



Indian Anthropology

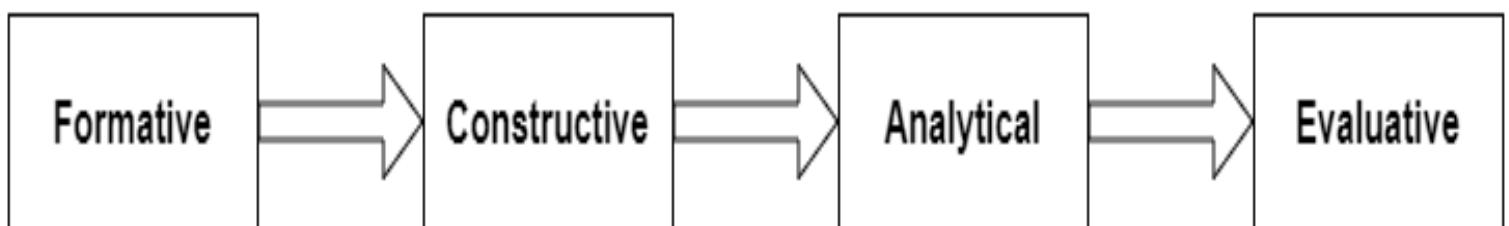
Handwritten Notes: 2 + 3.1 + 3.2 + 3.3 + 4 + 5.3

by

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(AIR 70 CSE 2021)

166+140=306(Highest)



My thoughts on Indian Anthropology

Getting 306 in Anthropology is the 'single reason' for me getting this rank. In Paper 2, the role of question selection is less as most questions are generic. So feel free to choose either Tribal or Indian Anthropology. I personally don't feel Paper 2 to be tough. I only devoted ~1/3rd of my time. Role of PYQ's in Paper 2 is especially more pronounced. Please try to build further on my notes. This is not end but 85% of way. Now about topic in hand:

- 1) I have not shared my notes of few topics such as 3.4, 5.1 & 5.2 because:
 - a) Sometimes my notes may not meet high standard of publication(They are good but not good enough to flood the market).
 - b) These are easy topics that can be covered with minimal effort. In such topics if everyone were to write same answer then marks awarded would decrease.
- 2) Keep adding more case studies and examples whenever you find. Don't forget it. Ex: In TCC, I would quote around 10-12 diverse examples. But in topics like NMS and Unv/Pa, try to get some unique examples and don't give only stale examples.
- 3) In many concepts, you have to mention where FW was done which led to development of that concept. Ex: Dominant Caste by MNS after his village study in Rampura. Also give book & year. Ex: SC by LPV in his "SC of Hindu Gaya(1961)".
- 4) Try to get in as many scholarly opinions as possible. This is most crucial aspect of Indian Anthropology. Ex: In Jajmani, try to get views of Wiser, Harold Gould, Orenstein, DN Majumdar, Iravati Karve, Abbe Dubois, Oscar Lewis, Biedelman, Pauline Kolenda, Ram Ahuja, David Pocock, Y. Singh, etc.
- 5) Try to show application and contemporary relevance of concept. Ex: Is Sanskritization relevant today? How can we use Folk-Urban Continuum to understand Indian society(TCC)? How can Sacred Complex be used for promoting tourism? Criticism is also important here. Ex: SC Dube has given beautiful insights many times such as when he gave 6 fold tradition instead of GT/LT dichotomy.
- 6) Diagrams are of paramount importance in Indian Anthropology as well without which reduction of marks will take place. Try to put in maximum number.
- 7) Interlinking of concepts is also important. Ex: Sacred Complex is intimately linked with Great & Little Tradition as well as Unv and Parochialization; How can NMS of LP Vidyarthi and Cultural Ecology of Julian Steward be connected, etc.
- 8) In 2, 'Ethnic & Linguistic profile'; there is major role of rote memorization.
- 9) In 3.1, try to quote as many Indian thinkers as possible. Also in famous concepts like Sacred Complex know about BN Saraswati & Makhan Jha also.
- 10) In 3.2, questions are getting trickier so get good understanding about this topic in detail. Try to know complex things like Approaches(Attributional & Interactional), Hierarchy or Stratification & Ritual or Politico-Economic. In TCC, bring in unique biological points like Sickle-Cell Anemia commonality among tribes and castes both.

Index

CONTENT	PAGE NO
Ethnic and Linguistic Classification(2)	4
Traditional Indian Social System(3.1)	17
Caste System in India(3.2)	26
Sacred Complex & NMS Complex(3.3)	71
Indian Anthropologists(4)	78
Socio-cultural change in Indian Society(5.3)	118

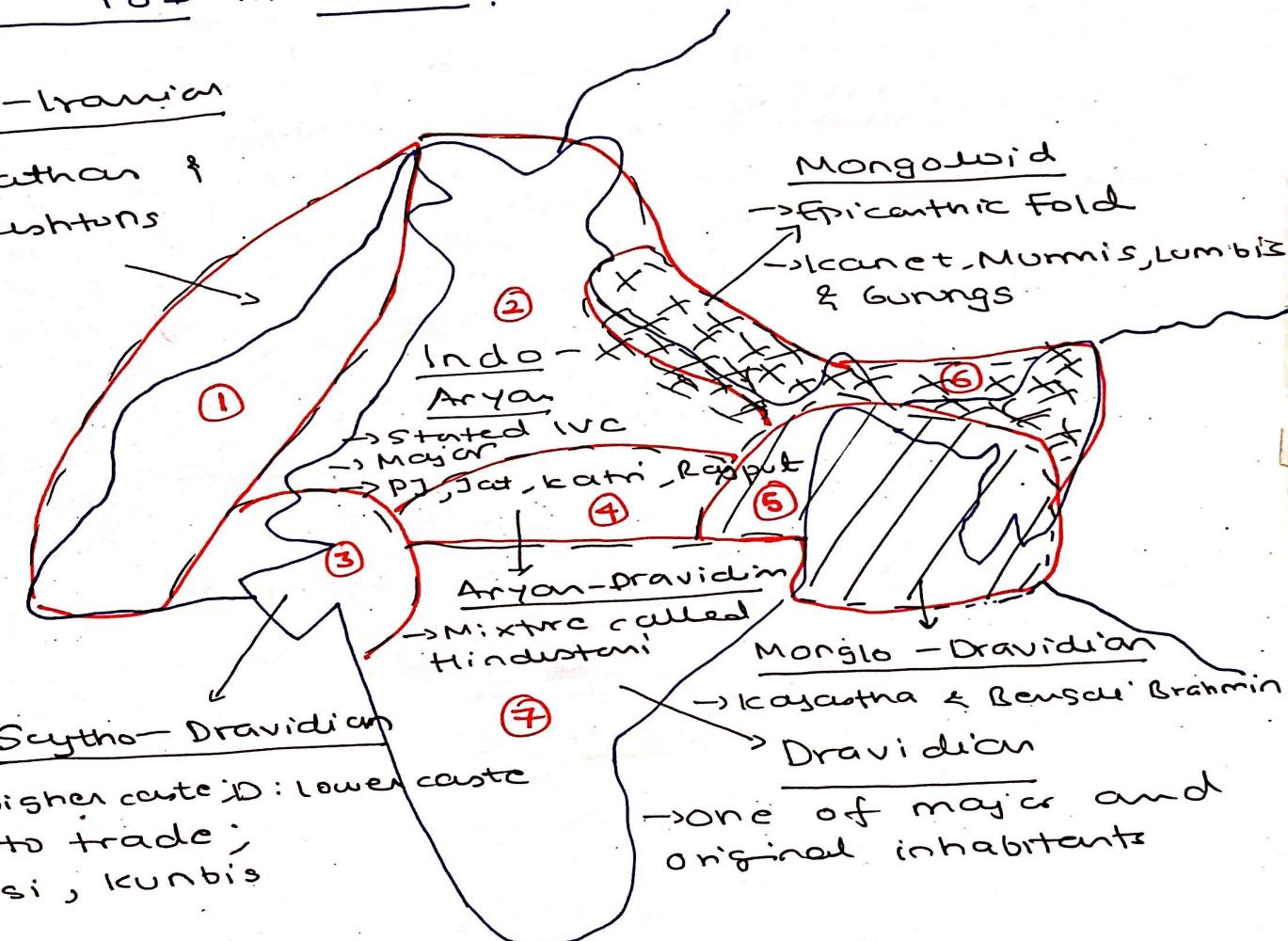
2. Demographic Profile of India

Race & Ethnic here;

A] By HH Risley in 1908; it was first scientific classification of races. He was also 1901 Census Commissioner. He also put forth the 2nd PoI in 1908. He classified into 7 races:

Turko-Iranian

Ex: Pathan & Pashtuns



- S: higher caste
- D: lower caste
- Due to trade;
- Parsi, Kunbis

	Turko-Iranian	Indo-Aryan	Scytho-Dravidian	Aryan-Dravidian	Mongol-Dravidian	Mongolid	Dravidian
Head form	Broad	Narrow	Broad	Narrow	broad	Broad	Narrow
Colour complexions	Fair	Fair	fair	Light brown	light Brown	Yellow tinge	Dark
Stature	Tall	Tall	Medium	Medium	Medium	Short	Short
Nose form	Fine	Fine	medium to Broad	medium to Broad	medium to Broad	Broad	Broad
Hair	Plentiful	Plentiful	Scanty	Plentiful	Plentiful	Scanty	Plentiful

Characteristics: {75 - 80} ; total: 5748 individuals
 1) Stature
 2) Nasal Index $\times \text{(*)}$
 3) Cephalic Index = $\left(\frac{\text{breadth}}{\text{length}} \right) \times 100$; Total 9 factors used
 4) orbito Nasal Index

Criticism:

1) BS Guha: No mention of Negrito element
 SC-D extent overemphasized

2) T-I are dolicocephalic so wrong

3) Dravidian is too generalistic; Deniker says

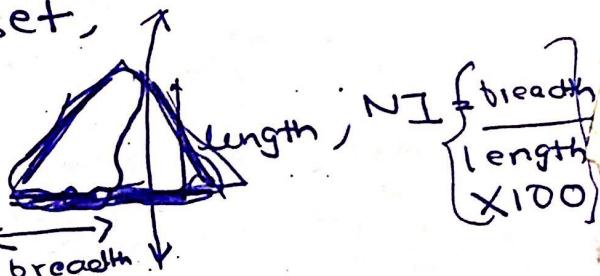
4) I-A more widespread: BN Dutta

5) Epicanthic fold not present in entire NE.

6) Maxmuel says used linguistic terms for race classification

Medium nose
→ narrow nose
→ short &
broad nose

→ Arbitrary, preconceived small sample set,
 Bad traits selected
 → Excessive focus on Nasal Index
 to obtain racial classification.



Risley Integrated caste & race; he said all castes belong to 1 race based on N.I..
 high castes \Rightarrow Indo-Aryan race.
 Tribes \Rightarrow Dravidian race
 Caste system has basis in race not occupation.

HGP(O3): 1st report, 99.99% all humans are genetically similar so racial classification is not desirable.

① John Forbes Watson
People of India: (1868 - 1875) → John William Bayne
→ Lord Canning had encouraged them.
→ Photographs

ASI: 1945; HQ at Kolkata. Under MOC.

③ People of India Project (1985); Kumar Buresh Singh had led it. He was director of ASI also.

Risley said 'caste' was important → Race due to strict practice of endogamy. He said change of occupation led to formation of a different race due to a new endogamy.

→ He was Census Commissioner for 1901 census

→ Proponent of Anthropometric theories of Paul Topinard (French Race Theorist)

He was opposed by material Occupational theorists of caste such as William Crooke (ICS).

India is a melting pot of races - D.N. Majumdar

Endless splintering prevented consolidation of Indian Nationalism. Origins of Caste, Risley argued were rooted in "basis of fact & superstructure of fiction": while endogamy explained racial integrity of distinct castes, the Indian mind's "lax hold of facts" and "its passion for endless division and sub-division" prevented it from overthrowing this system of social precedence. Ultimately, it was Risley's formulation of caste system as racial hierarchy that would go on to dominate colonial policies of governance in form of subsequent censuses & surveys. Legacy of Risley's work is still palpable in India today, where colonial understanding of caste as rigidly hierarchical structure has provided basis for affirmative action policies since independence.

U.P.S.C.

इस भाग में कृति न लिखें
(Don't write anything in this part)

H. H Risley : 1901 Census → applied caste all over India.

- Now considered 'scientific racist' ✓
- Interpreted Rig Veda as speaking of invaders from NW. ✓
- used Nasal Index → Races → positions in caste system.

He said [Social position of caste] Nasal Index

and that Aryan Blood \propto Nasal Index

He said he could differentiate Caste & Tribe on basis of Nasal Index

* Caste system was created because of Aryan Invasion

1885 → Ethnographic Survey of Bengal-

BOOK
"Racial theory of Caste"
Mongloid (R) in NE.
Aryan trait (↑) in South.

→ The study of ethnology in India : 1891

→ Tribes & Castes of Bengal (1891)

⇒ People of India (1908) : Based on Census.

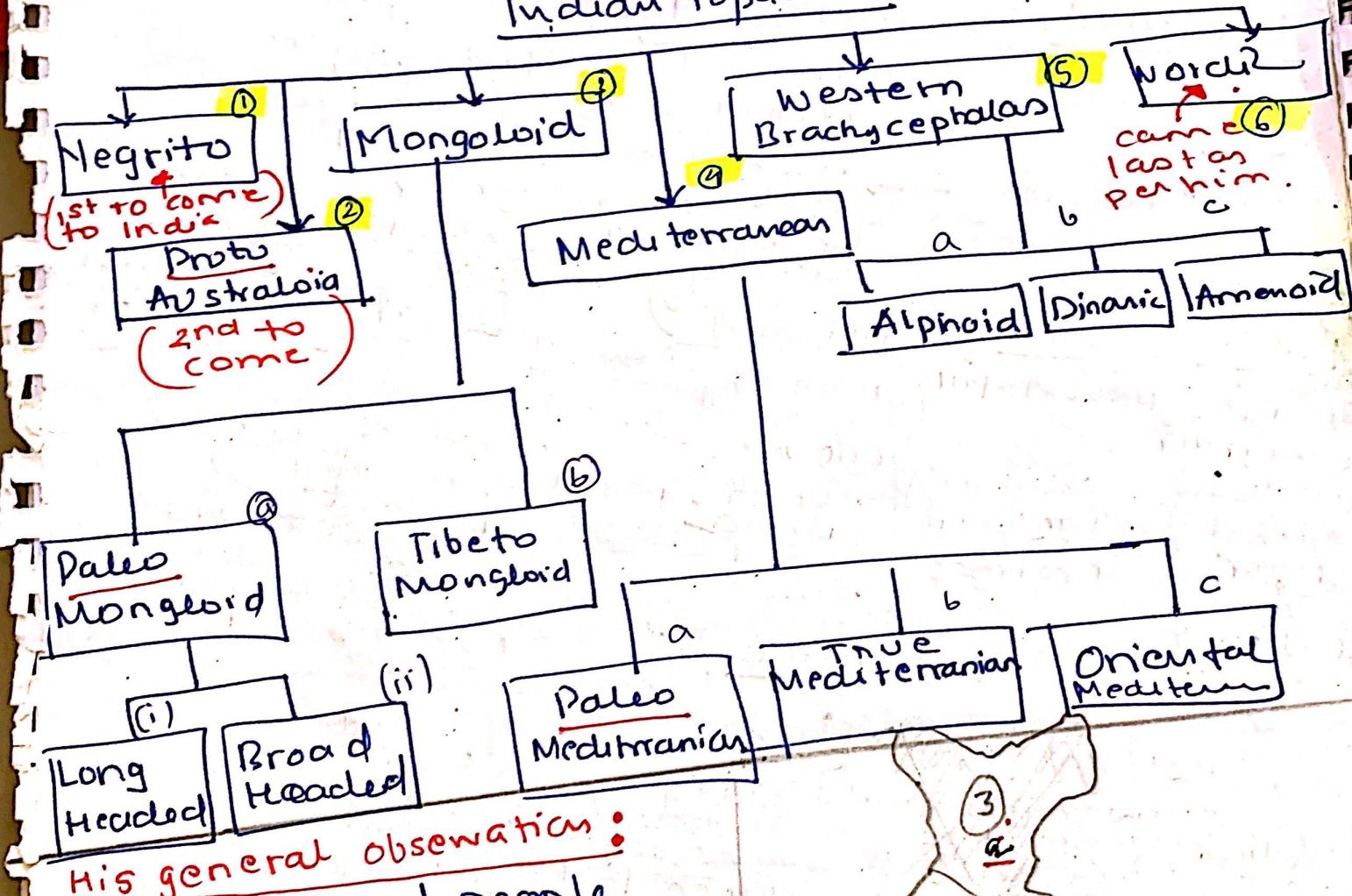
He said caste was not religion as Muslim & Christians also had it. It was traditional character of India society itself; whereas European societies tend to fuse together under the umbrella of one nation. No such solidarity was to be found in India.

Guha's classification:

[6 fold classification]

Guha's classification is based on scientific criteria and based on census of 1931 census Anthropometric surveys. Most recognised & accepted Anthropometric Survey.

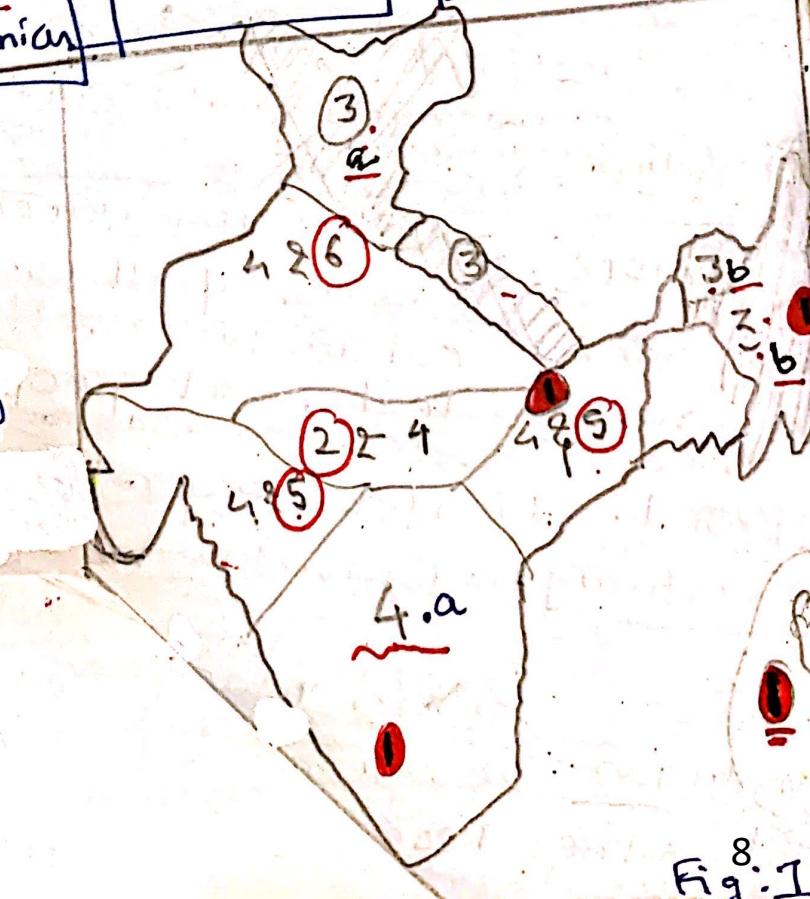
Classification: Criteria: 18 Measurements such as cephalic & facial region, skin color, hair, eyes supra nasal notch orbital depth dev Indian Population



His general observation:

* Broad headed people dominate the population

* 3 major elements one Negrito, Proto-Australoid
2 Mongoloid



1. Negrito: 1st to come; short, brachycephalic, wolly & frizzy hair with whirled thick everted; broad wide; deepest skin Lips nose

Ex: Inian-kadon
Ramnath Hills
Andaman
Naga of NE

2. P-A: 2nd to come; wavy hair; dolicocephalic

Ex: Oraon, Santhal, /
Murda / Medium stature & Nose
Scanty & straight hair

3. Mongoloid: From NE; Prominent cheekbones
Brachycephalic; Dolicocephalic; Mauled epicanthic; Ex: Chakma

Paleo-Mongoloid → Brachycephalic; skin light; Ex: Assam & Burmese tribes
Tibeto-Mongoloid: Brachycephalic; light brown - marked fold; Ex: Sikkim & Bhutan

4.

- ① Paleo:
Mediterranean: Light skin and Arched forehead IVC by them.
- ② Indo: Long & convex nose but rest same as IVC-M.
- ③ Oriental: but rest same as IVC-M.

Dravidians of south
Tamil & Telugu Brahmins
Namboodiris
Allahbad Brahmins
Chettis of PJ
Bania of RJ

5. Western
Brachephals
Brachycephalic
Rounded occiput

- ④ Alpinoid: Light skin; Ex: Kathi's
- ⑤ Dinanic: Sycanthic element; Ex: Brahmins of Coorg
- ⑥ Amenoid: Narrow nose & occiput much more developed but otherwise nice Dinanic.

6. Nordic: From central Asia-Siberia Region;
Tall & dolicocephalic
Arched forehead & blue green eyes

Ex: Red Kaffirs

Malhotra (1978): Adopted simpler version of Guru's.

→ N, A, C, M → NE India tribals

↓
Oldest;
S & C area
tribals.

Castes

Criticism : → Negro overemphasized; further it is not first.

→ Source of all racial groups is outside India; didn't consider evolution in India. Keith opposed

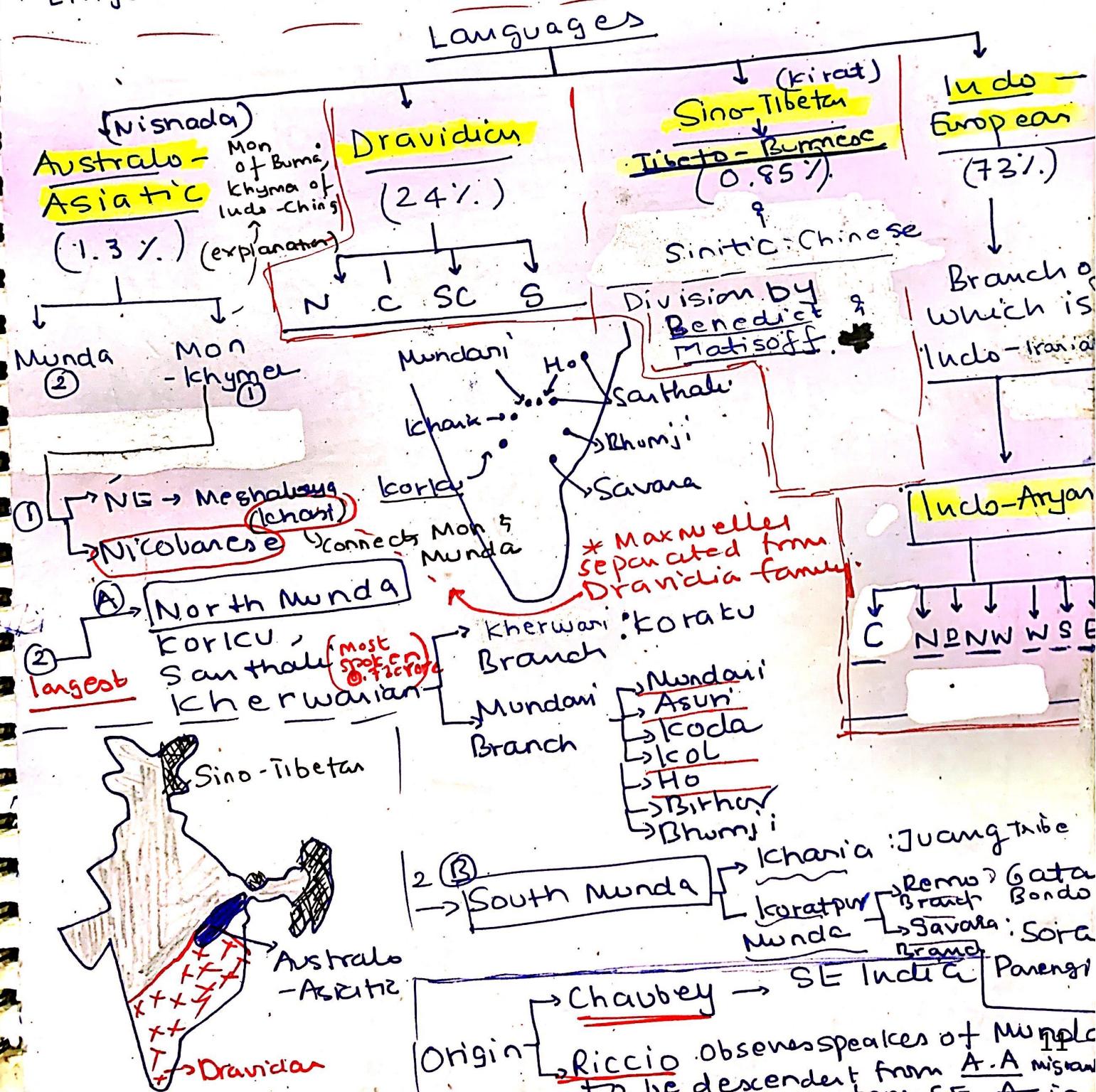
Sarkar: Domicocephalic dominates

Linguistic Classification

India is destination of diverse racial groups which brought with them their linguistic diversity.

Language is key component of regional identity & promotes social integration amongst its speakers. It is caused due to geographic isolation.

GA Grierson's Classification: → ICS officer → Supporter of HH Risley
 → Linguistic Survey of India (1927): 179 Lng & 554 dialects



Indo-European : Due to Aryan Migration (~2000 BCE).

Tharu	Dardic : Kashmiri: Shina, Kalasha
Binani : Bhajpuri, Maithali	most spoken
Bengali : Bangali, Rangi, <u>Hakhandi</u>	Kohistani, Kafuistan, Ichowar
E → Odia	C → Western Hindi
Assamese : Kamrupi, etc	→ Hindustani, Haryanvi, Bundeli, Kannada
S → Maithili & Konkani	
Icat Kari	

W → RJ
Bhilli, Bihali
GJ
Ichandeshi, Domali & Romani

N → Central Pahari → Garwhali &
Kumaoni
Eastern Pahari → Nepali

Draw Map

Eastern Hindi → Awadhi, Chhattisgarhi, Bajjeli

NW → Dogri, Jaunsi, Punjabi, Pothwari, Sindhi, kachchi's, Ichanda

Dravidian : Alexander Campbell → suggested existence of Dravidian Lng family in his Grammar of Telugu Lng (1816)

Belongs to Risley & Dravidian Group.

Robert Caldwell → "Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Lng" coined the term "Dravidian".

- Most believe indigenous to India.
- B. Krishnamurthi assigns Proto-Dravidian to IVC
- Kolipalcam (2018) says it is 4500yrs.
- Linguist Asko Parpola attributes Indus Script & Lng to Dravidian family.

(2013)

Peoples LSI : 780 diff Lng.

Hindi → 44%

Sanskrit → oldest Lng

Case : Ichasi earlier in Bengali-Assam script but due to missionaries → Roman alphabet.

Linguistic Distribution doesn't coincide with racial/ethnic distribution due to massive migration & resettlement

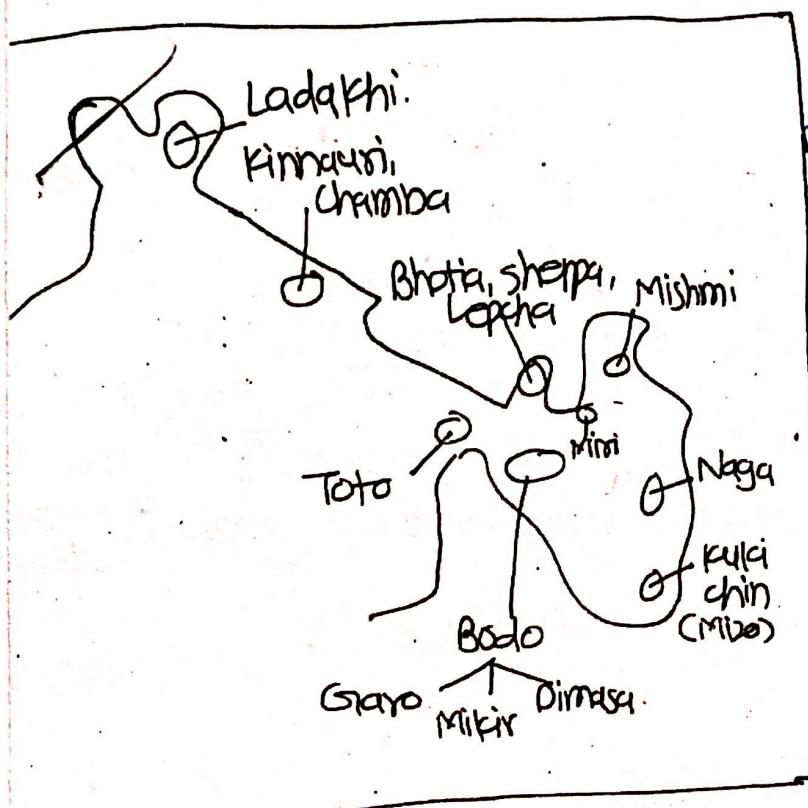
census 2011 : 5th language family Semito-Hemitic

(0.01%) ; due to Arab influence.

• Tibeto-Burman group

This is non-sinitic members of Sino-Tibetian language family. The name derives from most widely spoken of these languages, namely Burmane and Tibetic languages.

* Distribution of Tibeto-Burman group.



① Tibeto-Himalayan

↳ Bhotia, Ladakhi, Baiti, Sherpa, Tibetan

② Western Himalayan

↳ Kinnauri, Chamba, Lahauli.

③ Non-predominantly Himalayan group

↳ Rongke Clepchu, Toto.

④ Anuyachal

↳ Miri, Mishmi, Tagin, Sulung, Dafla, Abor

⑤ Assam branch

↳ Bodo group - Garo, Mikir, Dimasa.

↳ Naga group - Angami, Ao, Rehyma, Konyak.

↳ Kuki Chin - Mizo, Koirang, 204.

↳ Kachin - Singpo.

↳ Manipuri

| Undeemed

| => Most spoken;

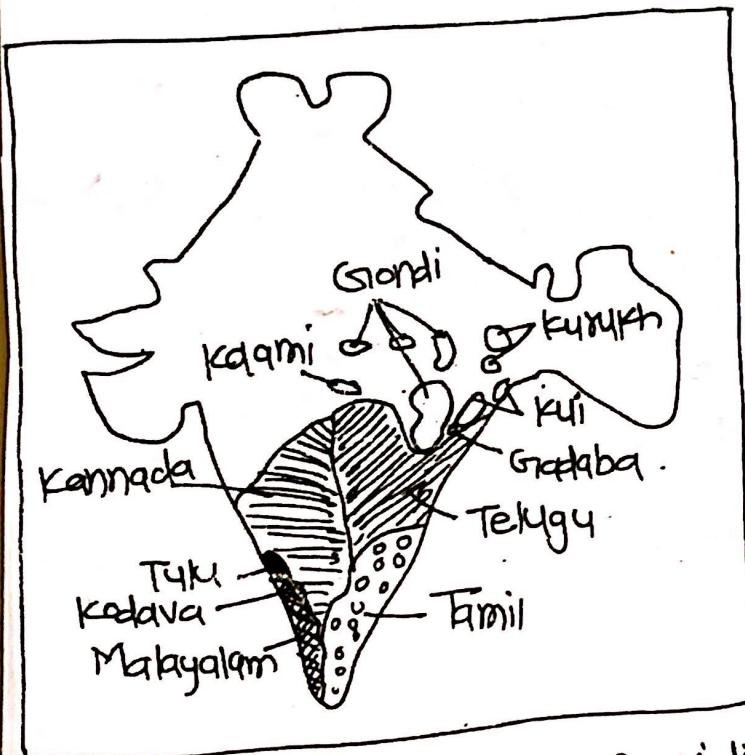
Dravidian languages

Dravidian language group is spoken by more than 250 million people in South India & Northern Sri Lanka while some argues that this languages were brought by migrants 4th or 3rd millennium BCE, but their origin could not be traced properly.
 → Older than Aryan

* Distribution of Dravidian languages

(A) Northern Dravidian

- ① Kurukh (CH, WB, JH, OD)
- ② Malto (Bihar, JH, WB)
- ③ Bhui (Balochistan)



(B) Central Dravidian

- ① Kolami (MH, Telangana)
- ② Muria (OD, CH, AP)
- ③ Naiki (MH)

(C) South-Central Dravidian

- ✓ ① Telugu (most spoken)
- ② Gondi (MP, MH, CH, AP, OD)
- ③ Kui (OD, AP)
- ④ Muria (CH, MH, OD)
- ⑤ Chenchu, Konda, Pardhan

→ Classical Lng

rich and ancient literary tradition

(D) South Dravidian

- ① Tamil
- ② Kannada
- ③ Malayalam
- ④ Tulu (S. KR & N. Kerala)
- ⑤ Gurja, Kurumba, Badaga, Bettu Kunumba, Kodava.

Negrito Debate in India

Q Are there Negrito elements in India?

Characteristics: Short ✓

→ frizzy & wolly hair with various spirals ✓
→ broad headed ✓

→ One of most complicated issue in Indian Ethnology.

1780's by Göttingen School of History

Negroids [Congooid] were one of the 3 races initially made. A subset of them are called Negrito who stay in A&N + SE Asia. They are different from the Proto-Australoid. Negroids are tall & dolicocephalic. → wavy hair * }
→ dolicocephalic *

1877: De Quatrefages 1st proposed that Negrito constitute earliest racial element in India.

Based on wolly hair in Andamans. Studies found later that so called Negritos didn't have much wolly hair. → JH Hutton supported it based on Angami Naga.

BS Guha: Studied Kadaras, 16 people with wolly & frizzy hair

⇒ Said about Negrito presence in India.

But Fisher & Sankar said single character is not enough & it might be a sporadic case also which occurred genetically or even mutation from wavy.

Serological Studies : (case study)

Indian ♂ → A(high) => opposite of usual negrito.
 B(low)
 => resemble Proto-Australoid
 more in this respect.

① like Bhils & Mundas have blood group B
 but lack the typical negrito features.

Challenges
 → Even historical records of racial composition are sketchy.
 → There are very few fossil evidences found.

Is it Proto-Australoid actually?

* Sanigan : Said Kadar 'n' to P-A based
 on several studies.

Majumdar Ls thus P-A earliest.

- ⑥ Pitkhal skeletons are also like P-A race.
- ① Migration pattern around Indian subcontinent supports it.
 Ex: Vedas of SLV, etc.
 - ② Iron Age fossils of Additthana
 - ③ Neolithic fossils of Brahmagiri
 - ④ Bhagwata Purana describes Nishada people with features to P-A (dolicocephalic)
 - ⑤ Skeletal remains of we

3.1

"Hinduism is a way of life"

- GS Ghurye

Talcott Parsons: Social system is network of interactions between various actors

→ Caste : Varana & Jāti

→ Joint Family

→ Punarjama & Rebirth & Karma

→ Ashram

→ Purusharthas

→ Jaymuni

→ Rina

Hindu Social System

"History of Dharma Shastras, 1930": Icane

Scholars: Kapadia

Purusarthas : 'Give meaning/aim to your personality'

→ Chatushtaya is balance of materialism and spiritualism.

→ Dharma is psycho-moral basis of Indian society.
Acc. to Dumont; fulfilment of Dharma leads to moral universalism.

Vatsyana : "Kama is matter of duty rather than enjoyment"

Raghavan "Kama provides source from which all activity springs. It provides energy to create something and 'rasas' for creation of Music, Dance & Poetry".

"Brahma-vid Brahma-vic Bhavati : knower of Brahma becomes Brahma"
"Aham Brahmani". (NA Nikam)

"Aham Brahmani"; Superconscious ecstasy

Moksha → Savikalpa Samadhi : of Dualism.

→ Nirvikalpa Samadhi : Complete liberation from Samsara.

→ Breakage of J-F affecting them.

→ People no longer concerned with Moksha.

While 'Dharma' eroding; it is still central.

Karma

Belief in efficacy of action whether good/bad.

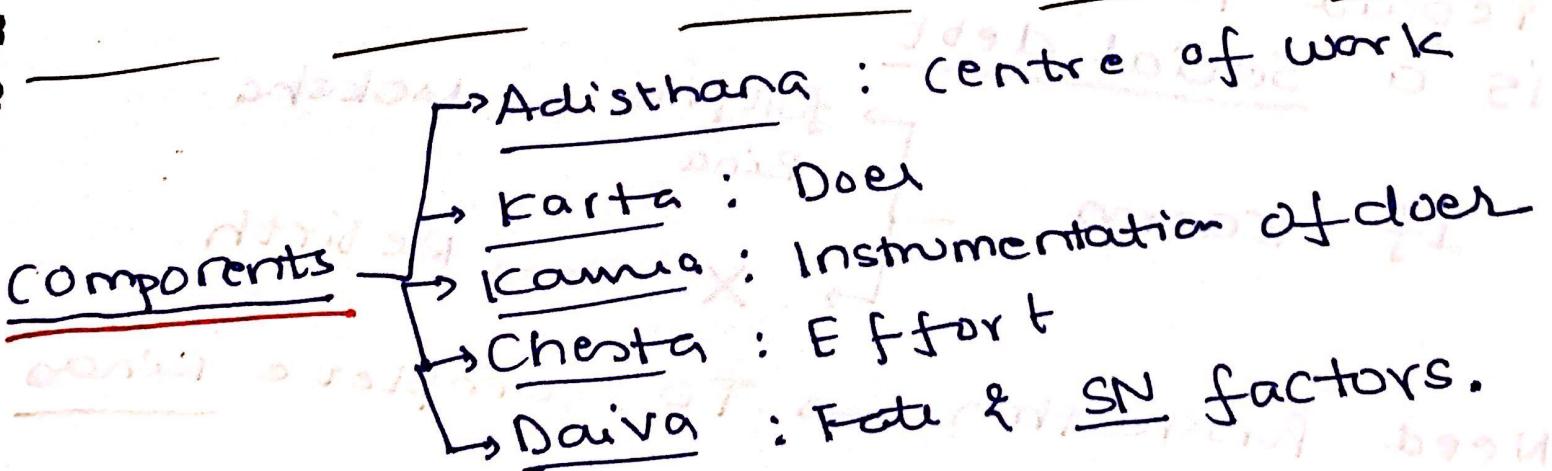
Related with Punarjanma; use Karma to complete your Ring.

S. Radhakrishna: Not fatalism; but a resignation of past and hope for future.

Scholars: NA Nikam: Karma has 'causal efficacy'.
Man is product of evolution of spiritual & moral consciousness.

Bhagavad Gita: Krishna [one who does his karma all the time] tells that Karma is ubiquitous and eternal.

'Artha kriya karvita': Good action \rightarrow good effect
Bad action \rightarrow Bad effect.



Don't take wrong interpretation of Karma.

Types of karma

Sanchitta

Sum total of all actions of previous life wanting to come to fruition.

Panabda

Present action and its result

goes into storehouse for the next life.

Agami

Future actions that result from your present action

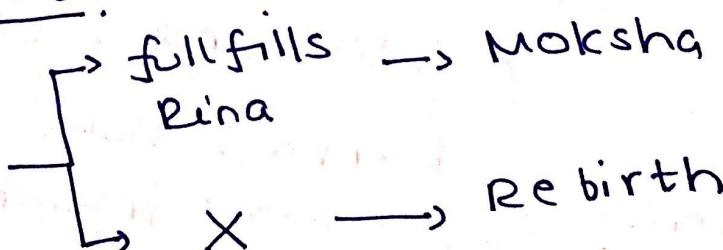
In attempt to resolve past karma you create new karma that may not be resolved in this life.

Ultimate Result \Rightarrow Karmafala.

Rina

Obligations of the life form that have to be repaid to achieve salvation. Thus Rina is a Social debt.

If Karma



Need Punsharthas \rightarrow To complete Rinas

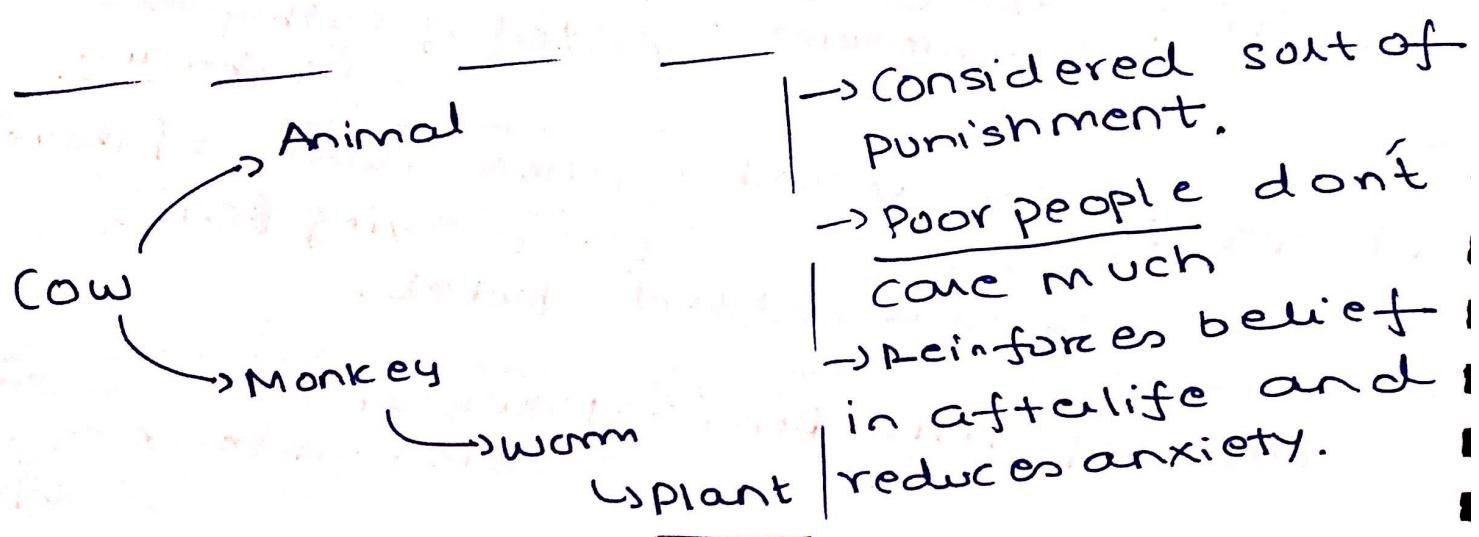
Types of Rina

Deva :	Recite vedas Sacrifice/Yajna
Rishi :	Gun-Dakshina for giving knowledge study Shastras
Pitra :	Reproduce Pind-Dan Good kids for giving birth
Athiti :	Serve Guests & show reverence ; forms social network; Added by <u>Sathapatha Brahmana</u> .
Bhuta :	Life around us : take care of them Ex: Leaving Roti. It was added later.

Lack of Pitra Rina \Rightarrow Maintenance and welfare of senior citizens Act, 2007

Rebirth (Punarjanma)

- RN Saxena: Samkhya Tradition led by Kapilamuni strengthened it.
- 1st mentioned in Satapatha Brahmana.
- Soul is immortal & unperishable; propounds the transmigration of soul.



Varanaashrama [Man's Ashramas]

The theory of Purusharthas has been given concrete expression in Ashrama Scheme.

Vedavyasa in Shani Purana:

"Ashramas are a ladder that takes man to Brahma".

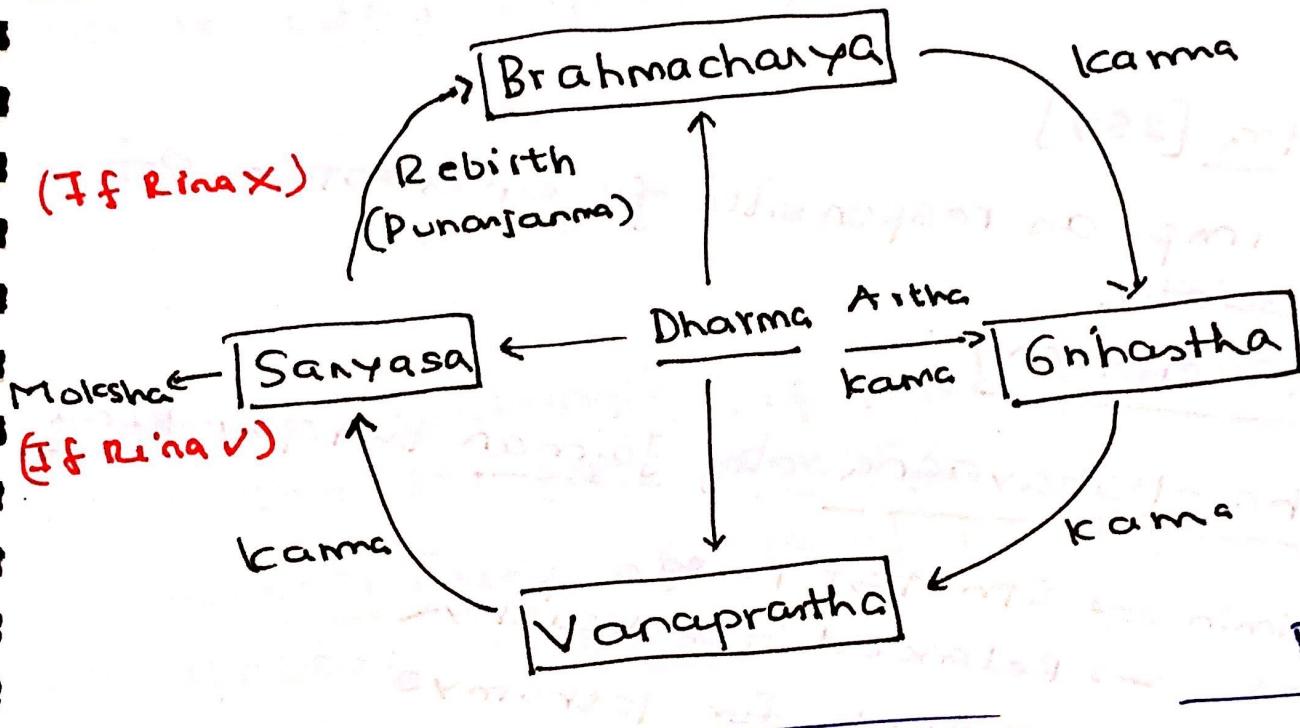


Fig : I

PN Modi: 1st in Subala Upanishad.

Brahma Charya

- Upanaya Sanskara is starting
 - Ends with Śnana ceremony.
 - Complete Celibacy; No Kama or Artha
 - Only Dharma;
 - Pay ⇒ Deva - Rina.
- B → 5
K → 7
V → 9
S → X } Till age of 25.

Grihasta [25y]

- Most imp as responsible for procreation of the society.
- Vivah ceremony;
- Pancha - Mahayagna by Jajman to repay Rina.
- Brahmin ⇒ strictest rules
- Artha ⇒ Relaxed for Vaishya
- Karma ⇒ lenient for Kshatriya
- All ⇒ Sudra

Vana Prastha [25y]

- Abstinence from sex;
- Transitional & preparatory stage for next, so not total detachment from world.

Sanyasa

- Renunciation of Family ties.
- Sympathy extends to whole humanity.
- Brahmins can directly migrate here.
- Only 1 day supply by begging ; 1 cloth piece.

women is Arahantin ; if man gets Moksha
then she too gets Moksha.
Karmayogi [Man of Action] is also capable
of getting Moksha.

Varna → focus on society
Ashrama → focus on individual

→ Brāhma charya lenient; No fixed age.
→ Grihasta never ends;

Changes

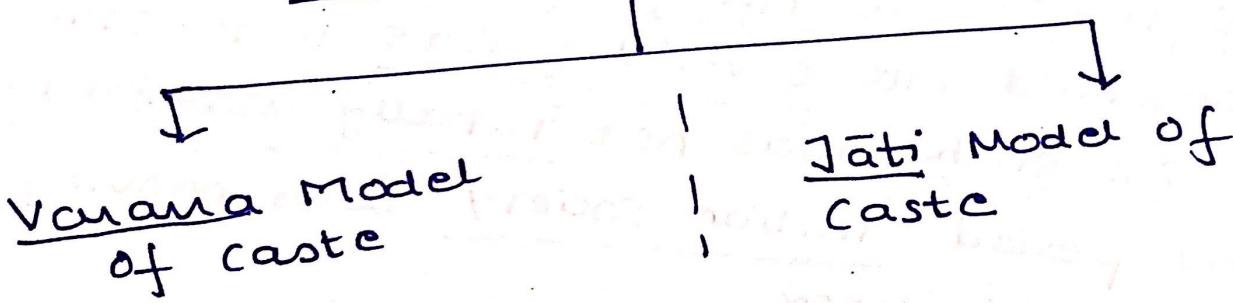
Caste

Q. Varana v/s Jāti [10M]

It is derived from portuguese word 'casta' meaning 'pure-stock'. Caste refers to:

"a system of social stratification based on color, creed, blood, race, etc".

Though historians in general agree; that no institution in India is comparable to the Caste System; yet Caste has been used to describe social stratification by Indian social scientists. Acc. to Anthropologists, we have 2 models of caste:



Acc. to Louis Dumont, the french AP & Indologist in his book Homo Hierarchius (1966) Varana is derived from Sanskrit base 'Vri' meaning to select. [Not Varna meaning color]

Thus acc. to Varana System; one could select ones own social status depending on ones capacities & capabilities. Acc. to Nirukta shashtra(2:1) in a Gurukul, the Guru would assign a Varana to his student [who completed his education]

became Snatak (Graduate)]. Based on the qualities, achievements & interests of the student. Acc. to Varana Scheme there were initially 3 varanas/classes:

1. Priestly Class :- Brahmins;
2. Warrior class:- Kshatriyas;
3. Trading/working class:- Vaishya;

The term 'Shudra' is found only once in the 10th Mandal of Rig-Veda and historians agree that it was added later on.

In the post-vedic period till the medieval times, working & trading class got converted into several guilds but still the social status was not totally ascribed. In this period, Indian society was moving towards Jāti System.

The term 'Jāti' is derived from the Sanskrit 'Jnati' meaning kin-group [relatives]. Now it is taken as ascribed social status. The differences betwⁿ varana & Jāti are:

Varana

→ Early vedic concept
(1500 BCE)

→ Varanas are only 4

→ Hierarchy very clear

Jāti

(500 BCE)

→ Post-vedic concept that is evolving till date also

→ > 5000

→ Debatable; varies regionally.

→ Achieved Social Status | → Ascribed Social Status

→ Pan-Indian concept | → Localised

→ Religious Sanction | → Social Sanction

→ Individual Mobility only

→ Ranking based only on ritual hierarchy i.e. status.

Ex: All Jāti's cannot be neatly fitted into Varna.

Such as Vakalinga between Brahmins & Kshatriyas.

→ Both ritual & secular factors are imp.

Acc. to Prof. MN Srinivas; Varna repre-

sents the Book view [Reference category] while

Jāti represents Field view [Ground reality].

∴ In our day-to-day life; caste & Jāti are used interchangiblly.

Pre-Dumontian Indoologists:



Dumont: Differentiated;

Srinivas & Beattelle: Book view & field view;

Characteristics of Caste

Here we mean Jāti; given by GS Ghurye in his "Caste & Race in India, 1932". They are 6 of them as follows:

1) Segmental Division of Society

2) Hierarchy: Both social & religious; based on purity and pollution.

3) Restricted choice of occupation: But Agriculture is an exemption

4) Restriction on Commensality & Social Interaction

Ex: Distance of 16/32 feet in public

Ex: Hookah sharing; Ex: Kucchah & Pukkah (watery) & (Ghee)
More ↓ susceptible to pollution

5) Civil & Political Privileges and Disabilities:

- Access to wells & temples
- Toddy Tappers in South India not allowed to enter the village.

Ex: Andre Beitielle Stirampuram village study.

6) Endogamy

- Caste Panchayat may take strict actions.
- Even Gotra has relevance.

MN Srinivas added few additional characteristics

- Unique lifestyle
- Council of Elders
- Marriage Rules
- Inter-Caste Mobility

"Impossible to detach Hindustan from the caste system"

Acc. to Rajni Kothari in his "Politics in India, 1970", Polⁿ of caste & Casteization of Politics are now added.³⁰

Ex: Mohapatra Brahmins of Benaras studied by Jonathan Peery; are untouchables despite being Brahmins as they engage in funerary rituals.

Nakkaran subordination of women is UV → it is @al constructed at material ideological & behavioral levels with each reinforcing the other.

Gender & Caste :

Veena Das; a feminist AP has opined this. Even André Betaille has written "Race, caste & gender 1990" said Patriarchy has influenced Indian social institutions.

→ Veena Das says women are gateway to caste. Caste can't be reproduced w/o endogamy; so women are expected to bear the brunt.

→ Anuloma & Pratiboma are also derogatory.

→ Restrictions on sexuality of women.

→ "Caste, Gender & Chastity" Leda Dube [High caste (widow remarriage)] [Slow caste]

- Differences between Men & women are lower in lower castes.
- 'Menstruation Pollution' is also a challenge.

→

		Body	work	
High caste	Men	X	-	cause of difference
	Women	✓	✓	
Low caste	Men	X	-	
	Women	✓	✓	

- Patriarchal Bargaining: Deniz Kandiyoti ;
The women herself acts as an agent of Patriarchy in return for higher status.
- Surinder Jodhka : "caste system institutes humiliation as a s-c^{al} practice". Ex: Honor killings
- Uma Chakravorty : "Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist lens" 2003

Theories of Origin of Caste

Ram Ahuja (1993) has given a good compilation as follows:

- ① Indological Theory: Based on 'Punsha Suktam' him in Rig Veda.
- ② Guna Theory: VS Apte; Krishna in Bhagavad Gita.
 B: v x x } Satvic } All present in all; Vishnu Purana says
 K: v v x } Rajasic } but some one everyone born Shudra.
 V: x v v } Tamasic } dominant.
- ③ Political Theory: "A Description of People of India"
 - Abbe Dubois (1817)

By Brahmins to capture power,

Criticism → MN Srinivas said not only reason.
 → Brahmin power ~200 CE but CS is much older.
 → JH Hutton says such complex system cannot be enforced by non-ruling classes such as Brahmins.

- ④ Occupational Theory: "Brief view of CS of NW Provinces of Oudh" - 1885

→ Some occupations were more desirable than others; so gradation developed

Hereditary occupation → Guild → Endogamy → Purity → Caste Pollution

Criticism: Occupation alone is not reason for caste

→ North: Agri caste higher.
 India
 South: Agri caste lower.
 India

5) Risley, Ghurye, Guha & Majumdar's Racial Theory

→ Upper caste had unique characteristics;

Ex: Nasal Index & Caste status

→ Caste system emerged as a way to maintain these differences by endogamy.

→ Also linked to Aryan Invasion.

Criticism → Why not in South America, Australia etc

→ Colonial conspiracy

→ Ambedkar found that Brahmins of UP more similar to SC of UP than the Brahmins of PJ.

6) Cultural Integration Theory: SC Roy

→ Socio-economic interaction, interdependency and intermingling of different social groups.

→ Hutton's Mana Theory: says CS predates the Vedic age;

Fear of Mana → Restrictions & Taboo → Origin of caste

Ex: Shakti - Kudrat, Iddhi (Buddhism), etc.
(Hindu) (Islam)

Conclusion: SC Roy in 'Man in India, 1921' says multiple factors; Ambedkar says origin post-³⁴

(Q) Louis Dumont views on Caste system.
→ (I) LD, upon his fieldwork on Pramalai
Kallars of S. India & Indological literature
on caste, gave theoretical study of
caste & hierarchy in his 'Homo
Hierarchicus' (1970) R_P2 H in
India(1970)"

⑧ • Dumont & caste system.

for him, Indian civilization is specific ideology which is in binary opposition to that of west.
→ He uses structuralist approach for study of caste system.

⇒ Main arguments of Dumont:

- ① Binary opposition (purity & impurity) act as fundamental principle underlying
 - Hindu caste system.
 - ② Notion of hierarchy as basis of caste system.
 - ③ Ritual hierarchy is at central to caste system & distinct from eco & pol. factors (thus)

only purpose
of CS is to
keep pure
away from the
impure.

Dumont reduces these 3 principles into one of purity & pollution:

- ① hierarchy acc. to ritual status. as western society.
 - ② Mutual repulsion [Marriage contact] (Status ≠ power)
 - ③ Division of Labour & interdependence.

↳ He shows that opposition b/w pure & impure exist at all 3 principles : hierarchy becoz to separate pure & impure, PoL becoz to segregate pure & impure occupations.

Purity of caste & No. of pure attributes [higher rank in ritual hierarchy]

- Dumont criticised Bailey's attempt to unit status & power.
- iv) Though attributes of purity & pollution can be used to identify 2 extremes Brahmins & untouchables, but gradation of intermediate castes is difficult.
 - ↳ Dumont shows how different attributes are used in local conditions to estd series of division between superior & inferior caste.

Says ritual purity is a global concept

Ex: Women can't go to church for 40 days after pregnancy reaffirms importance of hierachial principle in US.

• Contribution

- ↳ use of Indological & structural approach to study of caste & village social structure.
- ↳ change in contemporary India is organisational rather than structural.

⑤ Deepakar Gupta:

concentration on Indology & careful negligence of ground realities.

• Criticism

- ① Dumont viewed caste system in stagnatich, however it is changing in various ways.

⑥ Bennerman →

Dumont represents biased & brahmanical view of caste.

- ② Yogendra Singh : left out many crucial factors like formal org, industrial system etc.

- ③ Purity & pollution → Not universal cas in some tribes: status anchored by sacredness rather than purity)

- ④ Bennerman (2001) → separation of status & power illogical.
 - ↳ gives example of Gonds.

- ⑤ - Amidst debate about approach, Dumont gave outstanding contr.⁹⁴³⁶

sociologist moved towards explanation of caste as socially cognizable reality. 3 main scholars were:

- ① Karl Marx: 'village republic' model where caste group were explained thro' ownership of land holding which determined their groups position in society.
- ② Max Weber: caste as 'status groups' whose members are recognized by social & economic position & relationship b/w castes is governed by ritual opposition of 'purity & pollution'.
- ③ Delestin Bougle: caste recognised by place in hierarchy & it's occupation. Interactions b/w caste governed by hierarchy & separation.

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प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

to counter
historical
explanations
of Guna/Varna
प्रश्न में कुछ
नहीं लिखें।
Don't write anything
in this part.

Approaches to Caste (Ahistorical Explanation)

1) Attributional (Bougle) → features
 & Weber

2) Interactional.

① GS Ghunge ⇒ Castes → hierarchical based on Attributes
 his 6 things.

JH Hutton ⇒ caste in India (1963)

Gave 7 imp attributes of which
 endogamy & Commensality was main.
 A) endogamy (most central feature)
 B) pukka

MN Srinivas ⇒ studied structure of
 relations between castes
 on basis of caste attributes
 ↳ Dynamiz'

Ex: S^m ⇒ copying of good attributes.

DC ⇒ Land, # & hi-suposit attributes.

Criticism: → Subjectivity on importance of attribute
 → Attributes ≠ caste as MNS
 showed castes with supposedly
 lower attributes were ranked higher.
 Even Mamallapuram: Peasants > Traders in Mysore
 In his Kishangiri study agreed. → Some attributes are tough to
 collect data & are ambiguous

Pure & Impure Attributes: Just think logically.

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③ focusses how castes are actually ranked w.r.t one another in local empirical context.

FG Bailey: Bisipora, Orissa

→ Kshatriyas who lost land (↓) in hierarchy. { secular & ritual hierarchy united }

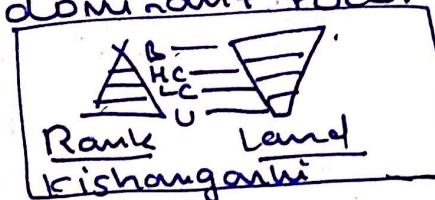
⇒ Status & Power overlap { ritual hierarchy }
(secular hierarchy)

McKimmie Marwick: Both ritual & non-ritual

hierarchies affect ranking; though ritual hierarchies play dominant role.

Infact both are linked

→ yet accepted that inconsistency's possible.



Louis Dumont: Relations between castes rather than attributes.

→ Though local context in ranking is imp; but subjected to ideology of hierarchy which is common & extended to entire caste system.

↳ Purity & Pollution

↳ Sep. status & power

Adrian Mayer: Commensality ⇒ caste relations

Based on Ramkheri village, MP | & Segregation of society.

→ Get more pure food; higher ranking
(or) Ritual service

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Criticism:

- Subsumes importance of attributes. the interaction alone cannot account for ranks w/o reference to attributes.
- Except Dumont, all others locates hierarchy & proponents ranking is outcome of interaction. thus there is emphasis on separation (stratification) rather than hierarchy.
- Dumont took book view seeing society in stagnation.
- Dumont clear separation of power & status criticized by Berman
- conflict element is missing while integrative function of caste is highlighted.

Conclusion: Both approaches include attributes as well as interaction perspective. But emphasize one over the other.

Q = Caste as hierarchy (or) Stratification?
Moral ranking (or) politico economic?

- ⇒ Ideological : Culture emphasized & hierarchical model focuses on ritual symbolism.
- ⇒ Interactional : Emphasis on structure & stratification model. focuses on power relation. ⁴⁰

Hierarchy

- Dr Mont
→ Guruge
→ Sutton

Stratification
Power

- G. Bailey
→ Mamolt
→ A. Mayer
→ Berreman
→ Deepakur
Gupta

Both Hierarchy & Stratification:

→ HNC Stevensas

In her 'Status Evaluation in Hindu Caste

System', Indian CS puts emphasis on ritual status rather than secular status. It creates rigid groups ~~which~~ which makes it social stratification with low mobility, further in order to maintain ritual purity hierarchies are created which makes it S.S with hierarchy. As Raj Gandhi Berreman : Status = Power; as Raj Gandhi were initially Untouchables & before that Tribals.

Deepakur Gupta: Rule of caste is obeyed when it is accompanied by rule of power.

→ Interrogating Caste: (caste first exists as discrete categories & hierarchy comes later.)

* Caste in other religions

→ "Caste" comes from a Portuguese word

"Casta" which means Stratification. Every

J H Hutton said that Society has its own stratification system
caste is in India's air like class system in west. India has caste system of stratification.

(A) Muslims - Muslims are divided into 3 parts i.e. Ashraf, Ajlaf & Arzals.

($\frac{1}{3}$)	Ashraf.	Royal class. (Noble)
	Ajlaf	Hindu Converts (<u>Qasai, Sulaha</u>) (Lowly)
	Arzal	Untouchables (Degraded)

S. Ansari in his 'Muslims caste in UP'

- ① Ashrafs
- ② Rajput Muslims
- ③ clean caste muslims
- ④ Untouchables (Bhangi muslims)

↳ They also have one more method of division based upon faith i.e. Arzals.
① Shia - who believe in prophet's bloodline.
② Sunni - who believe only in message of prophet.

(B) Christianity - Although emphasises on universal brotherhood and humanity, but also stratified in India. Divided in Protestant and Catholic based on religious beliefs.

However at local level, there is more stratification:

Ali Anwar in Masawat ki Jung
Imtiaz Ahmed. Ashraf section among Muslims (2005)

Bomman christian
khardos -II-
Sudir -II-
Dalit christians

Kerala Stratification model.

Scythian Christians
Latin Christians
Dalit Christians

Groq stratification model.

(C) SIKHS

↳ based on teachings of Guru Nanak Dev & subsequent 10 gurus which preach equality and brotherhood.

But stratified into:

① Sardars - these are royal castes and enjoy high status.

② Majhabis - these are lower caste engaged in menial jobs like manual scavenging.

Ex: Ramdas, Valmiki, etc.

Ex: Arora, Ichchani, Bhaktia }

Jains: Mostly consider Vaishyas.

Parsis: No; as size very small.

(E) Jainism

↳ After 2nd council at Valabhi got divided into Svetambar and Digambar due to diff in religious ideas.
↳ further divided in Tera panthi, Turyan panthi.
Thus, India being land of religions, has led to adoption of it's model of stratification in different religious society.

(F) Tribal Religion

① Juang (Orissa) → studied by N.F. Bose, found that Juang adopted Hindu social caste system in their local strata.

② Hindu Methods of Tribal Absorption

③ Buddhism - The 'purana kassapa' conceptualised 6 social divisions based on occupation, trade, caste, & sect. affiliation

- ① Kanhabi jati - Black Jatis (chutneymen, fishermen)
- ② Nilabhi jati - Blue jati (Bhikshus)
- ③ Lohitabhi jati - Red jati (Jains)
- ④ Halladdabhi jati - yellow jati (Gahaputis)
- ⑤ sukkabhi jati - white jati (Ajivikas)

↳ Charles Eliot in his 'Hinduism & Buddhism'

suggest that Buddhism initially fought caste system of Hinduism, later adopted it.

↳ E. Senart in his 'Caste in India' → nothing in Buddhism was aimed to change the entire caste system.

Dominant Caste

By MN Srinivas in American Anthropologist
 Journal titled "Dominant Caste in Rampura (1956)"

Aim: Found that Brahmins didn't always occupy highest S, E, P position. Thus need to distinguish between ritual & secular spheres.

- Cultivable Land
- Numerical Strength [Ex: Rajulu of AP not dominant]

Characteristics → Access to western Education

- of
D.C.
(Srinivas)
- Political Power
- Jobs in Government
- High place in local caste hierarchy.

- Ex: 1. Vokkaligas (South) & Lingayats (North)
 2. Gounder (TN) & Mudaliar (TN)
 3. Reddy (AP & TS) & Kamma (AP & TS)
 4. Nayar & Marathas & Jat & Rajput & Patidar, etc.

⇒ Andur Beitchie says: 'dominant caste' is transient; caste may not always be dominant, faces many challenges. Even DN Majumdar in 'Chor ka Ek Gaon (1960)' agreed.

Types of Dominance

1. Village level & Regional [more important]
 2. Cumulative & Dispersed Dominance
- All factors such as S, E, P lie with one caste.
- Ex: Srirampuram Brahmins
- Ex: Kumkapitai village of TN acc. to Kathleen Gough.
- Mechanisms of Maintaining Dominance
- Prevent Szn of other groups
 - Purity & Pollution promoted
 - Legends & Rhetoric Ex: Kayastha Samaj
 - Create Caste Association as per Ghanshayam Shah (1995).
- Impact of DC
- ① Reference Model for Szn; Mittun Singh
 - ② 'Vote Bank Politics' coined by Srinivas.
 - ③ Decide value system; and control Jajmani (mid day meal); Thakurs of UP; Jats in P]
 - ④ : Konkani caste blocked highway project for decades.
 - ⑤ Settle disputes: Anil Bhatt; khap Panchayat
 - ⑥ Govt scheme implementation

Ex: In Dhanana village (Hr); the Ichapanchayat called Ichadan Khap after local DC of the Kadyan Jats.

Case Study:

- ① Anand Chakravarti studied Devisar village in RJ (Anti-example) and found 'Factions' more relevant than DC. Pre - 1954 → Rajput was DC;
"Contradiction exchange": Post → Jats, Ahirs, etc entered into alliance. They started negotiations with DC.
Emerging Patterns of Anthony in Rajasthani village, 1975
⇒ Politics of Bargaining.
- ② RW Nicholas says Dominant Factions within DC (anti example) contain real power.
- ③ MG Pradhan → Jat of UP
Robin Fox → Rajput
- ④ DC [Clientelism] → Anirban Kar: More access to employment for communities aligned with DC; by MGNREGA.
Sivan Anderson (2015)
Marathas woed lower castes to vote for them in return of social-security benefits.

Criticism

① SC Dube in "DC & village Leadership, 1961" found that DC only emerges when the dominant individuals exercise power in the interest of the group and power is diffused in the group. If Solidarity & concerted action is absent among DI then DC doesn't emerge.
↳ Adrian Mayers(1958) & Peter Gaudner also agree.

② Dominant Fractions / Political factions; more relevant.
(En) Many castes that possess these characteristics are not dominant. Ex: Trading community.

④ MN Srinivas doesn't talk about challenges to DC. He responds that both DF/DI owe their dominance to the fact that they belong to DC. Also agreed that concept is dynamic & contextual. Never said that DC can explain totality of power equation of rural India.

⑤ Dumont says 'dominance' should be seen as purely secular phenomena distinct from hierarchy which is ritual.

Relevance
→ Many OBC are DC → Subcategorisation?
→ Absentee Landlordism
→ Demand for reservation

Clientalism: S. Anderson in "Clientalism in India village, 2015"

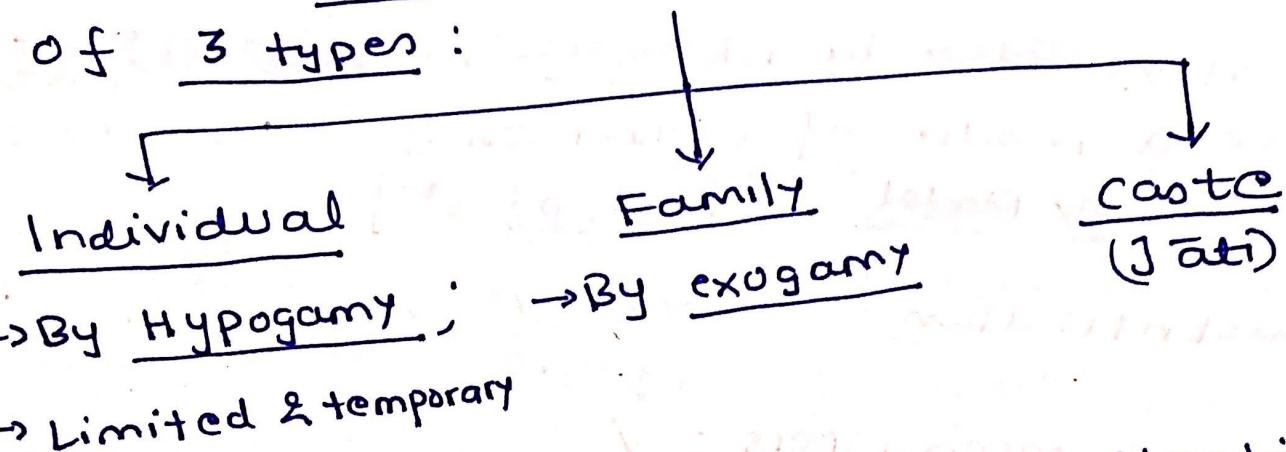
- Reciprocity; neo-Jayman;
- Makes votes buying feasible.
- Reinforces DC concept.

Value Addition: Bandhan & Mukherjee (2012): Present a model of 'Political Clientalism' different from Elite capture.

Ex: Ruling Parties of WB use Govt. resources to win elections, the Caste of patron plays no role.

Caste - Mobility

Acc. to I C H Sharma; in India mobility is of 3 types:



Caste Mobility refers to the collective phenomena of positional change (↑/↓) in the local caste hierarchy.

M N Srinivas wrote "Essay on Future and Mobility of caste (1964)". He divided the history of caste-mobility into 3 periods and explained various mechanisms operating in each of them.

A) Pre-British

1. Warfare : Marathas were Shudras who claimed Ishatriya status.

2. Service : Kayasthas as Scribes, Patidars served Gackwad.

(B) British Period

1. Westernization
2. Rajputisation by S. Sinha
3. Kshatriyaziation by DF Pocock in "Movt. of caste" (1969)
gave a model of caste mobility called as the 'Kingly Model'. [Part of sⁿ]
4. Sanskritization: Ex: Yadavs, Tyagis
5. Census Commissioners: ✓
6. Political Movt: Harijan Sevak Sangh
7. Wealth: Noonias of UP;

(C) Post-British Period

1. Elite Emulation: Owen M Lynch
2. Politicization: Ex: Mahars;

⇒ Caste - Mobility may lead to tensions;

Downward Mobility

1. Bhangriisation: Shyamla (1997)

2. Desanskritization: Majumdar;

3. Tribalization: There in notes,
already

Case study: Satish Sabharwal in "status,
Mobility and Network" in PJ" says downward
mobility is generally ⁽¹⁹⁷¹⁾ unplanned, non-deliberate
and innovational.

Ex: SK Srivastava (BH) found in Rural Punjab
dominated by Jats - Brāhmaṇas
also cultivate land and adopt their surname.
They raised age of sacred thread (Jat).
Thus an example of downward mobility.

De-Tribalisation

- Hindu Method of Tribal Assimilation: NK Bose (1941)
 - Tribes of India: Struggle for Survival (1982)
 - works → - former Prime Minister
 - Detribalization of Nagas: 1 Nation & People (2015) - Eastern Naga Journal
- Case Study: Kolam Tribe
-
- ```

graph LR
 Kolam[Kolam Tribe] --> Telugu[Telugu]
 Kolam --> Gordi[Gordi]
 Kolam --> Marathi[Marathi]
 subgraph Note []
 direction TB
 L1{SUB - groups
can't communicate
with each other
due to loss
of Talking}
 end
 Note --- Telugu
 Note --- Gordi
 Note --- Marathi

```

Ex: Deindianization in USA: Trail of Tears, etc.

Scramble for Africa: Post Berlin (1878) conference

# Jajmani System

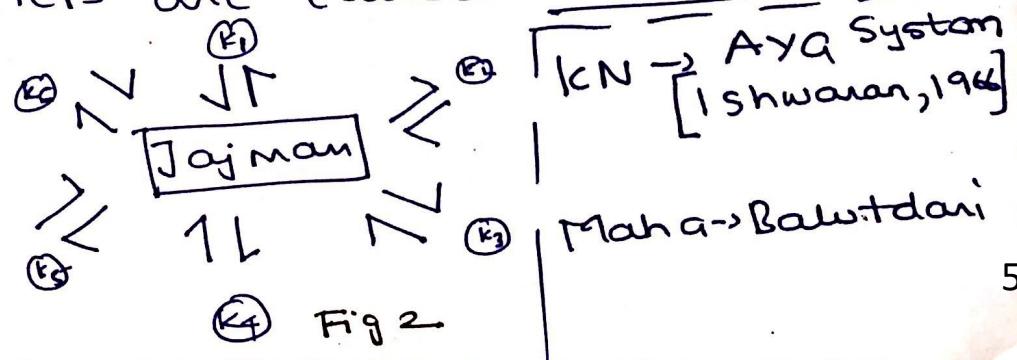
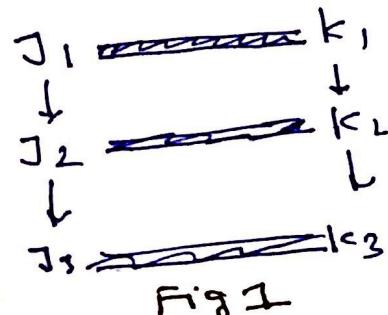
By William Wiser in his "The Hindu Jajmani System, 1936" He did Fieldwork in Karimpur Village in UP.

## Theory

It is socio-economic basis of CS in Indian Villages. It is not based on kinship but on caste. [Thus caste enforces Jajmani which it legitimises caste.]

**[Harold Gould (1985)]**: Inter-familial, Inter-caste, Inter-generational relationship pertaining to patterning of superordinate & subordinate relations between the suppliers & patrons of goods & services.

Origin → from word yajman i.e one who performs the rituals. Thus initially was among patron & priest. But later on was extended. yajman are usually the Land owning castes. While the suppliers are called kamins.



## Characteristics of Jayman

- It is not individual but familial relation.
- Kamin can have multiple Jayman but the Jayman can have only 1 Kamin.
- Oreinstein says payment mostly at end of Harvest season in kind; but cash also prevalent many times.
- Relations are permanent, hereditary and non-transferrable. In fact the obligation passes to in-laws if Jayman has no heir. Children of Kamin divide reln's.
- If conflict; village Panchayat hears both sides and decides acc. to DN Majumdar.
- More than just economic as Jayman has paternalistic attitude towards the Kamin; can help in his daughters marriage and also extends loan.
- Kamin may act as Jayman to another except for landowning caste; acc. to Abbe Dubois. Reinforces inter-dependency of castes.

## <Functions & Nature of Jajmani >

→ Non-mobility & forced occupation

### Exploitative

Oscar Lewis → Power differential rather power struggle ⇒ less payment.

Majumdar → Like bonded labor and maintains purity and pollution.

Biederman (1959) → Maintains prestige of high caste  
→ Denial of service almost impossible.

### Non-Exploitative

Ram Ahuja, David Pockock

Pauline Kolenda, Harold Gould, Wiser

Y. Singh → System of Reciprocity

Iravati Karve → Paternalistic

Henry Orenstein → In PJ, Jajman has protecting role also.

Dumont: Expression of interdependence

## Why Jajmani

- wiser
- Edmund Leach (1960):  
Regulates DOL & economic inter-dependence of castes.
- To make the villages self-sufficient. But inter-village ties also exist.

## Changes:

- Technology; i.e. washing Machine
- Migration of kamin
- kamin doesn't want to do same job.
- Market-Economy ⇒ contract jobs.
- Demand of traditional services (↓);  
Ex: Pottery  
Ex: Razer Blades → Barber (X).

## Case studies

① Research by Human Rights Watch between November 2013 and July 2014 in GJ, MP, HR, RJ → How Manual scavenging still persists in its ugliest form and how traditional jajmani system has provided explanation for its continuance.

② D. Navasimha Reddy, A. Amarender Reddy in their study of impact of MGNREGA on rural labour market → concluded that MGNREGA provided better deals ⇒ Thus loosening fabric of intercaste relation & Jajmani.

# Different forms of Dalit Assertions

→ Movt for consolidation  
 Acc. to Pradeep Bose → Movt for Assertion

## ① Politicisation

Started with Ambedkar

1936

AOC

WWTS, 1946

TU, 1948

Bahishkrit Hitavasi Sabha

Independent Labor Party

All India SC Federation

Now => Shri Ramdas Athawale ; Srimati Mayawati  
 (RPI) (BSP)  
 "Dalit Pichado Ek Samaj, Hindu ho ya musalman".

## ② Reservation

→ De-Sanskritization: Majumdar (1961); also  
 challenges from Pseudo-Dalitization.  
 → Sub-categorisation demands.

### ③ Religious

- Eleanor zealist ; discarded by Ambedkar, Phule and Periyar.
- Babasaheb converted to Navayana Buddhism.
- Pasmanda [left-Behind] Movement by the Azral Muslims.
- Oppression continues even after Religion Change.

### Case study :

- Movements
- Dalit Movement Panther (1972)
  - The casteless collective (2017) : A musical bands that spreads Ambedkar.

(Namdeo Dhasal)

BD Shama in "Dalit Betrayed (1994)" says that Dalit not yet integrated into Main stream.

## Q. Is caste system dying?

Caste is derived from 'Casta'; which in Portuguese means 'pure stock'. It is a system of social stratification based on color, breed, blood, race, etc. Social scientists agree that no Indian social institution comes close to caste; yet we use it as a model of social stratification. In general, communities follow any 1 model of caste but in India we follow 2- Varna & Jati models of caste.

### **Impacts on caste system:**

- i. Industrialization and Urbanization ii. Globalization iii. Growing importance to wealth iv. Modern education v. Sanskritization and westernization vi. Constitutional provisions and legislation vii. Reformist movements viii. Modernization

**Features of caste system as given by GS Ghurye in 'Caste and Race in India, 1932' along with impact of above factors on them are as follows:**

- i. Segmental division of society - Caste system divides society into different groups with different statuses and duties. Remains largely intact today.
- ii. Social and religious hierarchy - Brahmins at top & Shudras at bottom is becoming debatable.
- iii. Restrictions on feeding and social interaction - Based on purity and pollution. Heavily declined or almost discarded in urban areas.
- iv. Endogamy - Declined slightly in urban areas but not much in rural.
- v. Fixed occupation - Very waning & members of same family engaged in different occupations.
- vi. Civil and religious disabilities - Higher castes enjoy privileges, while lower castes face disabilities. Still prevails in rural areas, but on decline in urban.

India till date is basically rural. Therefore, we divide India into 'India' and 'Urban India'. Fast pace of change in traditional features of caste is characteristic of urban India while in 'India' changes are slow. After independence, twin factors i.e. Casteization of politics and politicization of caste added to caste system. 1<sup>st</sup> raised by MNS in annual session of Indian Science Congress at Kolkata, 1957.

According to MS Solanki(INC leader from Gujarat), in 1<sup>st</sup> election itself INC came up with caste combination KHAM(Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi, Muslim). In 1967, many leaders from farming communities emerged. Most notable being Charan Singh. Sampoorna Kranti of JP in 1974 resulted in the emergence of middle and lower caste leaders like Lalu Prasad and Ram Vilas in Bihar and Mulayam Singh in UP who created combination of AJGAR(Ahir, Jaat, Gurjar, Adivasi, Rajput) and subsequently MAJGAR. Meanwhile, Kanshi Ram(govt servant in Punjab) created NGO DS-4 (Dalit Shoshit Samajwadi Sangharsh Samiti) which later became Bahujan Samaj Party. It was beginning of politicization of caste.

*Today, all elections are fought on basis of caste. So much so that, "We do not cast our vote but we vote our caste." Thus till 'endogamy as a rule' and nexus of caste & politics exists; the caste system is definitely here to stay.*

\* can caste exist in India of tomorrow?

Though small elite section desires extinction of caste system, but for majority of population, caste is part of their social identity & existence.

Caste provides certain cultural homogeneity, though cultural evils & exploitative elements are now rejected through fundamental law of land (by Constitution).

The principle of caste is ~~still~~ so entrenched in socio-political sphere that it is accepted as very principle of politics. Horizontal solidarity increasing day by day with growth of communication technology.

However, change is seen in attitudes. Supreme Court calling of other yardstick than caste for regeneration backwardness, 10% EWS quota transcending caste barriers, rise of class system based on economic system is challenging caste system.

But, as long as caste performs function of welfare state in India and provides common interest in polito-economic lives of people it can be assured of its existence in modern India.

# U.P.S.C.

## Future of Caste System

MN Srinivas in last speech at N I of Adv Studies (1999) Opined that CS will gradually fade away in India.

Current various factors affect Caste; xyz! several visible changes include → Removal of restriction on commensality.

→ Dilution of occupational spe.

→ Increasing Caste consciousness in Urban areas manifested through emergence of caste org ns like All India Dalit Mahasabha.

→ Brahmin Mahasabha.

There are currently 3 views about the future of CS: [A] Tajorce P. Kodanda Rao → evaluated them as follows.

① Caste is something Evil: ∴ it must be abolished. Proponents were "Guru Gobind Singh" & Ambedkar. Constitution has affected heavily. Ex: Art A.

→ Asirvatham: Whatever role caste played in the past. It is hindrance for dev today; hence must be opposed tooth & nail.

→ Various castes have changed their status. So abolition must not be tough.

Critiques ① Bailey said CS is organic & thus cannot be easily abolished

② No alternative; loss of sense of unity within caste.

③ DN Majumdar says that evils are like poisoned finger that need to be amputated.

# U.P.S.C.

The patient need not be killed. The exploitative elements if removed; then CS is fine.

<sup>(1869)</sup>  
a) Max Mueller said it cannot be abolished & said would be politically disastrous.

b) Kalenda says caste as (R) inc' will die but as (S) inc' will continue to live on. It will be slow for any change.

② Modification of CS: Amalgamate several

sub-castes having cultural unity & economic similarity into one large group. Thus castes will be on equal footing gradually to be consolidated & will lead to a castless society by education & employment. Advocate for slow process.

Critiques: ① tried in Bombay; but each subcaste dev its own notion of superiority & hierarchy.  
② Amalgamated groups have internal feeling of exclusiveness leading to militancy.

Thus this method will create unhealthy atmosphere for national cohesion.

But there is no guarantee of such a consolidation after a particular point. Further it might also result into an atmosphere of caste-patriotism.

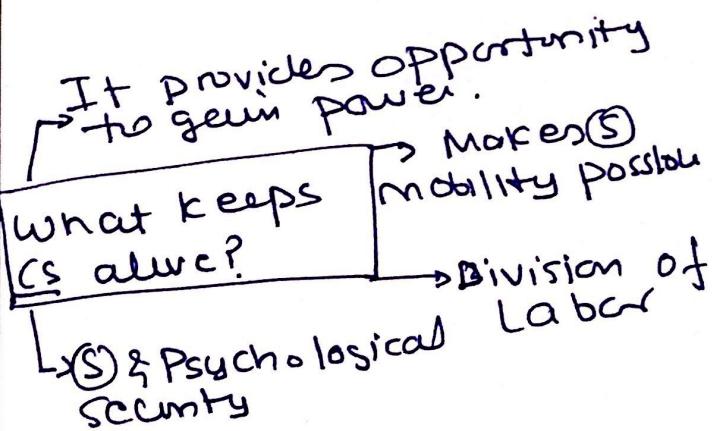
# U.P.S.C.

Young India  
(1919)

प्राचीन राज्य  
राजनीति  
Constitutive anything  
in this part

③ CS to be replaced by Vanashram: Gandhi was most important proponent. Then proper DOL will take place. Also Tatyasaheb, Marshall & PK Rao have supported as?

- Critiques:
- ① Same family have diff occupations hence difficult to assign Vanas.
  - ② Vanashram doesn't consider untouchables & where to place them.
  - ③ Prohibits inter-Vana marriage & commensality.
  - ④ MNS said Vanama is not a practical reality
  - ⑤ Tough to categorise spl<sup>ed</sup> occupations.
  - ⑥ Difficulty in removing existing Jati based marriage & food restrictions.
  - ∴ Not possible practically & even if accomplished will serve no purpose.



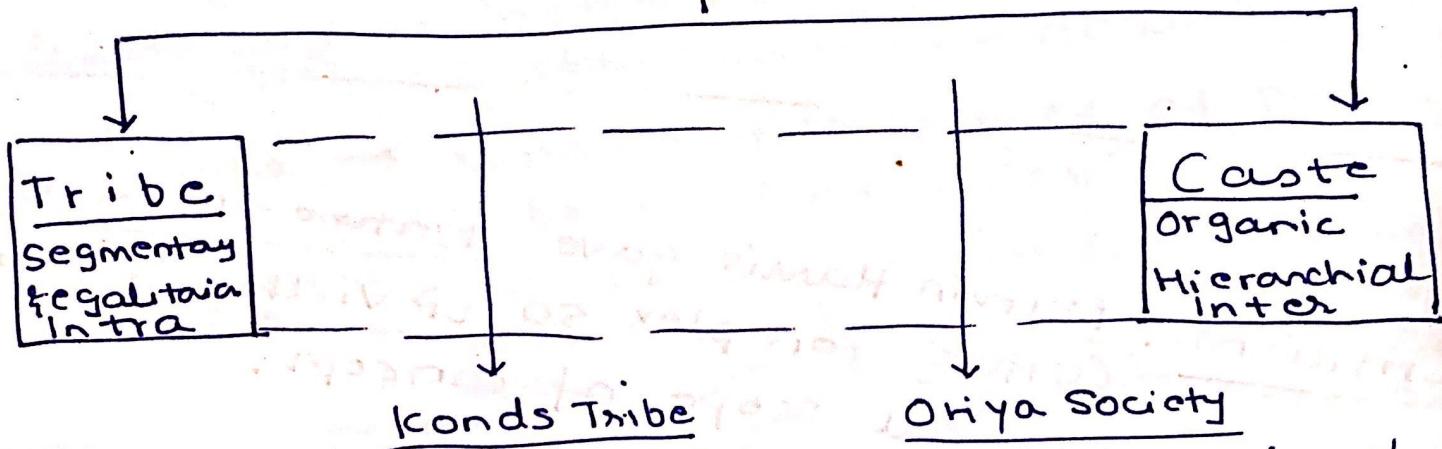
Conclusion: Y. Singh says as long as caste persons form welfare state in India it provides common bonds of kinship ties, pol groups & families. It can be assured of its continuity existence.

# Tribe Caste Continuum

By FG Bailey in "Tribe & caste in India" (1961)

Influenced: By R. Redfield who gave Folk-Urban Continuum in his "Peasant Society & culture (1956)".

Concept: Shifted concept from dichotomy (Polar ideal type) of construction to a continuum.



→ Subgroup called as  
'Panis' is a lower  
caste whose work is to  
remove dead carcasses of  
the Khonds animals.

Orissa Society

→ Brahmins of each  
village are linked  
like a tribe.

Ex: In many documents, Jats & Ahirs called Tribes.  
Mecra's show many characteristics of caste.

Ex: DD Kosambi → Origin of Gotra is ① Clan org.  
Uma Chakravorty → Endogamy taken from ①.

## Causes

→ Tribalisation & Sanskritization  
→ Economic Security

- Contact with Hindus: Sachidananda
- Ecological & demographic reasons such as ① migration to villages, acc. to Mandelbaum.
- In many not fully self sufficient tribes a kind of jajmani exists. Thus system of interdependency not only in caste but also in tribe.

## Examples:

1) KS Singh studied Mahar; it is Tribal →

Caste → Tribal.

2) NK Bose studied Jangs of Orissa (Keonjhar)

Shifting Cultivating Tribe

(pressure on local resources)

→ Pop<sup>n</sup>(↑)  
(~1930's)  
so migration

Pallahara: Peasant (wheat)

Deenkarmal (oil)

so from 1 tribe ⇒ 2 jatis emerged.

3) Budaga of Mysore: Paul Hockings; Nilgiris.

Initially a Castc (n1650's) → Pop<sup>n</sup> pressure → Moved to jungle

Became egalitarian ← Adopted nearby ① customs ← Geographical Isolation & Inbreeding

#### 4) Tribal Reddy of AP: SC Dubé

⇒ Some became Raj Reddy due to culture contact

#### 5) Raj Gonds: Fuhrer Haimendorf: of Adilabad

They entered caste system on own terms; as had own kingdom, army, etc. As popn expanded they needed serving classes for DOL so invited Potters, washerman, etc. But the Brahmins refused as they were Beef eaters. Yet, convinced some poor brahmins. The Gonds then claimed Kshatriya status and married Kshatriyas of the region claiming Raj Gond status anew.

Haimendorf also studied Reddy's of Bison Hill who also claimed Kshatriya status.

#### 6) Baiga of MP: Verner Elwin

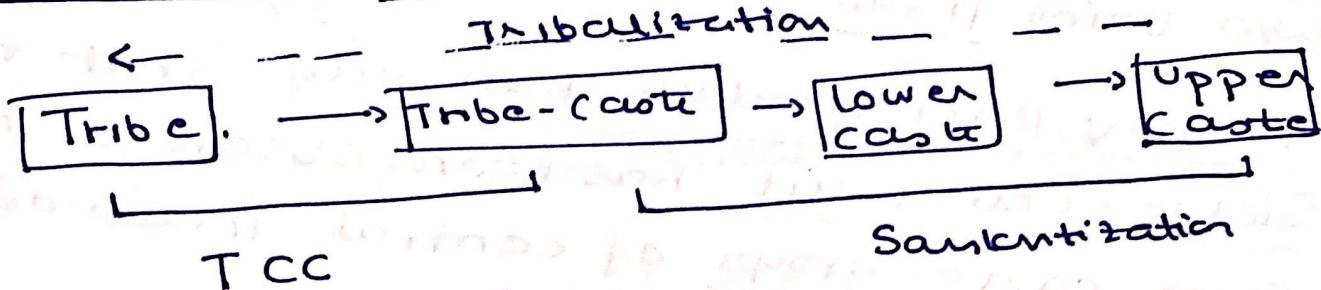
Tried to take up basket making; but local players protested. So unsuccessful effort to become caste; thus transition only successful when alternative livelihood of Tribe is compatible with local occupational structure.

#### 7) Surajit Sinha: "Study of Rajputisation of Tribes in central India, 1962"

Says state formation in Tribal belt of central India is Rajm of Tribes. So there exists a mythical linkage & hierarchical structure between ordinary ♂ & Rajputs of highest order in NN India. Thus establishing a very strong TCC.

## ⑧ Bhumij of WB: Surajit Sinha

Said lot of similarity between Tribes and Lower castes. Ex: Women freedom, Religion, etc.



Ex: Some Bhumij families affected by culture contact in 1920's changed practices and claimed Kshatriya status, formed Bhumiy Khasme Association.

Facing Dilemma after Independence as they want benefit of reservation.

Changed name "Adivasi Bhumij Kshatriya Mahasabha"

Sachidananda's Scale: 20 characteristics of Hindus [dowry, etc] untouchability

| <u>Tribe</u><br><u>(totally isolated)</u> | <u>Partially Isolated</u> | <u>In Cultural Contact</u> | <u>Caste</u><br><u>(Totally Assimilated)</u> |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Ongc,<br>Sentinelese                      | Chenchu,<br>Baiga         | Gond,<br>Bhil              | Meena,<br>Bhumij                             |

- TCC may be oppressive for  $\textcircled{T}$ ; as Bhils in Mewar had played significant role but later exploited.
- V. Elwin says n70% of Tribes are Hinduized w/o being Hindu.
- Prof. V Raghavendra Rao says that the Sickle-cell Trait has been observed in some caste-groups of central India due to TCC.

### <Criticism>

- Oversimplification of  $\textcircled{S}^{\text{al}}$  transformation between tribe and caste.
- GS Ghurye opposed saying  $\textcircled{T}$  are 'backward Hindus'. BN Sircuswati (1965) to emphasized oneness of  $\textcircled{T}$  & caste.
- Dev Nathan in From Tribe to caste (1997) has sought to dispel the notion that tribes are eager to casteize.
- Most studies:  $T \rightarrow C$ ; but tribalization of Hindus received much less attention.

### <Conclusion>

thus TCC is reality.

## Tribalisation

Why: Presence 'old identity' and simpler way of life.

Effects → Respect for Tribal priest/deities/healer (↑)

[Draw S. Sinha's TCC]

### Scholars

1. K.S. Singh: Usually in search of new land/services to tribal masters. Process doesn't affect higher caste much.
2. S.L. Kali: Notes opposite of above in Jawar Bawali region (UP); here Brahmins do all bad/dirty things.
3. DN Majumdar: Based on khaosa study calls it as 'desanskritization'.
4. Nihari Ranjan Ray: process impacted Aravans; they gained many things from the Autochthonous [Dasyus].  
Ex: Gram Devata
5. V. Elwin: says that Hinduized tribes still maintained their beliefs and this in turn changed Hinduism itself.

Threat: Pseudo-tribalism demands of Gurjars 70