultures, political intolerance and persecution of people who question the status quo.

### Examples of push factors:-

Push factors are the reasons why people leave an area. They are usually involuntary or forced migrations:

- crop failure
- drought
- flooding
- high crime
- lack of services
- lack of safety
- poverty
- war



### **Pull factors**

Pull factors are those factors in the destination country that attract the individual or group to leave their home. Those factors are known as *place utility*, which is the desirability of a place that attracts people. Better economic opportunities, more jobs, and the promise of a better life often pull people into new locations. Sometimes individuals have ideas and perceptions about places that are not necessarily correct, but are strong pull factors for that individual. As people grow older and retire, many look for places with warm weather, peaceful and comfortable locations to spend their retirement after a lifetime of hard work and savings. Such ideal places are pull factors too. Very often, people consider and prefer opportunities closer to their location than similar opportunities farther away. In the same vein, people often like to move to places with better cultural, political, climatic and general terrain in closer locations than locations farther away. It is rare to find people move over very long distances to settle in places that they have little knowledge of.

### **Examples of pull factors:-**

Pull factors are the reasons why people are attracted or pulled to a particular area. They are usually voluntary migrations:

- better services
- good climate
- higher employment
- lower risk from natural hazards
- more fertile land
- more wealth
- political stability
- safer, less crime

### **Things to do**

Now that you know the reasons or the causes of migration, where do you think you belong? Is it pulled or pushed?

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## **16.7 Consequences of migration**

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Migration affects both the area of origin of migration and the areas of destination of the migrant population. The consequences of migration can be defined as.

### **1. Demographic consequences:**

Migration changes the characteristics of the population in regions of out migration and regions of in- migration. It changes age and sex composition of population with rate of growth of population. The proportion of old, children and females increases due to out- migration in source region. The high sex ratio is found in the source areas because mostly the youthful male population is involved in migration. Consequently, these areas are depleted of the youth population and results in lowered rates of births and lower population growth rates.

### **2. Social consequences:**

Migration results in intermixing of diverse cultures and leads to the evolution of composite culture. It breaks the narrow thoughts and widens the mental horizon of the people. In history, India received migrants from different cultural groups causing different cultures but sometimes migration creates social vacuum and sense of dejection among individuals and people fall in crimes and drug abuse.

### **3. Economic consequences:**

Migration changes the resource- population ratio. If the people are moving from an over populated area to an area of under population the result is in the balancing of the resource- population ratio. If the migration is from an area of under population to over population or optimal populated, the results are harmful to both the areas. Migration affects the occupational structure of population. The population of receiving areas becomes more productive causing dependency ratio in the source areas. Brain drain is another consequence of migration. Skilled people migrate from poorer countries to developed countries in search of better economic opportunities. People migrating out send remittance to their families at home and add to economic prosperity.

### **4. Environmental consequences:**

Large scale movement of people from rural to urban areas causes overcrowding in cities and puts heavy pressure on resources. It causes haphazard growth of cities and causes slums lacking basic infrastructural facilities such as safe drinking water, electricity, sewage etc. Overcrowding is also responsible for any environmental problems of air, water, land and noise pollution, disposable and management of solid wastes.

### **5. Other consequences:**

Migration enhances remittances to the source region but causes heavy loss to human resource, in terms of skilled labour. Leg- behind women enjoy empowerment effects with increased interaction in society including their partnership as workers and decision making of households.

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## **16.8 Conclusion**

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In the present global age migrations is ever on the increase, transnational migration as seems to have increased and have attend the many nature of societies both in countries of origin and countries where people migrate to Migration changes the structure of society, aswell as changes in various social institutions like family, economy, the Political set-up of a country and many others.

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## **16.9 Summary**

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Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. People move in search of employment, better educational and health facilities etc. The male migration constitutes the highest level of migration in India due to employment purpose. The female usually migrates as accompanists of males through several other factors like after marriage or family transfer. More people migrate to urban areas because small land holding, low income, low living standard, less agricultural productivity compels them to migrate in urban areas where diversification of economy and urbanization provides a lot of job opportunities. But overcrowding in cities causes many environmental problems such as land, water, and air pollution, over utilization of resources. So, there is a need to provide employment facilities in rural areas to minimize the rural to urban migration and to prevent to move to cities. A large percentage of the rural population should be able to make decent living through non-agricultural occupations. All basic amenities like roads, electricity, safe drinking water, health facilities (health centres), job opportunities in business and service sectors should be develop by the government in rural areas.

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## **16.10 Questions**

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### **Model Questions:**

#### **1. Answer briefly : (6 marks, total 6-8 questions)**

- a) What is migration?

- b) What is circular migration? Explain with examples.
- c) Differentiate between immigration and emigration, with examples.
- d) What is gross and net migration?
- e) What are the various reasons for which humans migrate?
- f) Apart from employment, what are the other reasons for which people migrate?

**2. Answer in detail : (12 marks, total 5-6 questions)**

- a) What are the various types of migration?
- b) What are the factors responsible for migration?
- c) What are the causes of migration?
- d) What are the effects migration in rural areas?
- e) What are the effects of migration in urban areas?

**3. Essay Type Question : (20 marks, total 3-4 questions)**

- a) Explain in detail the various reasons for which humans migrate.
- b) What according to you can be the consequences of human migration?

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## **UNIT 17 □ Refugees and Immigrants**

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### **Structure**

- 17.1 Learning Objectives**
- 17.2 Introduction**
  - 17.2.1 Where does India stand on refugees?**
- 17.3 Meaning of refugee**
  - 17.3.1 Who is an internally displaced person?**
  - 17.3.2 Who is a stateless person?**
  - 17.3.3 Who is an asylum seeker?**
  - 17.3.4 What is the 1951 refugee convention?**
  - 17.3.5 What is a refugee camp?**
  - 17.3.6 Shelter is vital in emergencies**
  - 17.3.7 The evolution of the refugee camp**
- 17.4 Relevant laws**
- 17.5 History of refugees in India**
  - 17.5.1 The refugee of partition in India**
- 17.6 The problems being faced by India in today's refugee world.**
- 17.7 Immigrant**
- 17.8 Comparison between refugee and immigrant**
- 17.9 The refugee crisis**
- 17.10 Conclusion**
- 17.11 Summary**
- 17.12 Questions**
- 17.13 References**

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### **17.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn the difference between refugees and immigrants.
- ⊙ To understand the life of a refugee.

- ⊙ To understand the Indian condition on refugees.
- ⊙ To understand the problems faced by refugees in different places.
- ⊙ To learn about different refugee laws.

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## 17.2 Introduction

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Over the last few decades, since India became an independent country, it has seen and largely welcomed huge waves of migrants fleeing conflict in neighbouring nations. India has been receiving large numbers of immigrants, mostly from the neighbouring countries of South Asia, and some from other parts of the world, and hence she needs to be seen as a major immigration country. Whenever we hear the word ‘refugee’, there are many terms and phrases that spring in our mind—‘human rights’, ‘mass exodus’, ‘violence’, ‘national security’, etc.

A refugee is defined as “a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”. This definition is given by the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, a crucial treaty in international refugee law. The treaty entered into force approximately half a century ago on 4 October 1967 and 146 countries are parties to the protocol. India as an independent nation-state has seen its fair share of refugee problems. And of course, it started with Partition itself.

### 17.2.1 Where does India stand on refugees?

India is not a signatory to the UN Refugee Convention of 1951 or the 1967 Protocol, which protects refugee rights. “India does not have a national refugee protection framework. However, it continues to grant asylum to a large number of refugees from neighbouring states and respects UNHCR’s mandate for other nationals, mainly from Afghanistan and Myanmar,” says the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

There are some laws that govern refugees, including the Registration of Foreigners Act (1939); Foreigners Act (1946), and the Passport Act (1967).

The Centre is trying to amend the Citizenship Act (1955), to provide citizenship to illegal migrants from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan, who are religious

minorities in those countries — Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, Jains and Parsis. The proposed law does not recognise persecuted sects within Islam as religious minorities.

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## 17.3 Meaning of refugee

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A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries. Two-thirds of all refugees worldwide come from just five countries: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia.

“India does not have any law on refugees but has been hosting refugees fleeing persecution in their homelands in search of safety and sanctuary since antiquity and hosts refugees as per its historical traditions of hospitality. India deals with different groups of refugees differently that deprives them equality before the law and equal protection of the law. India has been receiving refugees from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Congo, Eritrea, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tibet, etc. Therefore, India is home to diverse groups of refugees from all continents and regions of the world,” says Dr Nafees Ahmad who holds a doctorate (PhD) in International Refugee Law and Human Rights and is an assistant professor at the Faculty of Legal Studies – South Asian University, New Delhi.

### 17.3.1 Who is an internally displaced person?

An internally displaced person, or IDP, is someone who has been forced to flee their home but never cross an international border. These individuals seek safety anywhere they can find it—in nearby towns, schools, settlements, internal camps, even forests and fields. IDPs, which include people displaced by internal strife and natural disasters, are the largest group that UNHCR assists. Unlike refugees, IDPs are not protected by international law or eligible to receive many types of aid because they are legally under the protection of their own government. Countries with some the largest internally displaced populations are Colombia, Syria, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia.

### **17.3.2 Who is a stateless person?**

A stateless person is someone who is not a citizen of any country. Citizenship is the legal bond between a government and an individual, and allows for certain political, economic, social and other rights of the individual, as well as the responsibilities of both government and citizen. A person can become stateless due to a variety of reasons, including sovereign, legal, technical or administrative decisions or oversights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights underlines that “Everyone has the right to a nationality.”

### **17.3.3 Who is an asylum seeker?**

When people flee their own country and seek sanctuary in another country, they apply for asylum – the right to be recognized as a refugee and receive legal protection and material assistance. An asylum seeker must demonstrate that his or her fear of persecution in his or her home country is well-founded.

### **17.3.4 What is the 1951 refugee convention?**

The 1951 Geneva Convention is the main international instrument of refugee law. The Convention clearly spells out who a refugee is and the kind of legal protection, other assistance and social rights he or she should receive from the countries who have signed the document. The Convention also defines a refugee’s obligations to host governments and certain categories or people, such as war criminals, who do not qualify for refugee status. The Convention was limited to protecting mainly European refugees in the aftermath of World War II, but another document, the 1967 Protocol, expanded the scope of the Convention as the problem of displacement spread around the world.

### **17.3.5 What is a refugee camp?**

Once a person becomes a refugee, they are likely to remain a refugee for many years. Many will be displaced for nearly two decades. It is a life in limbo.

### **17.3.6 Shelter is vital in emergencies**

A refugee camp is intended as a temporary accommodation for people who have been forced to flee their home because of violence and persecution. They are constructed while crises unfold for people fleeing for their lives.

These hastily built shelters provide immediate protection and safety for the world’s most vulnerable people. Camps allow UNHCR to deliver lifesaving aid like food, water and medical attention during an emergency.



### 17.3.7 The evolution of the refugee camp

Refugee camps are practical during emergencies for delivering lifesaving aid, but many refugees displaced are often living through protracted situations. The UN Refugee Agency initially delivers lifesaving emergency aid, but also transitions into long term care for refugees. This brings about a new set of challenges.

New challenges include: delivering electricity to camps in the desert, ensuring that children have access to education and helping prepare refugees for life after the camp with job and skills training.

Responding to these challenges and the needs of refugees redefines what a refugee camp is and how best to respond to refugee crises. Camps are no longer simply rows of tents, they are communities filled with people preparing for brighter futures.

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## 17.4 Relevant laws

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The Government of India (GoI) presented the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016 in Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) on July 19, 2016. The Bill seeks to amend the Citizenship Act, 1955 where the acquisition and determination of Indian citizenship procedures have been enacted. The Bill aims to extend citizenship to an individual who belongs to minorities such as Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jains, Parsis and Sikhs hailing from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan who enter India without a valid visa or travel documents. The entry of such persons in India shall not be treated as illegal. The refugees fleeing religious persecution from these countries see India as their natural home. Thus, the proposed amendment makes them eligible to apply for Indian citizenship by the process of naturalisation. The present citizenship law of 1955 treats such arrivals as illegal migrants. The Bill proposes to reduce the cumulative period of residential qualification from 11 years to six years for getting the Indian citizenship by naturalisation.

#### **Did you know?**

India hosts around 9,200 refugees from Afghanistan, out of which 8,500 are Hindus. There are also more than 400 Pakistani Hindu refugee settlements in Indian cities, mainly in the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Other refugee tribes like Buddhist Chakmas and Hindu Hajongs from Bangladesh have received refugee status in India. According to the 2011 census, 47,471 Chakmas live in the north-eastern state of Arunachal Pradesh alone.....

The most controversial refugee campaign happened in 2017 when 40,000 Rohingya Muslims escaped Myanmar to take shelter in India. India has categorised the Rohingya as illegal immigrants and a security threat, siding with the Myanmar government. The Indian government has stated that the principle of non-refoulement, or of not forcing refugees to return to their country of origin, does not apply to India principally as it is not a signatory to the 1951 refugee convention. The office of the UNHCR has issued identity cards to about 16,500 Rohingyas in India, which it says, helps “prevent harassment, arbitrary arrests, detention and deportation” of refugees. The UN described the Rohingya refugees as “the most persecuted refugee community” in the world that does not have the support of the global fraternity of nation-states.

The proposed bill does not apply to other refugees or migrants belonging to Muslim communities in India. “India’s stance on refugees is a cocktail of HARP (Hate Associated Religious Politics) that is being played to its crescendo. The GoI determines the status of refugees by ad hoc administrative decisions with a political tinge in the absence of any law.

India copes with refugees and asylum seekers with the threefold strategy.

- a. GoI grants full protection and assistance to refugees from Sri Lanka and Tibet.
- b. Refugees who get the asylum at the UNHCR level, and the “principle of non-refoulement” are applied for their protection, for example, Afghans, Burmese and Somalis, etc.
- c. Refugees who are neither recognised by the GoI nor the UNHCR, but have arrived in India and got assimilated with the local populace, for example, Chinese refugees from Myanmar living in the state of Mizoram and West Bengal. Thus, the GoI deals with these refugees differentially as domestic political power permutations are central to their treatment.

Mainly, Sri Lankan and Tibetan refugees got refugee identity documents, and they are provided a range of legal benefits. Tibetan refugees live in settlements and enjoy unbridled freedom whereas the Sri Lankan refugees are kept in camps under surveillance with restricted mobility. On the other hand, refugees from Myanmar, Palestine, and Somalia do not get any aid and assistance from the GoI, and they are discriminated and deprived of access to essential resources for human survival,” said Dr Ahmad.

But even though India doesn't have strong laws to protect the refugees in the country it is doing far better than other developed countries.

The developed countries follow a policy of 'Restrictionism', particularly in the United States of America (US) under the Trump Administration that has undercut the US Refugee Resettlement Program, and many countries of Europe are tightening their immigration laws to deprive and deny entry to refugees and asylum seekers.

"India has always hosted refugees without any discrimination based on religion, race or region. The Supreme Court (SC) of India has done an exceptionally excellent service to the cause of refugee rights. In the absence of refugee law in India, SC has interpreted the word "person" in the Article 21 of the Constitution in an unprecedented judicial tradition. According to the judicial interpretation of the SC, the term "person" also includes non-citizens. Therefore, SC has addressed and appreciated the plight of refugees in many cases. Mainly, the cases of Khudiram Chakma v. State of Arunachal Pradesh, (1994 SC 615), and National Human Rights Commission v. State of Arunachal Pradesh, (AIR 1996 SC 1234) whereby the SC held that "all the refugees living in India have the right to life and the personal liberty" as enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution of India. The 'state is obligated to protect the life and freedom of each, be a citizen or otherwise, and it cannot permit individual or group of individuals to threaten the refugees, to leave'," adds Dr Ahmad.

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## 17.5 History of refugees in India

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Starting from the partition to the Rohingya crisis, the country has witnessed major refugee inflows.

**1947:** Massive population exchanges occurred between the two newly formed nations – India and Pakistan. Based on 1951 Census of displaced persons, 7.226 million Muslims went to Pakistan from India while 7.249 million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were forced to move to India from Pakistan, immediately after partition.

**1959:** The next major movement of refugees towards India happened when Dalai Lama, along with more than 100,000 followers, fled Tibet and came to India seeking political asylum.

**1971:** During the Bangladesh Liberation war, nearly 10 million refugees migrated from the country to India.

**1983:** During the Sri Lankan Civil war, more than 100,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees entered India and the number increased to 700,000 in the next 20 years.

**1979-89:** More than 60,000 Afghan refugees came to India in the years following the 1979 to 1989 Soviet Afghan War.

**2012:** After the communal violence in the state of Rakhine in Myanmar in 2012, nearly 40,000 Rohingyas have their home in India now.

### 17.5.1 The refugee of partition in India

Though people who crossed over the newly formed boundaries between India and Pakistan—by choice or forcibly—didn't lose their nationalities, they were still forced to live the lives of a refugee. Refugee camps across north India served as homes for those who had borne the brunt of Partition.

Since these refugees were automatically the citizens of newly independent India, the question of a threat to national security due to their presence was out of the question. But at this juncture, when the fledgling state was just trying to stand on its feet and struggling to provide these refugees with basic amenities like food, clothing and shelter, the 1948 war with Pakistan broke out.

The national capital of Delhi in particular saw a huge influx of refugees. The numbers were such that an entire city—Faridabad—had to be built to rehabilitate refugees who were living in appalling conditions in various camps. The scale of the problem was an unprecedented challenge for the young government, and it was only through the efforts of many—including, notably, the social reformer and freedom fighter Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay—that the rehabilitation of the Partition refugees could be carried out.

The next major movement of refugees towards India happened almost a decade after Partition, in 1959, when the Dalai Lama, along with more than 100,000 followers, fled Tibet and came to India seeking political asylum. Granting asylum to them on humanitarian grounds proved costly to India, earning the ire of the Chinese government.

As a result, Sino-Indian relations took a major hit. Border issues between the two countries, and Chinese encroachment on Indian territory, began to crop up with greater frequency in the wake of New Delhi's decision to provide a haven to these fleeing Tibetans.

The 1962 war with China, in particular, proved very costly to India. There were many reasons that led to the war, but the granting of political asylum to Tibetans was certainly one of the triggers.

The Tibetan refugees settled across northern and north-eastern Indian states, and the seat of the Dalai Lama, the spiritual as well as the political leader of the Tibetan community, was established in Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh. The Tibetan government in exile operates from there to this day.

It is intriguing that even though India is neither a signatory to the 1951 Refugees' Convention nor the 1967 protocol, which has 140 signatories; the country has still served as a home to the largest refugee population in South Asia. The Tibetan refugees continue to live harmoniously, largely, with other local Indian groups and as a community they are perceived as 'peaceful'.

#### **a) The Bangladeshi refugee**

The next major refugee crisis happened during Bangladesh's war of independence in 1971, when millions of refugees migrated from the country to India, fleeing the conflict between the Pakistani army and Bangladeshi forces. This led to a sudden spike in population in states bordering Bangladesh, and it became increasingly difficult for the government of India to ensure food security. According to some estimates, more than 10 million Bangladeshi refugees escaped in 1971 and took shelter in India.

Even today, the issue of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants is used by political parties to garner votes in every election cycle. Unlike the Tibetan refugees, they are seen as a security threat.

Furthermore, the constant tussle between the local communities and Bangladeshi refugees today often sparks violence, resulting all too often in deaths. The conflict is fiercest in a number of north-eastern states, such as Assam, Tripura and Manipur. The local communities and tribal groups have alleged that refugees from Bangladesh and the continuous flow of illegal immigrants have led to a change in the social demography of that area, thereby making the locals a minority in their own homeland. This was one of the primary reasons behind the Kokrajhar riots in Assam in 2012, which saw the deaths of more than 80 people.

#### **b) The Sri Lankan Tamil refugees**

Another sizeable group of refugees in India comprises Sri Lankan Tamils who abandoned the island nation in the wake of active discriminatory policies by successive Sri Lankan governments, events like the Black July Riots of 1983, and the bloody Sri Lankan civil war. Mostly these refugees, who number over a million, settled in the state of Tamil Nadu as it is nearest to Sri Lanka and since it was

easier for them, as Tamils, to adjust to life there. “More than 1.34 lakh Sri Lankan Tamils crossed the Palk Strait to India between 1983 and 1987 during the first in flow. In three more phases, many more refugees entered India. The war-torn Sri Lankans sought refuge in southern India with more than 60,000 refugees currently staying in 109 camps in Tamil Nadu alone,” according to a report in India Today.

A large number of Sri Lankan Tamils still live in what began as makeshift refugee camps decades earlier, despite the end of the civil war nearly nine years ago. India’s involvement in the Sri Lankan conflict most famously resulted in the assassination of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, and the refugees remain a sensitive issue, which has time and again strained India’s—and Tamil Nadu’s—relations with Sri Lanka.

### **c) The Afghan refugees**

While not one of the larger refugee groups in the country, a number of Afghans also took shelter in India after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Small groups of Afghan refugees kept coming to India in subsequent years. These refugees are mostly concentrated in and around Delhi, and have largely established spaces for themselves.

Also, according to the website of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), many of the Hindu and Sikh Afghans who came to India after fleeing fighting in their home country in the early 1990s have been granted citizenship over the past decade. Both the World Bank and UNHCR reports suggest that currently India has more than 200,000 Afghan refugees living in its territory.

### **d) The Rohingya refugees**

The debate over refugees gained national prominence yet again last year after 40,000 Rohingya Muslims escaped Myanmar to take shelter in India. The office of the UNHCR has issued identity cards to about 16,500 Rohingya in India, which it says helps “prevent harassment, arbitrary arrests, detention and deportation” of refugees.

However, India has categorized the Rohingya as illegal immigrants and a security threat, siding with the Burmese government. The Indian government has stated that the principle of non-refoulement, or of not forcing refugees to return to their country of origin, does not apply to India principally as it is not a signatory to the 1951 refugees convention.

The Indian government has, in fact, appealed to Myanmar to take back the Rohingya refugees. However, a report in *The Indian Express* notes, “India’s claim to send the Rohingyas back to Myanmar rests on the notion that the refugees are of Burmese stock. However, the issue at hand is that the Burmese do not consider the Rohingyas as their citizens and consider them to be immigrants who were brought in from Bangladesh during the British colonial rule. Further, Bangladesh, which remains the favourite destination for the Rohingyas facing atrocities in Myanmar, is of the opinion that they are natives of the Burmese state and should be protected there.”

#### e) The Chakma and Hejong refugees

Many from the Chakma and Hajong communities—who once lived in the Chittagong hill tracts, most of which are located in Bangladesh—have been living as refugees in India for more than five decades, mostly in the North-East and West Bengal. According to the 2011 census, 47,471 Chakmas live in Arunachal Pradesh alone.

In 2015, the Supreme Court of India had directed the central government to give citizenship to both Chakma and Hajong refugees. In September last year, the government of India decided to provide citizenship to these groups, despite opposition from many groups in Arunachal Pradesh, where these refugees are concentrated.

To conclude, over the years India has received wave after wave refugees from many of its neighbours. And the government’s statements during the Rohingya crisis notwithstanding, India has generally followed the principle of non-refoulement, refusing to send refugees back to a place where they face a threat to their life. For a country of India’s resources, this is an achievement of no small magnitude.

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## 17.6 The problems being faced by India in today’s refugee world.

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- Despite being the one of fore front runner in terms of refugee population (ie a host country) , India does not seem to have a single set of Asylum laws : Although there was effort in 2015 when Mr Sashi Tharoor tried to move private member bill on Asylum laws in our country but that too all gone in vain .
- **Resources problem** : As the refugee are continuously unclear about the legal status , they are not able to avail the services allotted to them being the ration cards services or other services .

- The Government approach towards the refugee has always been an ad hoc , there is no such refugee law.

#### Way ahead

- Despite being a non- member signatory to the United Nation Refugee Convention , India has always shown its commitment towards the refugee protection and stabilization like in the UN general Assembly.
- One of the most significant work done by India is signing the New York Declaration on Refugee i.e. Global Compact Refugee convention. Global Compact on Refugee has two major objectives : first one is make sure the refugee are given adequate protection and safeguards and second one is to ease the pressure on the developing countries like India which is the host to 80% population of refugee.
- GCR not only create economic opportunities for the refugee but also for the developing countries as well.
- GCR also specify the need to include the host community in mapping skills, vocational skills, capacity building among refugee population .
- GCR is a wakeup call which seeks for State role in recognizing identity gaps and income generation for refugees in a bid to enhance their self-reliance. India's commitment to refugee protection under the GCR is evident from its active participation in GCR consultations.

#### Problems faced by refugees

However, immigrants often meet challenges upon their arrival that they never anticipated. These difficulties range from navigating legal complications to understanding complex transportation systems, securing living arrangements and employment, and battling culture shock, psychological distress, depression and despair.

Though various agencies have been instituted to assist immigrants and refugees, the immigrant and refugee population still experiences a wide range of emotional, psychological and physical stress. Many have never experienced anything like the lifestyle that we take for granted and must transition unaided to the modern conveniences.

1. Language barrier- A formidable difficulty that immigrants and refugees face upon arriving in the host country is the language barrier. Language barriers cause huge difficulties and make simple interactions seem like daunting



feats. Employment, transportation, legal responsibilities and receiving assistance in each of these areas are more difficult without a firm grasp of the local language.

2. Life-style changes- There is a drastic lifestyle change that most immigrants and refugees face upon arrival in the host country- the standard of living, the way of life, their cultures and values are different from theirs. Hence, the refugees take a lot of time to adjust to a new environment.
3. Cultural changes- Differences between the host country culture and cultures left behind can cause difficulties. For instance, refugees and immigrants may not take necessary safety precautions because they didn't experience the same types of crime and robbery in their homelands, and thus may be targeted by criminals when they settle in urban settings. Though surface-level culture differences cause some difficulty, experiencing fundamental differences between cultural norms and values can cause deeper problems.
4. Changes in the economic structure- The economic system in every country is not exactly similar, some are much more complex and some are simple; survival in the new environment for the refugees can become an insurmountable challenge. According to a 2010 congressional report on the state of the U.S. refugee resettlement program, "many refugees lack a legitimate shot at becoming employed, conversant, and self-sufficient under the current system" and are, therefore, much more susceptible to inescapable poverty.
5. Resettlement-Resettlement for immigrants and especially refugees can cause significant mental and physical ailments that can become permanent if they don't receive assistance in the acclimation process. Coupled with the challenge of meeting basic physical needs, refugees and immigrants are uniquely susceptible to the stress of culture shock and other psychological burdens.
6. Difficulty in employment- Getting employed in the host country is also very difficult for the refugees as they do not have an identity in the new country, most refugees turn into begging, rag picking and prostitution.
7. Legal issues- The refugees do not possess any personal identity card or citizenship card soon after they migrate, hence their identity is threatened.

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## 17.7 Immigrant

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**Immigration** is the international movement of people into a destination country

of which they are not natives or where they do not possess citizenship in order to settle or reside there, especially as permanent residents or naturalized citizens, or to take up employment as a migrant worker or temporarily as a foreign worker.

As for economic effects, research suggests that migration is beneficial both to the receiving and sending countries. Research, with few exceptions, finds that immigration on average has positive economic effects on the native population, but is mixed as to whether low-skilled immigration adversely affects low-skilled natives. Studies show that the elimination of barriers to migration would have profound effects on world GDP, with estimates of gains ranging between 67 and 147 percent. Development economists argue that reducing barriers to labour mobility between developing countries and developed countries would be one of the most efficient tools of poverty reduction.

The academic literature provides mixed findings for the relationship between immigration and crime worldwide, but finds for the United States that immigration either has no impact on the crime rate or that it reduces the crime rate. Research shows that country of origin matters for speed and depth of immigrant assimilation, but that there is considerable assimilation overall for both first- and second-generation immigrants.

Research has found extensive evidence of discrimination against foreign born and minority populations in criminal justice, business, the economy, housing, health care, media, and politics in the United States and Europe.

An **Immigrant** is an individual who leaves one's country to settle in another, whereas **refugees** are defined as persons, who move out of one's country due to restriction or danger to their lives. Immigration is considered a natural phenomenon in population ecology, whereas the refugee movement occurs only under some kind of coercion or pressure.

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## 17.8 Comparison between refugee and immigrant

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Immigrant versus Refugee comparison chart

	<b>Immigrant</b>	<b>Refugee</b>
<b>Definition</b>	An immigrant is someone from a foreign country who relocates to live in another country. They may or may not be citizens.	Refugees move out of fear or necessity. e.g. to flee persecution; or because their homes were destroyed in a natural disaster; or due to war, violence, political opinion, human rights violations; or due to their religion, beliefs or political opinion
<b>Legal Status</b>	Immigrants are subject to the laws of their adopted country. They may only come if they have work or a place to live.	Defined by United Nations
<b>Reason of relocation</b>	Immigrants are usually driven by economic factors, or they want to be close to family.	Refugees are forced to relocate for reasons such as natural disasters, fear of persecution or suffered persecution due to at least one of the following: race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.
<b>Resettlement</b>	Immigrants can usually find a home in their new country.	From refugee camp to a third country. Usually cannot return to ones own country.

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## 17.9 The refugee crisis

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Refugee crises have increasingly become a problem in today's modern day society. There are several reasons that have contributed to this situation, namely

global inequalities, people fleeing persecution and regimes, people fleeing from violence and outbreak of wars. Recent examples include the Kosovan refugees who were forced from their homes by the conflict with the Balkans; Columbian refugees on exile due to drug syndicates; genocide in Rwanda; Afghan, Iraq and Iran refugees fleeing regimes etcetera. The results of these are that many and thousands of refugees will seek protection from the Western society and their neighbouring countries. International aid efforts by individual countries and International voluntary organizations have been at the forefront in attempting to provide assistance. These efforts have sometimes been compromised and conditions for refugees have been seen to deteriorate as resources available sometimes exceed demand. The aim of most international Communities has been to ensure that they deliver effective protection and relief to all refugees. The role of the Red Cross as a voluntary relief organisation is to offer shelter and food to people who would otherwise be homeless.

According to Mr Guy Goodwin-Gill, “refugees have come to be seen as objects or problems rather than individuals with rights”. The result of the refugee crises is that many countries particularly wealthy western societies seek to deter asylum seekers and migrants. Detention camps are becoming increasingly adopted. Similarly, Rachael Reilly conceded that “European Countries, as well as North America and Australia have systematically diluted their responsibilities towards refugees over the past ten to fifteen years”. Many also argue that the rights of refugees are being compromised and encroached upon due to factors, some of which include “offshore-processing” of refugees- a process in which foreign governments geographically closer to States with refugee crises take in those fleeing to Great Britain in exchange for financial compensation; imposition of visa requirements; refusal of entry of asylum seekers in cases of generalizes civil conflict such as Columbia; the transfer of the responsibility for protection of refugees onto poorer States in Europe where less protection can be afforded.

In June 2000, the UK proposed a major overhaul of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Measures and actions such as these lead to nationals of European Countries becoming increasingly xenophobic and hostile. Governments have also shown that they are more concerned with protecting their territories from the influx of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees rather than human rights of those people.

Some have argued that global economic systems and international debt creates a world where many are poor; conflict arises and human rights abuse is predominant. Globalisation increases the gap between the rich and the poor. Others argue that the problems are due in large part to the actions of developed states such as unethical foreign policy and arms trade.

An innovative move by the United Nations is on the agenda for implementation. It will seek to respond to criticism on the slow reaction to refugee crises. The United Nations plan rapid reaction aid which will involve aid workers who will be deployed to attend refugee emergencies. The purpose of this is to provide some initial protection for civilians fleeing internal conflicts who are susceptible to violent attacks and killings. This move is being supported by the United Kingdom, United States of America and some Scandinavian countries. These countries are prepared to finance the project and get it up and running. The idea behind the project is to deter violence from the perpetrators who will know that their actions are being watched through the mere presence of the deployed workers. It is anticipated that a list of workers will be made available in ninety-six hours in these times of emergencies.

The 1951 United Nation Convention on refugees is the key legal document in defining who is a refugee, explaining their rights and defining the legal obligation of states. The United Nations High Commissioner for refugees mandate is to provide international protection to refugees and facilitate solutions to the problems of refugees. This encompasses supervision and the application of the above-mentioned 1951 Convention.

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## 17.10 Conclusion

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Migration is a phenomena that occurs due to various factors related to inequality, economic prosperity, demography, social structure of population and so on. Majority of the world's refugees including India have settled in the first world countries or the developed countries. India's ambivalent stand on migration and refugees is a response to the contradicting position of the International Refugee Convention on non-refoulement and burden sharing.

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## 17.11 Summary

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In conclusion, the trend for refugees seeking protection away from their homes is seen as a dilemma in many countries. There is a conscious effort to protect rights of these individuals but the difficulty arises where this has to be balanced with the right to protect its territory. Measures have been introduced which arguably encourage xenophobia and hostility to these refugees. Poorer neighbouring states, which were initially quite welcoming of refugees, are now being squeezed beyond capacity and their citizens are becoming increasingly xenophobic. National states and governments including international communities that aim to address the current trend of refugee crises are drawing up measures that are innovative. It has now been recognised that root causes

such as poverty and global inequalities should be identified and corrected where possible prior to escalation to emergency situations leading to people fleeing their countries. Richer Countries in the West are seeking to address poverty in third world countries and summits on the topic are being held in order to come up with a long standing solution that will fundamentally serve to potentially benefit all nations as a whole.

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## 17.12 Questions

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### 1. Answer briefly : (6 marks, total 6-8 questions)

- a) What do you understand by the term refugee and immigrant?
- b) Who is an internally displaced person?
- c) Who is a stateless person?
- d) Who is an asylum seeker?
- e) What is 1951 Refugee Convention?
- f) What is a refugee camp?

### 2. Answer in detail : (12 marks, total 5-6 questions)

- a) What are the relevant laws for the refugees in India?
- b) Write a note on the history of refugees in India.
- c) Make a comparison between refugees and immigrants.
- d) Write in detail about what you understand by immigration and immigrants.

### 3. Essay Type Question : (20 marks, total 3-4 questions)

- a) Write in detail about the refugees of Partition in India.
- b) Write a note on the refugee crisis in India.
- c) What are the various issues and problems faced by refugees in India?

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## **UNIT 18 □ Development induced displacements**

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### **18.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To understand how development leads to displacement of humans.
- ⊙ To understand the different scenarios caused by development induced displacement.
- ⊙ To learn the different types of displacement.
- ⊙ To know about the different resistance created to stop displacement.
- ⊙ To understand about rehabilitation and resettlement given to the displaced humans.



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## 18.2 Introduction

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*“If you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the country.”*

— Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking to villagers who were to be displaced by the Hirakud Dam, 1948.

Development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) occurs when people are forced to leave their homes and/or land as a result of development. This subset of forced migration has been historically associated with development projects (the construction of dams for power and irrigation, mining, building of flyovers/bridges, building of thermal power plants, urbanization, building of roads, etc.). After India’s independence in 1947, there has been a surge of development activities in the form of massive infrastructure development projects such as the construction of dams for power and irrigation, mining, building of flyovers/bridges, building of thermal power plants, urbanization, building of roads, conservation projects, and forestry etc. Development-induced displacement is a social problem affecting multiple levels of human organization, from tribal and village communities to well-developed urban areas. Development is widely viewed as an inevitable step towards modernization and economic growth in developing countries; however, for those who are displaced, the end result is most often loss of livelihood and impoverishment. Proponents of these development projects argue that only these types of massive projects can improve India’s economy and the lives of millions of people. But the flip side of this sort of development is that it has displaced more than 42 million people in the country.

Dams for irrigation and hydropower are a major cause of such forced displacement. World over “approximately fifteen million people each year are forced to leave their homes following big development projects.” The poorest and most marginalized people are generally hit the hardest by displacement, most often without adequate compensation. Many displaced families have been displaced three or four times. “In India, 50 million people have been displaced in the last 50 years in the name of ‘national’ interest”.

Official figures of the number of displaced people are just underestimates. This is usually done to present a good cost benefit ratio to project clearance agencies and funders. The World Bank has put the number of people displaced by the Farakka Super Thermal Power plant in West Bengal as 63325 while Indian government figures suggest that no one was displaced. In the case of the Bargi dam, the number of villages submerged increased from the initial figure of 101 to 162. Likewise, in the

case of various other large dams in the country, the number of submerged villages has increased and estimates of displaced villages have failed, which lead to unplanned displacement.

The violence over land acquisition by the government witnessed recently. The drive for land acquisition on the name of modernisation and development has been the reason behind rise in protests by the farmers and tribal people across the country. The focus on economic issues overlook other no less important issues such as social and cultural, which may proved to be crucial in building links and networks in the new environment.

The protests by civil society and people against land acquisition have been growing in recent years. These protests and violence increasingly question the so-called “greater good”. The recent protest in Bhatta-Parsaul of Noida in Uttar Pradesh state tells us another centre of violence provoked by an attempt to displace the farmers. In fact, whether it is Bhatta-Parsaul in UP, Nandigram in West Bengal, Chattisgarh, Jarkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu all point the need to examine the matter immediately.

The violence witnessed in Nandigram in West Bengal state in 2007 , where 14 people were killed while protesting the notification of land acquisition of 25 000 acres of land under Land Acquisition Act of 1894 for SEZ project of Indonesian Salem chemicals. And also Bhatta-Parsaul in UP, Jagatsinghpur in Orissa, Jaitpur in Maharashtra and so on, the government has used police force to control and intimidate any genuine protest against its land grab polices. For instance, in Bhatta-Parsaul Noida UP state about 6 000 acres of land is being acquired by Jaiprakash associate company to build luxury township facilities and 165 km Yamuna Expressway. In total the land of 1225 villages to be acquired for Expressway. The land has been taken under British colonial Land Acquisition Act of 894 from farmers at 6 US dollars per square meter by the government, while it was sold to developers at 134.50 per square meter i.e. 200 000 % increase in prices. It appears that the land dispossession contributes to poverty, landlessness and violence.

### **18.2.1 Meaning and implications**

The doctrine of Eminent domain, that is inherent in the idea that the State can take away any property for the greater public good, is the idea that supports development-induced displacement. This doctrine can be debated against the worth of individual rights versus the power of State. The very idea that all the land and property belong solely to the Ruler of the land, so as to he can only give as well as

take away property rights from the citizens, is archaic and feudal. The existence of the doctrine of Eminent domain is a mere polished version of the same archaic idea that an individual's right to property is dilutable by the government in case of any acquisition. Now, the government acquires an individual's land for the collective interest, for public good. Recognition of an interest as public interest is just the crux of the dilemma here. The other problem is that the selection of the group of people from whom the land has to be acquired. With inequalities of political power existing in the society, the group which is the least influential is often targeted. Securing one group's interest would have to cost someone else his/her interest.

The forcing of individuals and communities out of their homeland, that is the usage of force of any nature by the State on the inhabitants, for the purpose of economic development, is fundamental to the idea of development induced displacement. This is a violation of human rights, if viewed from the international standpoint. The Narmada dam project in India is perhaps the most discussed development project involving forced resettlement in the recent history. Another recent example can be drawn from the construction of the TATA Nano factory in Singur, where 997 acres of agricultural land was acquired, and as the SEZs in Nandigram. Other than just displacing the indigenous population, these projects take a heavy toll on the environment as well. The effects of displacement is not bound in one generation, but the future generations also suffer due to the loss of indigenous homeland and means of livelihood, leading to disrupted community life, marginalization, psychological trauma etc. The existing law in India regarding acquisition and resettlement is not enough to tackle all the vital problems of displacement or relocation. Different cases come up to the Court, mostly through PIL, and most of them find independent solutions. The existing legal regime deals with compensation mainly. The ambit of the same should be increased to include legislations on resettlement as well as participation in negotiation by the indigenous crowd. The Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill of 2007 (RR Bill) and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill of 2007(LAAR) are two bills which are being considered by the government for this purpose. The lack of political will has insofar prevented the RR Bill from being passed in both the Houses of Parliament.

### **18.2.2 History of dams and displacement**

Most of the displacement in India is due to the construction of large dams. The lives and livelihoods of millions of displaced people across the country have been destroyed, but the state governments are still not interested in addressing basic issues related to the displaced. "The millions of displaced people in India are nothing but refugees of an unacknowledged war."

The callous attitude of the state can be attributed to the fact that “most displaced persons are asset less rural poor like landless labourers and small and marginal farmers (Gandhi’s last man). The tribals who comprise 8.08% of India’s population are estimated to be more than 40% of the displaced population. Dalits constitute 20% of displaced persons.”

Displacements due to dams and canals have been traumatic and dehumanising. The displaced family’s livelihood, their family, kinship systems, cultural identity and informal social networks were badly affected and disrupted. The condition of the women is even more traumatic. Lack of policy framework and social securities has made them insecure and psychologically very weak.

The monetary compensation paid to the displaced was not enough to sustain their livelihoods. The lame assurances by the government have never become a reality and it has led to tragic consequences. Large-scale dam building has been able to deliver very little in terms of benefits. Many projects are able to irrigate just 20% of the command area but the harm they do to the environment and people is immense.

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### 18.3 Types of displacement

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“Primary” or “direct” displacement occurs when people are moved from their traditional lands to make way for a development project or when people move towards a project to meet a new labour demand. Primary displacement is usually predictable and can therefore be mitigated through planning.

“Secondary” or “indirect” displacement is a result of environmental, geographical and socio-political consequences of the development project that take place over time and distance from the initial project. This type of displacement is less predictable and difficult to control. One example of secondary displacement is if a community is forced to move because of pollution of their water supply by a mining project.

## 18.4 Dimensions of displacement

Table : 1

	Bio geophysical	Social
<b>Primary (direct)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-flooding of reservoir</li> <li>– water diversion and other hydrological changes</li> <li>– soil compaction and paving</li> <li>– mountain top removal and stream filling (by tailings)</li> <li>– reduction/depletion of particular minerals and species</li> <li>– deforestation</li> <li>– creation of barriers to species migration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-planned eviction and resettlement</li> <li>– labour camps</li> <li>– loss of resource base in project area due to construction and/or flooding</li> </ul>
<b>Secondary (indirect)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-landslides, floods, and earthquakes (from dams)</li> <li>– water quality decline</li> <li>– soil salinization</li> <li>– loss (or gain) of fish and wildlife populations</li> <li>– ecosystem changes leading to pest problems or disease</li> <li>– aquifer disruption causing problems downstream</li> <li>– loss of fish species leads to loss of migratory bird species</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-loss of access to resources (and property)</li> <li>– unemployment with project completion</li> <li>– psychosocial stresses</li> <li>– creation of new identities</li> <li>– urbanisation as labour camps become permanent</li> <li>– unsustainable agriculture in resettlement area leading to soil erosion</li> <li>– ethnic conflict due to resettlement</li> </ul>

**Table 1** presents several dimensions of displacement as a four-cell table. The table suggests a dualism between the social and the natural, which has a certain heuristic value for analysis of primary displacement, but breaks down somewhat when we consider secondary displacement.

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## 18.5 Effects

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It has been estimated that fifteen million people each year are forced to leave their homes as a result of public and private development projects and that number continues to increase as countries move from developing to developed nations.

Compensation and rehabilitation policies designed to mitigate effects of displacement are often unsuccessful. This is largely due to corruption of street level bureaucrats, underestimation of the value of resources, failure of planners to recognize the intricacies of the existing social and economic systems of the displaced and lack of involvement of displaced persons in the planning process. Communities and individuals are most often only compensated monetarily, without proper mechanisms for addressing their grievances or political support to improve their livelihoods. When land is used as compensation, it is often inadequate in terms of size, location and natural resources. Land tenure laws may also prevent resettlement policy from being effective. Poor and indigenous people are mostly affected by displacement as they have few political and monetary resources.

Michael Cernea's impoverishment and reconstruction model (IRR) sets forth eight potential risks of displacement:

1. Landlessness
2. Joblessness
3. Homelessness
4. Marginalization
5. Food insecurity
6. Increased morbidity and mortality
7. Loss of access to common property
8. Social Disarticulation

The consensus among researchers is that impoverishment due to loss of capacity to generate income is the most apparent effect of DIDR. Additionally, displacement severs social ties which are often crucial for survival in indigenous communities. Loss of connection to historical, religious, symbolic or spatial locations resulting from forced migration diminishes cultural identity. Development-induced displaced persons, like refugees and internally displaced persons, experience psychological stress as well as feelings of helplessness and distrust towards their government and humanitarian groups. While the state is charged with protecting them as equal citizens, they are considered "others" and left to bear the cost for those who will benefit.

Women are disproportionately affected by DIDR as the loss of land used by women to generate economic worth further marginalizes their socio-economic standing as they become more dependent on their husbands.

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## 18.6 Development projects

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Development projects, particularly dams, have always generated serious controversy in India as they have tended to be a major source of displacement-related conflicts. Estimates of national resettlement forced by development projects shows that during 1950-90 the number of people affected were 18.5 million. According to the Central Water Commission, over 3,300 dams have been built since independence and some 1,000 more are under construction. Another study of 54 large dams done by the Indian Institute of Public Administration concluded that the average number of people displaced by a large dam is 44,182.

Over 21,000 families were uprooted and ousted when the Pong Dam was constructed nearly 25 years ago and they have still not received the benefit of any proper rehabilitation measures. The World Bank's 'Project Completion Report' for the controversial Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada (likely to displace 0.2 million people) has cast a shadow over the project's future. India's unimpressive track record in operations and maintenance, says the report, is responsible for the uncertainty. India has borrowed US\$151.5 million from the World Bank to build the dam. In 1993 the Bank cancelled plans to lend more due to the Indian government's failure to meet even such basic conditions as identification of the displaced and preparation of resettlement plans.

The fact that development projects are usually located in remote villages, hills and forests means that those displaced tend to be the indigenous people who have been the traditional agents of conservation. Here displacement has meant a loss of livelihood, habitat and assets, social disruption and disorder and severance from an eco-system which had sustained them. Most critically, these displacements threaten the poor and the weak with even greater impoverishment. It is only those cases of 'involuntary resettlement' which come to the attention of social and environmental activists, and are thus highlighted, that lead to some measure of state intervention. In most cases total displacement with loss of home and livelihood has resulted.

Rehabilitation - primarily the process of reconstruction of the livelihood of displaced persons - has never been a guiding principle of the 1894 Land Acquisition Act (still in use) which instead emphasises cash compensation for loss. The

government has taken the firm stand that rehabilitation would not be a prime consideration when acquiring land for ‘public purpose’ (the definition of which has not been made public). The government has even sought to take away the right of appeal by those whose land stands to be confiscated by making the Supreme Court the only appellate forum.

Globalization has been another threat to indigenous communities as private conglomerates (including foreign multinationals) encroach upon rural lands, hitherto the domain of tribal and other indigenous communities, to build the government’s desired industrial infrastructure. The proposed amendments to the 1894 Act, if carried out, are likely to generate new waves of displacement as the Act will then make it even easier for private interests to acquire land.

### **18.6.1 Natural disaster-induced displacement**

There has been massive and recurrent displacement due to floods, cyclones and landslides. A report by the Centre for Science and Environment (1991) states that India is the most flood-affected country in the world after Bangladesh and that over 30 million people are displaced annually. Flood-affected areas shot up from an average of 6.4 million hectares a year in the 1950s to 9 million hectares in the 1980s. Government flood control measures mainly consist of dams and embankments. Over 400 km embankments have been built annually since 1954 and 256 large dams with an average height of 15 metres and above had been constructed by 1986; 154 more were under construction. Yet all these have failed to control floods and indeed dams are now cited as an important cause of floods while embankments have disrupted the natural drainage system in the flood plains.

‘Natural’ disaster-led displacement is never recorded after the initial dose of relief and rehabilitation assistance. One of the most serious aspects of the displacement belonging to this category has been the fact that the displacement has been silent but acute and frequent.

## **18.7 Categories of displacement**

In India, there are four broad categories of displacement.

### **a) Political causes, including secessionist movements**

- i) Since independence, north-east India has witnessed two major armed conflicts – the Naga movement primarily led by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland, and the Assam movement led by the All Assam



Students Union and now largely taken over by the extremist United Liberation Front of Assam. The violence and retaliatory responses from the government and other forces opposed to the secessionists continue to generate a steady flow of displaced people.

- ii) In Kashmir's 'war' between state forces and militants, the killing of Kashmiri Pandits by fundamentalist secessionist groups, the widespread anarchy created by political instability and the continuous violation of fundamental human rights by both the state and militant groups, have led to large scale displacement, mainly of Kashmiri Pandits (estimated at 250,000), to Jammu and cities like Delhi. Despite the election and restoration of a popular government in 1996, those displaced have not been able to return due to the continuing reality of sporadic massacres in Kashmir. Although conditions are miserable, the displaced find that camps offer better employment opportunities, education and security. [see following article in this issue pp??]

#### **b. Identity-based autonomy movements**

Identity-based autonomy movements, such as in Bodoland, Punjab, Gorkhaland and Ladakh, have also led to violence and displacement. This has happened in Punjab and more recently in the Bodo Autonomous Council area of western Assam. 'Cleansing' of non-Bodo communities by the Bodos, through plunder, arson, massacre and persecution, has forced a large number of non-Bodos to flee. They now live in camps.

#### **c. Localized violence**

Internal displacement has also arisen from caste disputes (as in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh), religious fundamentalism (as in urban riots in Bombay, Coimbatore, Bhagalpur and Aligarh) and aggressive denial of residency and employment rights to non-indigenous groups by supporters of the 'son-of-the soil policy' (as in Meghalaya by the Khasi students and in Arunachal Pradesh against the Chakmas).

#### **d. Environmental and development-induced displacement**

In order to achieve rapid economic growth, India has invested in industrial projects, dams, roads, mines, power plants and new cities which have been made possible only through massive acquisition of land and subsequent displacement of people. According to the figures provided by the Indian Social Institute, the 21.3 million development-induced IDPs include those displaced by dams (16.4 million),

mines (2.55 million), industrial development (1.25 million) and wild life sanctuaries and national parks (0.6 million).

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## 17.8 The displacement scenario

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Displacement is described as dislocation of people from their native place and region. It often exacerbates rather than mitigates economic insecurity, helplessness and alienation. This could mean loss of economic livelihoods and communities. After independence the developmental projects were launched by the government, which were formulated, designed and carried out by the engineers and bureaucrats, who had no concern for environmental and rehabilitation issues.

There is a disagreement over exact number of displaced people. It seems likely that no less than 40-50 million people have been displaced. Various studies on displacement point out that in earlier phase until 1980 was marked by meagre compensation towards the affected people and lack of any attempt to understand the issues of rehabilitation of the displaced people. Most of the affected people were from poor households and with the displacement they were further marginalised due to loss of their livelihoods. The involuntary displacement of people due to acquisition of their land for developmental activities across India is a major issue. They have resulted in widespread protests across the country. People began to protests, for example, major projects such as Sardar Sarovar, Salient Valley, the Manglore Thermal Power, the Dabhol power, Maha Mumbai Special Economic Zones, the Nandigram SEZ, and the Singur Tata Motors and so on.

In India people continue to be involuntary dislocated and the goal of resettlement remains exceedingly difficult to achieve. Moreover, the aims of sustainable development, where people are better than they were before resettlement is far from being achieved. Seeing this issue merely a financial seems to be incorrect. Compensation by itself cannot fully restore and improve levels of income of those who have been involuntary displaced.

In the 1990s, development-induced displacement emerged as a major concern and also a challenge among the Indian social researchers. The concern arose because of dramatic rise developmental projects and urban expansion in the 1980s fuelled by construction of dams and urban development coupled with disastrous outcomes in resettlement experiences. This led to an increase in popular resentment and protest, which brought the issue on forefront.

The Upper Krishna irrigation project (i.e. dams and reservoir) displaced about 300 000 peoples. Loss of livelihoods and displacement has become a recurring feature of Singrauli region of Madhya Pradesh state mainly due to construction of dams, power and mining since 1960s. Displacement in the Singrauli region began first by the construction of Rihand dam and Govind Sagar Reservoir in the 1960s. Later on in 1980 Thermal power projects were set up, which led to expansion of coal mining in the region. All these activities have initiated a series of displacement and loss of livelihoods of the people in the region (Sharma, and Singh, 2009). The Sardar Sarovar project has affected nearly 300 villages, with 163 000 people have been displaced and among them tribal population has been severely affected (see Table 1). (Parasuraman, 1999: 167) In fact, it seems that the colonial land acquisition Act 1894 ignores that fact that in rural economy land is the sustenance not merely of land owners but also to the landless service groups. To attract private investors and profits have become the sole criteria. The force is being used to evict the people from their homes and lands, where they may have lived for generations is unjust and inhumane and could not be justified in truly democratic sense. On this issue government seems to be bent on advocating and protecting the interest of tiny corporate sector. As Medha Pathkar, one of the leading figures in the movement against Narmada project points out in World Commission on Dams' report, 2000: "Even with rights recognised, risks assessed and stakeholders identified, existing iniquitous power relations would too easily allow developers to dominate and distort such process... Understanding this takes us beyond a faith in negotiations". (pp 320-21)

The government of India admitted that several million people displaced by dams, mines, industries, power plants etc. and still 'awaiting rehabilitation', a figure regarded very conservative by most independent researchers. The developmental projects are always put forward as development for national interest. The communities, who lost their livelihoods for so-called 'greater good' and national interest, would be making this sacrifice to benefit the entire nation. (India Today, 2007) Involuntary displacement occurred due to the need to build dams, transportation, power generation, urban development and so on. It is claimed that such projects creates employment and improves services. However, it also displaces people from their land, community and cultural heritage and raises major issues social justice and equity. In India, for example, researchers found that the country's developmental projects since independence have displaced more than 20 million people. And most of these people have not been rehabilitated. The rehabilitation programmes since independence have performed miserably. Relocation of human population from the protected areas, also known as wild life conservation, affects peoples' socio-economic conditions. At least 50 million people have been displaced since independence under

the colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894. Most of these people are difficult to trace, who are living in urban shanty towns across the big cities in India. Despite the years of protests and demonstrations on the issue of displacement and rehabilitation little progress has been done to ameliorate the sufferings of the affected people. However, the government has announced its policy on National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy (NRRP) in 2007 which states: “through a careful quantification of costs and benefits that will accrue to society at large, of the desirability and justifiability of each project. The adverse impact on affected families - economic environmental, social and cultural - needs to be accessed in a participatory and transparent manner”.

In recent years states like Gujarat, Haryana, Jarkhand, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal have displaced very large number of people in order to acquire land for SEZs that was expected to attract millions of US dollars on nearly half-million acres of land. It was also claimed that these investments would create more than half million jobs, but due to high mechanised and automation the job creation was far less than expected. The mechanisation appears to be the main reason for high job costs. For example, the average size of coal mines increased from 150 acres in 1976 to 800 acres 1995, but it created fewer jobs. (pp 74-75) Various studies have pointed out that nearly 50 million people have been displaced since independence due to developmental projects among them 40 % were tribal, 20 % dalits (untouchable castes) and 20 % were from backward castes.

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## **18.9 Rehabilitation and resettlement : Policy framework**

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Massive land acquisition has taken place in India since the 1950s to build large projects for irrigation, power, steel and heavy industries. Yet we did not have proper laws to address the rehabilitation and resettlement issues of the displaced. After a long struggle by people’s organisations and environmental groups, the protest against displacement grew violent and the need for a policy and legal framework came into existence in 2007 when the Government of India formulated a national policy for rehabilitation and resettlement by replacing the earlier policy of 2003. Till date, there is no policy which suggests alternatives for displacement.

In August 2013, the Government of India came up with a comprehensive Land Acquisition and Resettlement and Rehabilitation (LARR) Act, 2013. The Act provides for rehabilitation & resettlement and combines it with land acquisition so the former does not get neglected. The ‘public purpose’ for which land can be acquired by the government is defined.

As per the above legislation, a comprehensive rehabilitation and resettlement package is provided for those who lost their livelihood support which includes the landless and tenants. The Act also provides for schools and playgrounds, health centres, roads and electric connections and assured sources of safe drinking water for each family. The role of the gram sabha has been clearly stressed and the government has to consult them. The Government has to also comply with other laws like Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), 1996; the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006; and Land Transfer Regulations in Schedule V (Tribal) Areas.

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## 18.10 Recommendations

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- i. Need of a legislation to clearly lay down the fundamental duties and obligations of the government towards the resettlement of the displaced persons.
- ii. The monetary compensation has to be fixed taking into account the phenomenon of price rise.
- iii. Social Impact Assessment should be made compulsory in case of every project that is undertaken. The loss of livelihood, change of the socio-economic milieu, mental trauma, all has to be accounted for essentially.
- iv. Panchayati Raj system should be used as a platform for redressal of the grievances of the affected people.
- v. Displacement due to development is not an eminent power of the government but it is a violation of human rights in its truest rawest form. Therefore, a stronger international dialogue on this criterion will give the national government the required nudge to work towards the betterment of the displacees.
- vi. The government should not look only toward the politically powerful people groups, but also consider development in a less anthropocentric manner, with a revisitation toward its obligations to the state and the citizens.

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## 18.11 Conclusion

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Development induced displacement still remains a major sociological problem in India. Consciousness about displacement of individuals or groups due to displacement still remains low. Rehabilitation of these individuals a groups fairly remains low, very small number has been partially resettled.

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## 18.12 Summary

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Unjust land acquisition is not the answer to increasing one's GDP. India is a democratic country, yet the land policy of the country is nothing short of being based on an archaic feudal regime. There is a strong need to put legal action into the issues which concern land acquirers. There is a need to end the greed and seek out what is best for all the men by removing the glaring imbalance in the system. Displacement, especially involuntary results in forcibly displacing millions of people from their ancestral land. Inadequate planning and implementation of various developmental projects often leads to various environmental problems which in turn result in deteriorating the lives of millions of people. Displacement is a disruption in social life which results in landlessness, homelessness, joblessness marginalization, poverty and food scarcity, increased morbidity, and loss of access to common property resources and social disarticulation. Most displaced and project affected persons belong to the marginalized and powerless classes, or to landless labourers and small marginal farmers with no assets. As per many independent assessments displacement has made the lives of displaced people very worst, by deteriorating their standard of living to the lowest. It has been seen that in India there is gender discrimination among displaced men and women. After the 1950's large number of projects were constructed for the economic growth in India but none of the policy makers paid adequate attention towards gender issues and their policies. In Land Acquisition Act 1984, millions of lands in hectares have been acquired for development purpose, and people have been given only monetary compensation. Under this act, displaced women do not find any place for compensation. Compensation is generally transferred to male members and women are totally ignored in term of compensation and other activities. It has also been observed that most of the development victims belong to the poor sections of the society like Dalits, tribals, women and other backward classes. Women are the worst victims of development and displacement. Research show that that number of social problems arise among displaced women such as increased domestic violence (because the availability of cash received in compensation has led to increase in alcohol intake by men resulting in violence against women such as wife beating). Feeling of insecurity at new sites, weakness in kinship bond, breakdown of familial relationship, and conflict among family members, loss of income resources and additional burden on women, increased in dowry demand are some of the offshoots of forced displacement.

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## 18.13 Questions

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### 1. Answer briefly : (6 marks, total 6-8 questions)

- a) What do you understand by development induced displacement?
- b) What is the doctrine of Eminent domain?
- c) What are the various types of development induced displacements?
- d) What is primary displacement?
- e) What is secondary displacement?
- f) What is natural displacement?

### 2. Answer in detail : (12 marks, total 5-6 questions)

- a) What is the full form of DIDR, explain in detail with examples.
- b) How the building of dams became a major cause of displacement in India?
- c) Why was there violence in Nandigram? Explain the reason and causes of violence.
- d) What are the various dimensions of displacement?
- e) What are the 8 potential risks of displacement given by Michael Cernea?

### 3. Essay Type question : (20 marks, total 3-4 questions)

- a) Write in brief the history of dams and displacement.
- b) What are the various effects of development induced displacement?
- c) What are the various policies of rehabilitation and resettlement?

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## **UNIT 19 □ Women, Children and Migration**

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### **Structure**

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### **19.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn about how migration affects women and children.
- ⊙ To understand the main reasons for migration of women and children.
- ⊙ To develop an idea about the conditions of the migrant children and women.
- ⊙ To understand the main causes of migration among women and children.

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### **19.2 Introduction**

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Migration is a natural process that often happens depending on the socio-economic, demographic, cultural, political and environmental factors related to the migrant people. Migration is not a mere shift of people from one place of residence to another.

The process of migration has been one of most dynamic human activities from the beginning of human life. In the earlier days people moved from one forest to another in search of forest products. When most of people discarded forest life and adopted civilized life they developed relationship with domesticated animals and fertile land. As a result, mobility of mankind changed considerably. People continued to move from one region to another in search of fertile land for developing cultivation. Humans moved from early civilized area to other parts of world, partly for agricultural purposes or for trade and partly for investigation. Migration of the people to big cities takes from all the corners of the country with different social and cultural background. When such people meet in cities and stop living together, a new cosmopolitan culture develops. Such cultures are more liberal, impersonal, self-centred and more materialistic.

India as one of the oldest civilizations and land of opportunities has been remained a magnet for visitors, traders, students and warriors from all over the world since very long. But it had attained a new form and increased enormously in scale during the colonial period. Thereafter, in the light of remarkable changes and developments brought in the social, economic and political set up and advancement in the technological sector during the last decades of 20th century, the trends of migration from and in India turned to be more dynamic than ever before. The expansion of means of communication and transportation also provided impetus to the movement of people in India not only to the international streams but also within the country. Internal migration in our country was far more contextual in terms of the number of people who moved from one state to other or rural areas to the urban for better future.

In this chapter we will talk about migration of women and children. In the first half of the chapter we will talk about women and migration and in the later half about children and migration.

### **19.2.1 Women and migration**

Over the years and around the world, more and more people are on the move than ever before. Many are moving because they are seeking new opportunities and a better life for themselves and their families, others are forced to move due to disaster or conflict. Gender plays an important role when talking about migration, whether the migration is forced, voluntary or somewhere in between.

The experience of migration differs due to a person's sex, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation. Gender influences reasons for migrating, who migrates and to where, how people migrate and the networks they use, opportunities and resources

available at destinations, and relations with the country of origin. Risks, vulnerabilities and needs are also shaped in large part by one's gender, and often vary drastically for different groups. The roles, expectations, relationships and power dynamics associated with being a man, woman, boy or girl, and whether one identifies as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and/or intersex (LGBTI), significantly affect all aspects of the migration process, and can also be affected in new ways by migration. Thus, it is crucial to understand how gender interacts with migration and to respond accordingly.

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### **19.3 Five reasons migration is a feminist issue**

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Today, international leaders are convening at United Nations Headquarters, New York, to discuss the critical issue of migration and human mobility, a megatrend that is reshaping the global landscape. An estimated one billion people around the world are migrants – one in every seven people. But as policymakers scramble to understand how these mass movements affect societies, economies, security and sustainability, the needs of women and girls are falling through the cracks.

Below are five reasons migration is a serious concern for women and girls.

**a. Almost half of migrants are women and girls. And women are increasingly migrating alone or as heads of their households.**

Some 250 million people are international migrants – people who leave their home countries for opportunity or safety. Of these, nearly half are women and girls. Some of this movement is driven by conflict. Today, a record-high number of people have been forcibly displaced from their homes. It is estimated that about half of all refugees are female. Women and girls are also a significant proportion of economic migrants. They are the vast majority of all migrant domestic workers, for example. And women are increasingly migrating on their own, or as the heads of their households. This trend represents a key opportunity for their economic independence and empowerment.

**b. Female migrants face major risks, including sexual exploitation, trafficking and violence.**

All migrants are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, but female migrants are particularly at risk. Women and girls account for 71 per cent of all human trafficking victims, according to a 2016 report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Women and girls also face additional vulnerabilities when they are displaced by conflict or natural disaster. Chaos and the breakdown of protection systems mean

perpetrators can abuse with impunity. Lack of shelter, overcrowding in camps and poorly lit public toilets all increase the risk of gender-based violence, including sexual violence. Families under extreme hardship may also adopt coping mechanisms that jeopardize women's and girls' welfare. A UNFPA-supported study, for instance, found alarming rates of child marriage among some vulnerable Syrian refugee populations. And when abuses occur, many migrant women and girls lack the resources, support systems and knowledge to seek help.

**c. Migrant women face double discrimination – as women and as migrants.**

Racism and xenophobia are serious concerns wherever large-scale migration takes place, and anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise in many countries. Negative depictions of migrants and refugees often appear in the media, for instance, while the benefits migrants bring – such as their economic contributions – rarely make the news. Women and girls can suffer doubly from these attitudes, experiencing not only discrimination based on their migrant status but also based on their gender. This can take the form of discrimination and mistreatment – including sexual harassment – in the workplace, while seeking housing, while using public transportation, and while accessing education and health services.

**d. Women do not stop getting pregnant when they are on the move.**

Significant numbers of female migrants are likely to be pregnant or to become pregnant. While travelling – or in the chaos of displacement – women may lose access to sexual and reproductive health care, including family planning, antenatal services and safe childbirth care.

Lack of these services can be deadly. In fact, it is considered one of the leading causes of death, disease and disability among displaced women and girls of childbearing age. Even so, migration may be a pregnant woman's best option in a crisis setting, especially if insecurity or collapsing health systems threaten her life at home.

UNFPA works with governments and other partners to uphold migrants' right to access sexual and reproductive health care, including deploying mobile health clinics to displacement camps and refugee communities. But much more must be done to increase access to these services.

**e. Women and girl migrants are more likely to face health problems – both in transit and at their destinations.**

Even after female migrants reach their intended destinations, they continue to face barriers to health care, especially sexual and reproductive health services. Foreign-born migrants can face significantly higher risks of maternal injury and death than native-born women, for example, and higher risks of HIV infection, trauma and violence. A majority of international migrants end up in cities, where they may face barriers to sexual and reproductive health care, including cost, overcrowding, transport challenges and insecure housing. Yet evidence shows that there are major returns on investing in the health of migrant populations, particularly reproductive health care, such as family planning and prenatal care.

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## **19.4 Where and how are Indian women migrating?**

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Global migration flows changed dramatically from the early 1980s, both in terms of direction and gender. In 2000, Asia witnessed 85 million female migrants compared to 90 million male migrants.

Where and how are these women migrating?

**a. Women trafficking**

A woman may migrate when; an agent connects the bride's family with the potential groom. The woman may be sold off as a bride to a family in another city or state. After trafficking she may be used as a reproductive labour, agricultural labour, sexual labour or do informal/ formal jobs.

- In the reproductive labour, the woman does cooking, cleaning and care giving as an unpaid reproductive labour for the family.
- In the agricultural labour, she is expected to work and perform labour in the fields, as well as do reproductive labour for home.
- In the sexual labour, apart from bearing children for her husband she is expected to perform sexual services for other men in the extended family of the husband or the community.
- In jobs (formal/informal), she may be employed possibly in a factory, or the service industry.

The women, when trafficked have undefined status in the household. She may not know the language, may be treated as more or less as a bonded labourer and her

children do not have inheritance rights. If the woman fails to please the family, she may be sold off again for a higher price by the family.

### **b. Migration due to marriage**

Women are told from childhood that after marriage she is meant to go away to her husband's home. She gets married and moves away to her husband's home may be far away or to a different city or state. She does reproductive labour or may get involved in formal or informal jobs. In the reproductive labour, the woman does cooking, cleaning and care giving as an unpaid reproductive labour for the family. In jobs (formal/informal), she may be employed possibly in a factory, or the service industry. She also migrates with her family when her husband finds a new job in another city or state. The wife may return to her natal home due to the following reasons-

- She may return due to husband's death.
- She may return during childbirth and during pre-birth.
- She may return due to divorce/separation/incompatibility.

### **c. Labour trafficking**

A woman may migrate when; an agent connects the bride's family with a potential employer. Women are then trafficked in the city. She may work as-

- In the domestic labour, she works at people's home (washing dishes, clothes, cleaning the house, cooking etc.). She may also be coerced to provide sexual services to her employer. She may move to sex work, as it provides her more control over her body.
- In the sexual labour, she is engaged in sex work where most of the time coercion is involved.

When she is old, or there is conflict with the law, or when she has poor income or stigma may lead her to move to other occupation in the city or move back to the natal home.

### **d. Single woman migration**

Woman leaves her natal home for a job in the city.

- In the domestic labour, she works at people's home (washing dishes, clothes,

cleaning the house, cooking etc.). She may also be coerced to provide sexual services to her employer. She may move to sex work, as it provides her more control over her body.

- In jobs(formal/informal) , she may be employed possibly in a factory, or the service industry.

She may return to her natal home for the following reasons-

- Agricultural labour- for sowing or harvesting crops.
- She losses her job and may be harassed and may return to her natal home.
- She returns to her natal home to get married.

The linked trajectories of migration, marriage, and trafficking are evident in the writing above, but these are not addressed in studies of migration which focus mostly on labour. The stereotype of female immobility after marriage adds to this. When thinking of the role of marriage in women's stories of migration, there are some things to be taken into account.

- i) Marriage and economic factors are conjoined, so much so that one cause cannot be attributed for migration.
- ii) For poor women, whose possible migration trajectory is detailed above, domestic work includes a range of productive and subsistence household work that easily spills into paid work as and when required by the family.
- iii) Marriage is a key element in promoting circularity of movement and sustaining it, in the case of both domestic and sex workers.

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## 19.5 Recommendations

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The most prominent and relevant recommendations by experts and organizations include the following (Ghosh 2009; UNDP 2009; IOM 2012; UNFPA and IOM 2006; UN General Assembly 2013; CEDAW 1979; Petrozziello 2013; UNFPA 2006):

**1. Ensure migrant women are granted full human rights and can access services and resources for basic rights.** Migrants should receive the same protections, standards, and access to services as non migrants. Countries should ensure that rights are safeguarded even for those most isolated. Migrants should be protected regardless of status. Families left behind should have access to resources in their own countries, particularly when spouses migrate, and in transit and destination countries. Migrant women must have access to health services, regardless of legal status. Health workers should be trained to ensure that health systems are gender sensitive and culturally sensitive. The rights of migrant women should be

legally protected and they should have access to legal services and remedies, for instance, in reporting violence and workplace complaints. Legal services should be gender sensitive and linguistically and culturally accessible and appropriate.

**2. Provide access to financial institutions and better channels for sending and receiving remittances.** Migrant women need increased access to formal financial institutions as well as services geared to the needs of women. Financial services, such as financial literacy training and support for enterprise creation, should be available for women. In addition, providing formal, easy, and safe channels for remittances would allow families to receive more remittances, which would raise household incomes and improve local economies.

**3. Promote non-discrimination in access to labor markets and job sectors, thereby increasing access and opportunities for women.** Invest in skills development and education of women and female migrants. In addition, countries are encouraged to recognize the academic degrees and qualifications of migrants to help ensure that migrants are not underemployed and their skills and contributions are fully recognized.

**4. Provide support for migrants before, during, and after migration.** Countries are encouraged to provide support to migrants, including pre departure programs, as well as additional support for vulnerable groups, such as women at risk of HIV/AIDs and trafficking and abuse before, during, and after migrating. Services for returnees should also be provided, including psychosocial rehabilitation; socioeconomic, psychological, and legal services; and active efforts to de-stigmatize migrants, particularly migrant survivors of trafficking and abuse. Migrants should also be provided access to microenterprise training and financial institutions. Furthermore, diasporas should be supported and strengthened, particularly women's participation in diasporas.

**5. Offer and encourage community education, awareness raising, and training.** Make available pre departure programs with information on safe methods for migration; approved and accredited recruitment agencies; rights entitlements; and where to find assistance and services in origin, transit, and destination countries. Create partnerships with media institutions to raise awareness.

**6. Regulate and monitor recruitment agencies and immigration officials.** Recruitment agencies should be carefully monitored and regulated, and accredited by governments. Recruitment agencies should be mandated to include contracts for migrant workers and to provide contacts with consulates and embassies in destination countries.



**7. Provide resource centres through embassies and consular services.** In addition to their role in providing resources and training, diplomatic and consular protection should be provided, and potentially an officer on staff should be specifically responsible for migrant women and girls.

**8. Require training on gender sensitivities and human rights.** Training programs should be required for recruitment and employment agencies, as well as for border officials, immigration authorities, police, judicial and health personnel, and other relevant workers.

**9. Increase public awareness and recognition of the benefits of migration and migrant contributions in origin and destination countries.** In destination countries, efforts should encompass social inclusion of migrant women. Improving perceptions of migrants will help lessen xenophobia and other risks migrants face.

**10. Strengthen women's political participation.** Increased political representation will result in better advocacy for women's needs and the promotion of women's rights. For instance, the responsibility for the provision of care should be shared among governments, employers, and families.

11. Regulate domestic work, thereby ensuring the rights of domestic workers with regard to salary, working hours, health, and other protections. Include methods to monitor workplace conditions.

12. Strengthen partnerships, consultation, and involvement of all stakeholders, including migrant women and the civil society organizations that represent their interests, as well as embassies, consular services, and governments.

**13. Create bilateral, multilateral, and regional dialogue and agreements** that include provisions for sharing information and best practices to ensure migrant rights, support, and protection. Perpetrators of violence or violations of rights should be properly persecuted and punished with cooperation between states.

**14. Revise laws to ease barriers to safe migration for migrant women.** Laws should be gender sensitive and rights based, and laws that discriminate against female migrants should be revised. This effort must include regularizing women's migration and revising discriminatory bans, thereby allowing women methods for legal migration that will lower the risks of smuggling and trafficking or irregular and unsafe unemployment. Laws that restrict employment or access to legal or human rights, as well as laws that discriminate against women migrating for family reunification ought to be revised. Immigration laws should offer options for independent

immigration status from spouses, in case of situations of domestic violence, and work permits that are not dependent on a specific employer, in case of abuse or exploitation. Laws should be gender sensitive and provide special provisions for victims of trafficking. Laws should promote independent movement and access to travel documents.

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## 19.6 Children and migration

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The United Nations defines youth as “those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years, without prejudice to other definitions by Member States.” Based on the UN definition of youth, the assumption would be that only persons under the age of 15 are children. However, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines a child as a “human being below the age of 18.” This definition was used so that the Convention can provide protection and rights to as broad an age-group as possible, but from a data perspective, it leads to an overlap since persons between the ages of 15 and 18 years are counted as both children and youth.

It is important to note that definitions of childhood have changed over time and often do not match what was historically seen as childhood even within the same country. Additionally, just as the concepts of “childhood” and “adulthood” vary across cultures, the definitions and categories used by governments which collect information at border entry and exit points and during the asylum process also vary. For instance, in Europe, government policy documents interchangeably use different terminology, including “child”, “minor”, “unaccompanied child”, “unaccompanied minor” and “unaccompanied migrant minor”. Data on child migrants may be disaggregated into those who are accompanied, such as those who travel with their family members or guardians, and those who travel alone, either because they are unaccompanied or because they have been separated from their family or guardian during their journey. Some data sources also have a category for those who are “accompanied-non-accompanied”, which means they are traveling with an adult, but the relationship with the adult is uncertain or defined by child marriage.

Over the past few decades, migration - both international and internal - has increased dramatically. Easier travel, greater access to information about distant places, relatives and friends who have migrated and the opportunities for improving living standards all have fuel movements of individuals and families. Whilst international migration to industrialized countries is important, evidence indicates that around 40 per cent of migrants leave a developing country to go to another developing country. Migration also occurs within countries; and contributes to urbanization and both

formal and informal sectors. Additionally, significant numbers migrate from one rural area to another, sometimes across borders.

Migration presents both opportunities and challenges for societies, communities and individuals. Migration alters the structure of families. While it is true that economic factors are major drivers, migration involves highly diverse groups of people, including girls, boys, women, men, and better-off as well as poorer people.

Children left behind may benefit from having migrant parents. Innocenti Social Monitor 2004 reported that remittances sent home by parents can increase consumption, finance schooling, buy health care and fund better housing. Whether children benefit depends on their access to those extra resources, which may depend partly on sex, age and the context of care when left behind. The involvement of substitute care or the lack of care causes difficulties for some children's emotional well-being and psychological development. Adults and children are affected by the loss of working-age community members in high out-migration communities (but others may come to replace them).

Children who migrate with their parents face different opportunities and challenges, as reported in Innocenti Working Paper 2005-05. Marginalization and discrimination in the country of settlement, barriers to accessing social services, challenges to the rights to citizenship and identity, parents' economic insecurity, and social and cultural dislocation may affect some children. None of these are necessary outcomes, however. Most migrant children flourish and contribute positively to their new communities; and policies and programmes can be devised to support and protect those children who may become vulnerable. According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is the duty of any country to ensure that all children enjoy their rights, irrespective of their migration status or that of their parents.

The Innocenti Insight Children in Immigrant Families in Eight Affluent Countries finds that children of migrants in the 8 countries under the study are far from being a homogeneous population and they differ from each other in cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, yet, in some cases, their family composition is not far from that of other children of the country of settlement. However, the situations of the children and youth in immigrant families, particularly those who come from low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), remain critical in several areas, including health, education, economic security, housing and work opportunities.

Children who migrate independently of their parents or adult guardians are in many ways similar to adult migrants in seeking new social and economic opportunities. These children, sometimes referred to as 'unaccompanied minors',

may actively seek migration opportunities as a result of many factors. Yet many migrant children are not recognized as migrants because they are identified using other terms, such as domestic workers, street children or foster children. Many of these children send remittances to their families, combine work with schooling or training and manage to save, although there is little information to facilitate comparison of the benefits against the many costs and risks migrant children face. Independent migrant children are significantly affected by the absence of protection and support from their families, and by the challenges of their new situations after migration.

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## **19.7 Impact of migration on children left behind**

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- In labour sending countries, a growing number of children is left behind by one or both parents. Since 2000, about 300,000 children and adolescents have been left behind by one or both parents in Ecuador. Data from Moldova, El Salvador, Jamaica and Albania show similar trends.
- Results from case studies conducted by UNICEF and SU-SSC indicate that the absence of fathers often results in increased household responsibilities for women and children left behind. Adolescents from left-behind households may face pressure to become labour migrants as part of their transition to adulthood.
- UNICEF country studies suggest that children and adolescents left behind may be at greater risk to drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, psychosocial problems and violent behaviour.
- UNICEF's research conducted in Moldova suggested that the increase of the juvenile crime rate between 1993 and 2000 is positively correlated to a rise in the number of left behind children, who accounted for nearly 60% of the offenders.

### **19.7.1 Impact of migration on children in host countries**

Children of migrants face challenges in adapting to host societies:

- Greater risk of dropping out of school, teenage pregnancy and juvenile crime.
- Incomplete citizenship rights
- Difficult access to social services
- Danger of social exclusion

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## 19.8 Effects of Migration on Children

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### a. Education

Lower educational achievements of immigrants is still an on-going challenge. The socioeconomic background and family situation, problems of integration, language difficulties, school segregation, process of selection of migrants, level of parents' education and time since migration are crucial factors that affect the education of migrated children. Heckmann however, suggests that parental care and family resources are far more important to increase the wish for higher education than the family income. Being from a different country oftentimes creates problems of acceptance and being subject to racism between children. The lack of the possibility to communicate with teachers about questions hinders the learning process and the lack of parent's education or being from a different system that explains studies differently diminish the success. Lower educational achievements among the migrants explain the dense concentration of migrant employees in certain job sectors. Migrant youths often tend to work only in distinct occupations. The most frequent jobs for young men are particularly involving heavy manual labor like construction or agriculture, and young women tend to work in the service sector. On average the 2nd generation is better educated than the first, but compared to the natives this generation is still disadvantaged. It takes much time to even out the educational achieved standards between migrants and natives; school segregation does not show a positive impact on this. Oftentimes, migrant children are accepted into schools that have already a large population of migrants. Thus, their language skills do not develop much further or develop into their own particular mix of two languages together. Those students tend to stay together in their native groups and are so excluded from the social opportunities within the host country. In Germany for example this phenomena is found repeatedly; a large set of migrant students are found in the so called *Hauptschule*. Participation rates in after school programs are also substantially lower for immigrant children than for natives. Thus, as a result of low income, lack of language proficiency and low parental education places immigrant children at higher risk that affects their well-being intensely that tends to persist over generations.

### b. Social Exclusion

Social Exclusion is defined as the 'inability to participate in economic, social, and cultural life, and in some characteristics, alienation and distance from mainstream society'. The most frequent reasons for social exclusion is related to the family situation such as divorce, separation, and death of the parent as well as prejudice

and discrimination of certain groups of the population. A study conducted by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia shows that the labor market in the EU is highly segmented with respect to nationality or ethnic groups. The children in households where at least one parent is born abroad are known to incur the risk of poverty five times higher than the children that have parents who were born in the country of residence. Surly, this has a heavy effect upon the future work placements, decisions, and mental health problems of the children. Social exclusion is a burden for the society that transmits poverty from generation to generation.

### **c. Health**

On one hand migration shows the positive effect of increasing health access in the countries of origin through sending remittances. On the other hand, however, the negative side of migration is the transmission of diseases. A very important aspect of migration is the mind-set of the migrants that are used to their particular health services and coping with their country specific maladies. Their habits may have to change when moving to a host country and the language barrier causes constraints and thus to greater risk of poor health outcomes of children. If children learn the foreign language faster than their parents, the latter will urge their children to communicate with the authorities. Sometimes, this responsibility is given into the hands of very young children, and imposing pressure upon them. Migration also has a serious effect on the mental health of the children regarding the process of migration, which causes stress due to the loss of family, friends, and habitual surroundings. Questions about their identity and sense of belonging, the fear of deportation, and discrimination cause problems that are taken into adulthood.

### **d. Gender**

Within the context of international mobility, the growing mobility of women with their families and alone becomes prominent. This shows the increase in greater gender equity and empowerment of women, but simultaneously increases their vulnerability depending on the situation women find themselves in the host country.

### **e. Abuse and sexual abuse**

The vulnerability to abuse significantly increases when a child loses the protection of a parent(s). The gender of the migrating parent how ever has different effects on the family and a child's security. When the mother migrates, abuse whether it is physical, emotional, sexual or neglect is more likely to occur. Male migration, on the other hand, often leaves the child better protected but can see households with smaller financial resources. The income responsibility will often fall on the

mother, spouse or sister with little remittances coming back from the migrated father. In some cases, mothers will engage in temporary secondary unions to make up for the loss of income and companionship. This can have tremendous effect on girls as they become more vulnerable to sexual abuse by their mother's companions. Additionally it has been noted that girls often respond to male absenteeism by seeking attention from adult men, which adds to the risk of sexual abuse.

#### **f. Psychosocial effects**

Children left behind suffer from a wide range of psychosocial problems due to parental migration. The most common psychosocial problems relate to emotional detachment and varies due to child shifting (children moving from homes to homes), gender, interpersonal difficulties, attachment to material resources and violence. The most common psychosocial problems are feelings of abandonment, sadness, despondence, despair, anger, lack of trust, low self-esteem, and inability to concentrate at school. The abandonment of a parent(s) sometimes has permanent effects on the child's life, and many spend their entire lives struggling with feelings of rejection and loss. The many broken promises of reunion with their parents further tend to result in emotional instability.

#### **g. Exposure to child labour and trafficking**

Migration, especially irregular migration, makes children increasingly vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation. International Organization for Migration (IOM) research implies that the lack of education, risk awareness and "parental migration resulting in abandonment" are factors that increase the risks of trafficking.

#### **The well-being concept**

The well-being is defined through the current standard of life. Initially it has been measured through the income per capita, but this showed itself to be insufficient to explain such a complex concept. The capability approach, introduced by Amartya Sen, looks at freedom, human rights and defines human well-being in terms of functioning and capabilities, where functioning are achievements of human well-being and capabilities the ability to achieve them. Thus, well-being refers to being able to live a long, healthy and educated lifestyle that is locked within a decent social security system that one is allowed to and capable to use. A vast variety of measurements, such as average life expectancy, school enrollment and literacy rates for example, can be used in this discussion. However, the question of how to measure the happiness of children is not easily resolved. The dimensions depend on the availability of data and the distinction between doing well and being well has to be

emphasized throughout the research. The following dimensions of well-being were established by UNICEF to examine child well-being:

- Material well-being
- Health and Safety
- Educational well-being
- Relationships
- Behaviours and Risks
- Subjective well-being

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## 19.9 Recommendations

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- Children and adolescents must matter in migration policies and debates. Children and adolescents affected by migration are particularly vulnerable and should receive special protection.
- To increase the visibility of children in policy agendas, more research and comparable global data on how children are affected by migration are needed.
- Policy and programme interventions should aim at maximizing the benefits of remittances and limiting the negative effects of migration on children and families left behind.
- Governments, international organizations, and civil society stakeholders must collaborate (1) to advocate for the rights of children and women affected by migration, (2) to monitor and gather information on the well-being of children in migrant communities and (3) to promote awareness in sending and host societies so that the risks of discrimination and social exclusion are reduced.

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## 19.10 Conclusion

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The main feature of India's internal migration amongst women and children occurs due to migration of the husband. Women generally do not migrate for economic reasons. And yet, they do migrate and work as migrant workers (especially in the labour class societies). When parents migrate in search of jobs from place to place—the children suffer a lot, as their social development skills get hampered.



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## 19.11 Summary

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Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. People move in search of employment, better educational and health facilities etc. The male migration constitutes the highest level of migration in India due to employment purpose. The female usually migrates as accompanists of males through several other factors like after marriage or family transfer and nowadays also due to education and employment. More people migrate to urban areas because small land holding, low income, low living standard, less agricultural productivity compels them to migrate in urban areas where diversification of economy and urbanization provides a lot of job opportunities. But overcrowding in cities causes many environmental problems. So, there is a need to provide employment facilities in rural areas to minimize the rural to urban migration and to prevent to move to cities. Children are said to be the most vulnerable ones to face the various events related to migration. Migration alters the structure of families. Children are affected by migration in different ways: children are left behind by migrant parents; they are brought along with their migrating parents; and they migrate alone, independently of parents and adult guardians. Other children do not move, but are nevertheless affected because they live in communities that send or receive large numbers of migrants. Some children are return migrants or have been repatriated.

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## 19.12 Questions

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### 1. Answer briefly : (6 marks, total 6-8 questions)

- a) Why do humans migrate?
- b) What are the health issues women faces due to migration?
- c) What is single woman migration?
- d) What is the impact of migration on children left behind?
- e) What is the impact of migration on children on host countries?
- f) What type of education do the migrating children receive?

### 2. Answer in detail : (12 marks, total 5-6 questions)

- a) Why is migration a feminist issue?
- b) What are situations in which children migrate?
- c) What are the various recommendations for children who migrate?
- d) What is the well-being concept?
- e) Write a note on child migration.

**3. Essay Type Question : (20 marks, total 3-4 questions)**

- a) What are the five reasons why migration is a serious concern for women and girls?
- b) How do women migrate?
- c) What are the various recommendations for women who migrate?
- d) What are the effects of migration on children?

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## **UNIT 20 □ Migration and State**

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### **Structure**

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### **20.1 Learning Objectives**

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This unit focuses upon the following points:

- ⊙ To learn the nature and types of migration in India.
- ⊙ To learn about internal and domestic migration
- ⊙ To learn about reasons behind migration to different states and countries.
- ⊙ To develop a view about different challenges and opportunities of migration.

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### **20.2 Introduction**

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Migration is a truly global phenomenon, with movements both within nations and internationally across borders. The world has an estimated 244 million international migrants (UN DESA, 2016) and 763 million internal migrants (UN DESA, 2013). In other words, migrants make up more than 1 billion people, or one-

seventh of the world's population. Population diversity in most developed countries can be attributed to international migration, whereas in developing nations it is mostly internal migration that contributes to this diversity. Migration to "global cities" – those that are advanced producers of services, have large economies, are international gateways, and are political and cultural hubs of international significance – is increasing, with migrants equalling over a third of the population in, for example, Sydney, London and New York, and more than half in Dubai and Brussels. Different factors are at play for different cities. Dubai, for instance, has a transient population due to its restrictions on immigrants becoming citizens whereas, in Brussels, migration is more permanent, with its vast community of European nationals working for the European institutions.

Interstate migration in India doubled between 2001 and 2011 compared to the previous decade, growing 4.5 per cent annually, WEF said, adding annual interstate migration in the country averaged about 5-6 million migrants a year; with Pune and Surat emerging as the most affected cities in the Asian region, says a WEF (World Economic Forum) report. According to the World Economic Forum's report on 'Migration and Cities', India is home to one-fourth of the 100 fastest-growing cities in the world while Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata are among the 10 most populous urban areas worldwide.

The report further said in the Asian region, Pune and Surat have been named among the most affected cities, besides Guangzhou and Davao City. According to the United Nations, there are three times more internal migrants than international migrants in the world.

"Migrants are drawn to cities in search of economic, social and creative opportunities," said Alice Charles, Lead, Cities, World Economic Forum. Citing examples, the report said, Bihar, a state with one of the highest outflows of domestic migrants, has a per-capita income roughly equivalent to Somalia's (around USD 520) and a birth rate of 3.4 children per woman, on the other hand, Kerala, a destination for in-migrants, has a per-capita income four times that of Bihar's (about USD 2,350) and a birth rate of 1.6 children per woman, on par with Denmark.

Moreover, cities like Faridabad, Ludhiana and Surat total over 55 per cent of in-migrants, whereas the rate in Agra and Allahabad is below 15 per cent, demonstrating the significant variation among Indian cities regarding in-migration.

Regionwise, the report highlighted 22 of the most affected cities around the world, including from North America (Montreal, Ottawa, Calgary, New York, Boston), Latin America (Sao Paulo, Medellin).

The report further noted that in Middle East and North Africa (Dubai, Amman, Ramallah) were the most affected cities, in sub-Saharan Africa (Cape Town, Dakar), Asia (Pune, Surat, Guangzhou, Davao City), Europe (Berlin, Athens, Paris, Amsterdam, Rotterdam) and Oceania (Auckland).

The report looked at the solutions implemented or initiated to meet the needs of the migrant population, particularly in the delivery of vital urban infrastructure and services like housing, education, health, employment, integration and social cohesion, and safety and security.

“Partnerships between cities will have greater prominence in the years to come, with possibilities of migrant redistribution and responding to labour market needs with immigrants,” said Gregory Hodkinson, Chairman, Arup Group Ltd; Chair of the World Economic Forum Future of Urban Development and Services Initiative.

### 20.2.1 Types of migration

Migration can be classified in several ways. It is usually categorized:

- A) By political boundaries – Based on political limits and the boundaries crossed, such as districts, counties, state borders and international boundaries, further identified as the places of origin and destination. A widely recognized distinction exists between internal and international migration:
  - i) Internal migration – Migration occurring within a country from crossing political boundaries, either within a state or between states, whether urban to rural, urban to urban, rural to rural, or rural to urban. The term associated with migrants arriving at their destination is “in-migrants”, and with those leaving their place of origin is “out-migrants”. This form of migration also includes movement between villages, blocks and districts.
  - ii) International migration – Migration occurring across country boundaries. Such migrants are known as immigrants (coming into a foreign country) and emigrants (leaving their own country). This also includes continent-to-continent migration.
- B) By movement patterns – Based on classifying people according to their social status, travel points and periodicity:
  - i) Step migration – Migration initiating from a small settlement and moving to a larger one in the urban hierarchy over the years. This includes a pattern of closer, not too destabilizing migrations from a person’s place of origin to an ensuing destination, such as movement

from a farm to a village, then to a town and subsequently to a suburb (if applicable) and finally into a city. This category also includes the movement of people from a smaller to a bigger city.

- ii) Circular migration – Cyclical migration experiences between an origin and a destination with at least one migration and return. Migrants share their time between multiple (at least two) locations, with their family, work, etc. While the frequency of movement may vary along with the length of stay at the destination, a circular migrant spends significant periods of time at the origin and destination. Seasonal migration is a very common form of circular migration, driven by seasonal peaks in labour demand, mostly in agriculture. Return migration, on the other hand, refers to a one-time emigration and return after an extended stay outside the host territory.
  - iii) Chain migration – Migration of families at different stages of the life cycle from one location to the next, who subsequently bring people from their home location to this new place. In theory, a chain of people constantly moves from place to place, supported by those who migrated before them.
- C) By decision-making approach – Based on classifying migration as voluntary or involuntary, given certain sociopolitical factors (e.g. the fear of ill-treatment attributed to race, religion, political affiliation, nationality or association to social groups; flight from war; conflict involving arms; civil war; natural or man-made disasters; famine) or developmental factors (e.g. substantial infrastructure projects, including airport, road, dam or port construction; the administrative clearance of urban projects; mining and deforestation; the creation of conservation parks/reserves and other biosphere-related initiatives, among others):
- i) Voluntary migration – Based on a person’s free will, initiative and desire to live in a better place and to improve their financial status, among other factors.
  - ii) Involuntary migration – Based on a person’s being forced out of their home due to certain unfavourable environmental and political situations. This can be further subclassified as:
    - Reluctant/impelled/imposed migration– When a person is put in a situation that encourages relocation or movement outside their place of residence.
    - Forced migration – When a person is unable to return home (refugee), or undergoes a legal procedure to qualify as a refugee in

the host country (asylee), or is forced to leave their home due to a conflict or development but does not cross any boundaries (internally displaced person [IDP]).

There has been a basic difference in the processes of migration in developing countries from that of the developed countries. In developing countries like India, migration mostly takes place not due to the so called pull forces of the destination place as usually happens in case of developed countries, but because of poverty, unemployment, natural calamities and underdevelopment at the origin place. Migration in developing countries is still viewed as a survival strategy. Poverty and prosperity both are responsible for inducing migration. While the former is mostly true in developing countries, the latter kind of migration is found in developed countries.

Migration is the barometer of changing socio-economic and political conditions at the national and international levels. It is also a sign of wide disparities in economic and social conditions between the origin and destination (UNFPA, 1993). Migration and development is a growing area of interest. There has been much debate on the negative impacts of migration on development and vice - versa. On the one hand, it is argued that underdevelopment is a cause of migration, and on the other hand, prosperity also leads to migration. The history of migration is the history of people's struggle to survive and to prosper, to escape insecurity and poverty, and to move in response to opportunity. The economist J.K. Galbraith describes migration as "the oldest action against poverty". World wide 175 millions people or just less than three percent of the total population live outside their country of birth.

### **20.2.2 Internal or domestic migration**

These terms refer to human movements within a Nation. It usually results from people moving from, rural areas to live in small centres, small centres to large cities, Between cities, Cities to rural areas where new industries create new jobs. Some of this internal migration is temporary as farmers move to town to sell their crops and produce and then return to their farm and plantations. Some is semi-permanent as people move to town to work and return only after their retirement. Some internal migration is permanent as families move never return to their birth place.

### **20.2.3 Migration patterns in India**

There are four migration streams: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban. Further the stream can be intra- district, intra – state, inter-state. As is evident of majorities of the migrants move within the state, i.e. move within same

districts or move to other districts of the same state. Inter-state migration in India is mainly from states having low agricultural productivities. Orissa, Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, part of Bengal and Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh fell in this category. Inter-state migration takes place for casual and temporary employment in the following spheres.

[1] Seasonal agricultural labour required at the time of harvesting and for agricultural operations in Punjab, Haryana and western UP.

[2] Construction labour engaged in irrigation projects, major road and rail projects all over the country.

[3] Specialized labour like Oriya labour in Madhya Pradesh brick kilns, sugarcane harvesting labour in South Gujarat and other coastal states, textile labour in Surat and Bhivandi in Maharashtra.

There is no uniform pattern in the position of migrant workers as the variables determining it vary from sector to sector and state to state. For instance the position of migrant agricultural workman from Bihar and UP is slightly better than the constructional workmen from Orissa and AP agricultural labourer, after finding his way in the new territory becomes an “old hand” in subsequent years and a relation with the employer is established. Hence the obvious reasons are that there is a one to one relation between the employer and the workmen, and some kind of continuity is there in the case of agricultural sector. These relations once established continue due to nature of work. Both these factors are absent in the case of construction workers. The migrant worker knows neither the employer nor the nature and place of work are known before hand. Once the project is over, the worker and the employer loose contract, and both have to a new work site. This adds to the vulnerability of the workmen. As regards long distance (Inter – state) movement in India, a clear sex differential is found from census 2011. Among the male interstate migrants, rural to urban stream emerged as the most prominent accounting for 47% percent. On the other hand, rural to rural has remained the major pattern of female movement, with 38% percent of them migrating from rural to rural areas.

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## 20.3 Interstate and intrastate migration

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Internal migration is of two types, viz., intra state migration and interstate migration.



**(i) Intra state migration:**

This type of migration takes place between two parts of the same state.

**(ii) Inter state migration:**

Volume of interstate migration, i.e., migration between two states is much smaller than the intra-state migration simply because of increase in distance. Most of the inter-state migration takes place along border between two neighbouring states.

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## 20.4 Inter-state migration and regional disparities in India

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Migration happens more due to regional disparity in development. People move from backward under-development regions to developed and prosperous areas in order to improve in their living conditions. This is found to be true both in international as well as in internal migration. In the developing countries in general and India in particular the inter-state migration should be viewed in the above context of regional disparity and inequality in development.

“Population pressure on finite resources encourages migration. While urbanization and rural-urban migration are natural outcome of the transition from agriculture-based economy to an industrial economy, the extent of such migration is frequently perceived to be excessive and urban population have been concentrated in the largest urban agglomerations in most of the Third World nations in general and in the Asian and Pacific regions in particular. The migration is seen, not so much as a natural outcome of development, but more as a result distortion in the development process deriving from inappropriate or ineffective planning” (U.N, ESCAPE, 1991, Pp 1-12)

Migration and regional disparities are strongly interlinked. Lee’s theory (1965) of volume of migration states that the “volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory”. Economic Criteria is the basic motive behind most of the migration.

In a study (Mukheji, DPFW-93) on “Inter-state migration and regional disparities in India” found that in India, even in recent times, inter-state migration of the males for employment, (as well as of females) is still very much linked with the underdevelopment, poverty, spatial disorganization, regional disparities, social inequalities, rural stagnation, rural neglect and unbalanced regional development

over national space. In India, people are still primarily migrating just for the survival. A study done by economic and social commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP, 1991) observed that “migration from rural to urban areas continues at a rapid pace in many countries of the region, and it was often beyond the capacity of towns, cities and metropolitan areas to cope with the increasing numbers. Today, throughout the world, migration is contributing to economic and social development by enabling man to overcome the primary policy objective of regional science. The role played by migration in socio- economic development requires one to view it historically, since its form and role have changed some what over time.

Migration is an equilibrating process serving to improve relations between man’s numbers and his physical environment or to reduce disparity between communities or regions in different stages of development, or to give rise to an increase in the overall productivity of the factorial equipment of a region or country (Spengler and Myers, 1977). The relationship between rural-urban migration and development is conclusive and very complex. The process of migration is related to the concept of development. In other words, development activities are met with the quick response in terms of people’s mobility (Yadava, 2002).Kulkarni (1985) while analyzing the census data finds that there is considerable internal migration in India, over a third of the population has moved at least once and over a tenth has moved during a decade. In terms of volume, most of the migrants are females and these are mostly due to marriage.

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## **20.5 Challenges and opportunities of migration to cities**

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### **1. Demographic consequences –**

Migration may have profound effects on the size, structure and growth patterns of populations. Migration has effects on both populations of the patterns of populations. Migration has effects on both population of the places that people leave & on the populations of those in which they settle. These effects vary with different types of migration & length of migrants stay in places. The absence of large number of either men or women may have a limited impact on the sending society in short term but if they are absent for longer periods time their absence will have significant effects on population growth rates in the medium and longer terms.

## **2. Housing**

One of the direct consequences of the city's inability to cater to the housing supply for its population is the formation of slums or informal settlements. With migration, this problem is further exacerbated and has a detrimental effect on the city. Increased demand for housing of skilled labour in high- and medium-income groups, lack of affordable housing leading poor migrants to settle in slums.

## **3. Education and employment**

The scale of new arrivals in cities inevitably brings with it challenges and leads to a tangible demographic change at the local level. In many cities, education systems are already under pressure due to growing populations and budget cuts. Depending on their formal competencies, cities have to respond to this new situation by expanding and upgrading their infrastructure, and training and hiring new staff (such as teachers, education assistants and social workers). Poor enrolment among migrant children and with higher unemployment among residents, problems may arise as the economy cannot absorb all the graduates and unskilled personnel.

## **4. Health**

Access to migrant-sensitive health services is important for a positive migration outcome and contribution to the socio- economic development of cities. Highly vulnerability to vector-borne diseases: risky jobs exposing migrants to occupational health issues; migrant labour highly susceptible to HIV/AIDS.

## **5. Transportation**

An enabler of human development, transportation meets basic requirements, such as facilitating access to workplaces, schools and medical institutions. It also assists a city with its economic activity and helps to develop and drive its prosperity. More privately- owned vehicles causes congestion in the city.

## **6. Sanitation**

Cities that have spawned slum neighborhoods as a result of growth often lack adequate infrastructure to supply clean water. Without proper sanitation facilities, human waste that should be treated is instead disposed of in open pits or bodies of water like rivers and streams, creating a health hazard that can affect the entire population of the city (and beyond) and lead to the spread of diseases, such as vector- borne, waterborne and other communicable diseases, from improper sanitation. Basic sanitation lacking in slums, leading to open defecation.

## 7. Integration and social cohesion

Integration and social cohesion are dynamic, continuous processes of change in society, where both the migrant and native communities learn to coexist with one another and adapt to differences. Full integration and cohesiveness are achieved when individuals only rarely describe others using racial or ethnic terms and, more importantly, when these attributes have negligible consequences on life's opportunities, or when the overall quality of life in neighborhoods is considered without thought to the presence of immigrants (Saggar, Somerville, Ford, & Sobolewska, 2012).

## 8. Safety and security

Immigrants are typically more vulnerable than others because they do not know the local regulations or language, have no friends or family nearby and are unfamiliar with the local community, institutions and non-governmental organizations. Immigrants may not know their rights, and they fear deportation if they violate the terms of their stay in a city or country.

### 20.5.1 Anti-migrant politics

Internal migration is frequently associated with the rise of anti-migrant politics, as parties cater to nativist sentiments or as new parties emerge to cater to such sentiments.

In Maharashtra, domestic migration fuelled the rise of the Shiv Sena, which railed against South Indian migrants until the 1970s, then switched its focus to Muslim migrants in the 1980s and 1990s, and has since targeted North Indians, particularly Biharis. We show that when natural disasters pushed migrants into certain districts of Maharashtra, those districts were more likely to support the Shiv Sena in subsequent elections.

India's local governments also favor so-called natives, discriminating against domestic migrants. State governments hire few out-of-State migrants.

The Indian government implemented large scale decentralization reforms in the early-1990s, creating over 200,000 village, taluk, and district level sub-national governments overnight.

Since competitive elections are held at every level, politicians face strong electoral incentives to define and cater to their own constituents. State governments hired fewer domestic migrants after the decentralization reforms.

Internal migration is one of the surest paths to economic development. As people move across sub-national boundaries, they exercise their rights to freedom of movement, and improve their lot. By impeding migration, nativism is a barrier to realizing the promise of migration.

How then can we better realize the promise of migration, while reducing the backlash against it? Central governments can redistribute resources to migrant-receiving areas to help them cope with the influx of people, and to migrant-sending areas, to reduce migration.

We have found that the Indian central government is more generous with allocations to States that are controlled by the prime minister's allies. New Delhi is most likely to manage the challenge of internal migration well if the government draws its power from a large coalition of States.

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## 20.6 Global contexts of migration

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The history of humankind is full of stories of migration; people have always moved, either voluntarily or by force. Although movements of people are taken as given, the right to travel or immigrant adaptation has never been an easy process. The geopolitical landscape of the world has been changed by globalization, which in turn has altered the character of migration. There are now many more immigrants who traverse the world (Papastergiadis 2000). The reasons for the movement, the processes of settlement and adjustment and the reception in the host countries show great variability. Globalization is a broad term that refers to the interconnectedness of the world. It refers to processes that are primarily economic but increasingly social, cultural and political. Globalization is the “global enmeshment” of money, people, ideas, images, values and technologies which now flow in a much swifter manner across the world (Hurrell and Woods 1995). Beck (2000) points out that from now on what happens on the planet is not a limited local event and that “all inventions, victories, catastrophes affect the whole world, and we must reorient and reorganize our lives and actions, our organizations and institutions, along a ‘local-global axis’” (p. 11). Giddens (1990) sees a world market for capital, commodities, labour and communications with deadly weaponry and sophisticated surveillance. The interconnectedness in the world brings with it the significant features of increasing speed and volume via travel and communication technologies and a condensing of time and space where there is global shrinkage, and messages, symbols and images are freed from spatial constraints (Held et al. 1999).

The final feature is the permeability of political and geographic borders as greatly increased relations take place whether through trade and tourism or by electronic means (Beck 2000). Migration is important in the new era of globalisation since it is a powerful force to create change through its economic, social, political and cultural impacts on both receiving and sending countries. Disparities in social, economic and demographic conditions will create enormous pressures in the world in terms of work, land and other resources (Zolberg 1989). The global migration of people requires intricate analysis, key features of this analysis include:

### **1. Complexity of migration:**

There are complex patterns of migration and it is no longer only the impoverished who migrate. Migration is no longer from less developed countries to more industrialised ones; the patterns of immigrant movement are complex and multidirectional. New types of migration correspond to the restructuring of the economies of nation states. The proliferation in the directions of movements, the restrictions in settlement and the diversification of the identity of migrants have made the patterns of migration very complex. New forms of migration include highly skilled labour, increasing temporary migration, and the contract labour to the Middle East; trade in “sex slaves” from Eastern Europe, illegal immigration too many parts of the world, “bi-local” business immigrants from Asia and the feminisation of the migrant labour force (Papastergiadis 2000; Castles and Miller 1998).

### **2. Regulated migration:**

International movements of people do not occur in a vacuum but are organised through infrastructures and institutions of transport, communication and regulation. Contemporary travel involves strict regulation and control. Migration processes intersect with and are

constitutive of the networks of political, military and cultural relations within nation states, transnational corporations and international bodies. (Held et al. 1999; Castles and Miller 1998). Increasingly nation states have had to integrate more closely with the world economy. It is argued that globalisation undermines state sovereignty and the independent policy-making capacity of states, in that states are increasingly compelled to adopt policies dictated by transnational corporations, global entities and trading blocs. This has resulted in nation states adopting functions of control in the face of increased global movements of people. The first control function is the role of the nation state in establishing rules of entry and exit. A key focus of discussion has become to what extent nation states control their borders in the context

of an intensity of effort to increase border control, to deport asylum seekers and to tighten regulations and rules of entry (Brochmann and Hammar 1999). The second element is the relationship between the sovereignty and the security of the nation state. The state has engaged in the management of unwanted immigrants and the “war on terror” (Babacan and Babacan 2007). There are clear links between international relations and domestic foreign policy and the immigration policies of nation states (Ghosh 2000). The third issue relates to the incorporation of immigrants in a host country, including citizenship rights to be given, provision of welfare support and legal entitlements, in a climate of neo-liberal philosophies that curtail welfare rights (McCulloch 2004).

### **3. Power relations:**

Globalisation has transformed the role of the nation state into an essential strategic institution for the legislative changes and innovations necessary for economic globalisation. Additionally, globalisation has resulted in the development of a homogeneous worldwide culture (Inglis 2003). Today’s world has a distinctive “sameness” in fashion, food and music. This has been referred to as the “McDonaldisation” of society (Strada 2003, p. 11). Product distributors in economically advanced countries (such as the United States) use the advantages of globalisation, including global media (film, music, internet, fashion, television), to attract sales (Du Gay 1997, p. 33). The products go beyond their intrinsic qualities or uses and a product or brand becomes a statement about the person consuming it, thereby reinforcing the consumer’s identity. In the process, local cultural identity is threatened because of its subjection to western cultural domination (Hong 2000). Inglis notes that the autonomy and policy-making capability of the nation state is being undermined by the moves to economic and cultural internationalisation. The power of nation states is constrained by the development of supranational political groupings (Inglis 2003, pp. 12-13). In effect, such relationships establish power relations within the nation state and result in a complex mixture of processes that act in contradictory ways (Richmond 2002). McLellan and Richmond (1994, p. 666) highlight one such contradiction when arguing that the free movement of labour and the relatively free movement of finance and capital are countered by protectionist policies, with the state acting as the gatekeeper for protecting the borders from unwanted immigrants, often unskilled people, certain groups of refugees and asylum seekers and other unauthorised arrivals. Unequal global power relations are translated, interpreted and replicated within nation states to render particular groups of people or organisations more powerful over others.

#### 4. Domination and racialised hierarchies:

Institutions, systems such as the legal system, and the labour market shape the way in which disadvantage and minorities participate globally. Cheran (2001) notes that immigration control mechanisms were instituted to regulate and manipulate the movement of people from third world countries, to restrict the migration of unskilled people and to select from the pool of highly skilled or wealthy immigrants who were suitable for resettlement (Cheran 2001). One of the consequences of globalisation and restrictive immigration policies is the exclusion from the first world of vast numbers of people from the developing world (Richmond 2002). Marfleet goes further and states that “the key global factor precipitating the refugee crisis is the internationalisation of the state in the context of the transnationalisation of the political economy” (Marfleet 1998, p. 73). Despite the contradictions of globalisation, there is still a privileging of certain dominant norms over others, such as the primacy of market, neo-

liberal philosophies and approaches to wanted and unwanted groups of people. Social exclusion takes place within a globalised world based on socially constructed markers of biology, ethnicity, identity, “race” and culture (Mac an Ghaill 1999; Babacan and Gopalkrishnan 2008). As borders of cultural difference become more porous and/or eventually collapse, questions of culture increasingly become interlaced with issues of power, representation and identity. Underlying the struggles and conflict over issues such as multiculturalism is the conflict over the relationship between democracy, citizenship rights and culture on the one hand and identity and the politics of representation on the other.

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## 20.7 Rohingya’s migration

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The Rohingya are an ethnic group, the majority of whom are Muslim. To escape persecution in Myanmar, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya have been fleeing to other countries for refuge since the 1970s. The largest migrations of this community took place in 2016 and 2017, when episodes of brutal suppression by the security forces of Myanmar caused more than 723,000 Rohingya to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. While the vast majority of the Rohingya that fled Myanmar are in Bangladesh, there are an estimated 18,000 Rohingya asylum seekers and refugees registered with UNHCR in India.



### **Drivers of Rohingya migration to India-**

The Rohingya fled Myanmar due to persecution and violence by state security forces that mounted a brutal campaign that included the destruction of Rohingya villages and the killing of thousands of people. The nature of all Rohingya migration is forced, as they cannot go back to Myanmar until conditions improve. Their main destination country has been Bangladesh, which is currently hosting more than 919,000 Rohingya. There are two main patterns of Rohingya migration to India: from Bangladesh westward to the state of West Bengal in India and northeast to the Indian states of Mizoram and Meghalaya. On both of these routes, the Rohingya are vulnerable to exploitation due to their lack of official identification documents, their inability to speak local languages and their lack of financial means in India, the Rohingya reside in four main locations: Hyderabad, Jammu, Nuh, and Delhi. They live in destitute conditions in terms of their quality of life. They have low incomes and are usually working as manual labourers. Most Rohingya children are not enrolled in formal education and access to health services is difficult. The Rohingya reported that they had no problems with the local population, but their sense of security is threatened by the possibility of being detained or deported by police and security services. They are also at high risk of exploitation by police, lawyers and employers.

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## **20.8 Conclusion**

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The states in India are responsible for migration and immigration of its citizens. Majority of interstate migration occurs due to lack of economic prospects and jobs. State should create job opportunities for its citizens. Migration in developing countries is still viewed as a survival strategy. Poverty and prosperity both are responsible for inducing migration.

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## **20.9 Summary**

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Migration is a natural outcome of inequality in the distribution of resources. It is positively related to modernization, industrialization and development. So, migration is essential for development. It is a desirable phenomenon. But what is not desirable is the distressed migration found in most of the developing countries resulting in overcrowding of cities and mushrooming of slums. In India the interstate migration pattern reflects that there is an inequality in the regional development. Some states which have higher investment and resources for development experience high in migration. At the same time, the backward states like U.P, Bihar, M.P, etc. are experiencing heavy out-migration. Hence, there is a need for balanced regional

development. More focus for development and investment should be given to those states which are lagging behind in development parameters. This may retain the labour force at the native state and thereby reduce overcrowding and congestion in cities. This will result in a more prosperous and balanced migration flow leading to a qualitative shift in the pattern and trend of migration flow in India. The migration policy should focus more on the development at the area of origin rather than at the destination place.

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## 20.10 Questions

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### 1. Answer briefly : (6 marks, total 6-8 questions)

- a) What are the different types of migration?
- b) What is inter-state and intra-state migration?
- c) What is anti-migrant politics?
- d) Write in brief about the key features of global migration.
- e) How can you identify the different types of migration by the movement pattern of the migrants?

### 2. Answer in detail : (12 marks, total 5-6 questions)

- a) What is the basic difference between migration in developed and developing countries?
- b) How does migration take place based on the regional disparity in development?
- c) What is internal or domestic migration?
- d) What is the impact of migration on cities?
- e) Write a note on Rohingya's migration.

### 3. Essay Type Question : (20marks, total 3-4 questions)

- a) Explain in detail with examples the different types of migration.
- b) What is the migration pattern in India? Explain your answer based on intra-state and inter-state migration.
- c) What are the various challenges and opportunities of migration in cities?

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