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CASTE - A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CASTE

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Introduction

The Government of India has embodied in its constitution a directive principle to evolve a casteless society. Small wonder that sociologists both foreign and local have turned their attention to a study of caste in India with the special desire to evaluate the force of caste in India today. This desire is reflected in many village studies in particular, which have taken place in India at the hands of foreign and local scholars. It must be mentioned that so far the study of caste has been made in a rural locale rather than in urban setting. It is true that some studies have been made pertaining to attitudes towards caste in urban areas, e.g., amongst students, factory workers, etc. However, caste as a functioning reality in urban areas has not been much studied.

The present report takes account of published articles and monographs by students of caste during the period 1950-1959. Articles written by laymen have been purposely omitted. The plan of the article is as follows:

I. A discussion of the various concepts used and various theories propounded for the explanation of caste in terms of its origin and continuance.

II. Methodological contributions pertaining to the study of caste.

III. Descriptive studies dealing with the various aspects of caste.

IV. Prospects and possibilities of change in the institution of caste.

V. Solutions offered to eradicate caste.

I. Concepts and Theories

There are various concepts which have been used by the various authors such as the concept of dominant caste, the concept of elaborateness of ranking, kingly model, concept of pollution, concept of Sanskritisation and Westernization concept of role, concept of inter-action, etc. It will be useful to point out at the outset the difficulties experienced by various authors in arriving at a satisfactory definition of caste. First and foremost, it is felt that the linking up of the concept of Varna as a scheme of classification of caste has been a major source of difficulty. Many authors admit that the Varna scheme of classification provides an all-India frame of reference for the analysis of caste. However, as far as analysis of caste as a functioning reality is concerned, the Varna scheme is not of much avail, for the simple reason that the Varna scheme postulates a relative rigidity in the four-fold division of society. In reality, however, it is found that in the middle ranges there is quite an amount of mobility and therefore the Varna scheme fails

to fit in as an explanation of caste stratification in India. The Varna scheme is admirably applicable to the Brahmins, who are at the top of the ladder and also to the Untouchables who are at the bottom of the ladder. In the middle ranges, however, it is just not applicable. There are a few authors, however, like Hocart and Iravati Karve who feel that the Varna scheme is partially useful. In fact, Hocart feels that there is no inconsistency between the Varna scheme and the Jati as a reality. Probably, these authors seem to think that the Varna scheme provides a useful frame of analysis for the whole of India and as far as this contention is concerned, there would not be much of a difference of opinion amongst the authors who have rejected the Varna scheme as inadequate for special studies of caste in a given locale. It is felt that since economic change disturbs caste equilibrium, the Varna scheme is not suitable, for the Varna scheme postulates a rigidity of social distance.

It is but natural that many authors have concerned themselves with the problem of origin of caste in India. Some authors feel that caste originated in South India. There are others who think that for a satisfactory explanation of the origin of caste, reference must be made to both the Indus Civilization and South India. There are yet others who feel that the mystical and religious sanctions behind the division of labor obtaining in India are responsible for the emergence and development of caste in India. There are certain authors who think that a combination of various factors must be taken into

account to evolve a satisfactory explanation of the origin and development of caste in India. Thus, the geographical isolation of the Indian peninsula, notions of pollution, power of food, ceremonial purity, belief in reincarnation, hereditary occupation, clash of races and antagonistic cultures, guides and association, belief in magic association with crafts and functions, deliberate economic and administrative policy, religious philosophy and its exploitation by a highly intelligent hierarchy, etc., must be taken into account to give a satisfactory explanation of the origin and development of caste.¹ There are still others who think that caste is based on the central feature of sacrifice. Sacrifice is performed to establish cordial relationship between man and God. Naturally, if sacrifice becomes the central activity of human life, the functional division of labor assumes ritual significance. In fact, every activity, however mundane it may appear, is given a ritual garb, e.g., hair cutting. Small wonder then that in the wake of ritual aspect of division of labor, there came to ensue also the fact of social distance. In fact, some authors regard pollution as the central concept of Hindu society, whereby there are elaborate stipulations regarding avoidance and separation as between different castes. Some authors reject the existing theory of origin and development of caste and contend that caste can be explained only in terms of the economic

¹Hutton, J.H., Caste in India, 1951.

and psychological security it offers to people.² Theories of caste which have overemphasized the ideal aspect of caste as a structural principle have also been rejected by some authors since they find that there is a great deal of gulf between the reality and the idealized version. In fact, this rejection is tantamount to the rejection of the Varna scheme of classification as a satisfactory tool of analysis of caste system. There are many authors who have been concerned with the attributional aspect of caste. These authors describe at length caste and its attributes. However, there are some others who feel that the attributional theory also fails to take cognizance of reality in so far as it does to conform to any given list of attributes of caste at a given point of time. Therefore, such authors suggest an interactional theory of caste as a proper corrective to the earlier attributional theory.³ In this context it must be mentioned that the caste system has been primarily built upon the Brahmanic model. Nevertheless even where the Brahmins themselves have departed from the model (compare the process of westernization by the higher castes in particular),⁴ they still continue to wield utmost power at least as far as the ritual status goes.⁵ At the

² N.K. Bose, "Some Aspects of Caste in Bengal", Man in India, Jan. March, 1958.

³ McKim, Marriott, "The Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking", Man in India, April June, 1959.

⁴ M.N. Srinivas, "Sanskritisation and Westernisation", Society in India, 1956.

⁵ B.N. Nair, The Dynamic Brahmin, 1959.

least they enjoy a very high ritual status. Pari Passu with departure from norms by the Brahmins there is a cognate development of fluidity in the middle ranges of caste. Naturally, under these circumstances to pin-point one's faith in the idealist theory of caste would be something unrealistic. Actually there is an author who suggests that in so far as the Brahmins have ceased to perform their traditional functions, they should be dislodged from the higher pedestal of status and power. The same author explains the power and supremacy of Brahmins in terms of the process of routinization of Charisma. He contends that in so far as caste as a functioning reality is concerned in terms of action theory, there is no justification for the continuance of the caste system. Of course, he has also explained the factors which have been responsible for the perpetuation of the caste system. Another author who is more concerned with the maintenance of the caste system rather than with its origin goes to stress the importance of the myth of caste as a major force in the continuity of the caste system.⁶ This author rejects the Marxian explanation of the emergence, development and sustenance of caste in India for even when caste may be divorced from economic and political power, the ritual status continues to dominate the caste scene.

Many authors have stressed the importance of the concept of dominant caste. By doing so, these authors actually want to

⁶ Narmadeshwar Prasad, The Myth of Caste System, 1957.

emphasize the variability in the status of various castes in different regions. The concept of dominant caste subsumes factors such as the economic, the political, the demographic and the ritual power of the people concerned. Actually, the concept of dominant caste gives adequate importance to what one might call secular status. It is true that in order that the caste be dominant, it must possess a minimum amount of ritual status. Thus, for instance, the untouchables cannot hope to be a dominant caste, howsoever economically well-off they may be or inspite of their great number in a particular situation. One author has particularly stressed untouchability as a special impediment to caste mobility.⁷ However, the concept of dominant caste goes to point out the importance of secular factors in the present caste status. The various village studies which have been made, have drawn attention to the unbridled power occupied by a dominant caste. In certain cases it has been pointed out how Brahmins who continue to enjoy highest ritual status have to curry favor with the dominant caste. Of course in certain cases where the dominant caste was Brahmin, no amount of economic and political landslide has been able to unseat them from their position. This is a clear example of how the ritual status of Brahmins has been of help to them in overcoming their loss of economic and political status. Of course as we know, the Brahmin are in more than one way an exception to the prevailing caste system. Otherwise, the

⁷F.G. Bailey, Caste and the Economic Frontier, 1958.

dominant caste is usually non-Brahmin. This concept clearly proves a shift in the principles of caste organization from ritual to secular.

This is not to deny altogether the importance of ritual status. As a matter of fact the dominant caste tries to enhance its ritual status through the process of Sanskritisation. The Brahmanic model has already been referred to. To use a wider concept, however, one might speak in terms of Sanskritisation of ritual. In terms of Sanskritisation a caste is able to enhance its status by giving up certain foods, customs, occupations, etc. There is yet another process, namely that of hypergamy whereby also a caste is able to enhance its status by marrying its daughters into castes higher than its own. Parallel with the process of Sanskritisation is the process of Westernization whereby the higher castes and the Brahmins in particular, give up orthodox ways of caste behavior and adopt western values such as equality, democracy, freemixing, etc. However, the process of westernization alienates the higher caste from the rest of the Hindus and thereby only perpetuates the social distance between the higher and the lower caste. One might give the analogy of hide and seek as far as the discarding of orthodox way of life by the higher castes and its adoption by the lower caste is concerned. The dominant caste is able to monopolize power in its hands and therefore, it can almost do and undo things in a given situation. The official and unofficial leadership as it exists in Indian villages brings to our attention the importance of the

dominant caste. Right from Panchayats to legislature the power wielded by the dominant caste cannot be ignored.

Naturally, in the face of caste as a functioning reality, authors are compelled to reject the idealistic theory of caste as well as the Varna scheme of classification and the attributional theories of caste also. In place of such theories, as mentioned already, interactional theory has been suggested. Likewise the importance of role has been stressed.

II. Methodological Problems

Quite a few authors have addressed themselves to methodological problems pertaining to the study of caste. In the first place, some authors have pointed out that caste must be studied as a functioning reality and that reliance must not be placed on the existing theories for the satisfactory explanation of caste as a reality. In this context, mention must be made of the rejection of the Varna theory of caste. Broadly speaking, a structural functional approach to the study of caste has been advocated. It is felt by some authors that to arrive at a satisfactory theory of caste ranking certain methodological precautions are necessary.⁸ This author speaks of the elaborateness of caste ranking and says that the same depends on four sets of factors, viz. (1) number of local ethnic groups, (2) co-relative stratified inter-action

⁸ Marriott, McKim, "Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan", Bulletin of the Deccan College, 1958.

among ethnic group, (3) consistency among individuals in stratified inter-action, and (4) separation from inconsistent interaction elsewhere. The author insists that for a proper study of caste ranking these four sets of factors must be properly gone into. The same point is made by other authors who stress the importance of local situation in delineation of caste. What these authors mean is nothing really except that regional variations and peculiarities must be taken not of in a proper study of caste. Therefore, as a general trend one might observe that there is increasing emphasis on rejecting overall explanations or theories of caste. This is certainly a methodological contribution made in recent times arising out of the various field studies that have been completed during the last few years by both Indian and foreign scholars. Then there are certain authors who have concerned themselves with problems of the measurement of social distance between different castes. At the outset it must be mentioned that the authors themselves have admitted the lack of precision in such measurements. However, scaling analysis has been sought to be employed to assess social distance between different castes to analyze the basis of caste ranking, etc. It is significant that some of the authors who have attempted to measure caste distance have been mindful of the importance of inter-action, thereby not unduly pinning their faith in a study of attitudes and opinions. A student of caste must necessarily concern himself with inter-action rather than with mere attitudes and opinions. In these days of pressures of public opinion and propaganda, it would be

difficult to make a correct appraisal of the attitudes and opinions expressed by the people as regards caste. A correct procedure would be to make a study of inter-action and then proceed to verbalized attitudes and opinions in the light of such inter-action.⁹ As will be observed later, a mere change in attitudes is not a sufficient guarantee of change in caste.

III. Descriptive Studies of Caste

The descriptive studies of caste can be usefully sub-divided into the following topics:

- (1) Caste, its origin and development.
- (2) Importance of caste as a central feature of Indian social system.
- (3) Caste and interdependence.
- (4) Caste and importance of local situation.
- (5) Caste and territory.
- (6) Caste and economic organization (including occupation, technology, etc.)
- (7) Caste and political power.
- (8) Caste and leadership.
- (9) Caste and family.
- (10) Caste and marriage.
- (11) Caste and education
- (12) Caste and personality

⁹Damle, Y.B. and Karve, Irawati, Intergroup Relations in Rural Communities (Unpublished Ms., 1959).

- (13) Caste and class.
- (14) Caste and race.
- (15) Caste and pupulation.
- (16) Caste and mobility.
- (17) Caste and ranking.
- (18) Caste and migration.
- (19) Caste and ideology.
- (20) Caste and belief system.
- (21) Caste and pollution.
- (22) Caste and the Brahmin (the influence of Brahmins, etc.)
- (23) Caste and its influence on other communities.
- (24) Caste and social adjustment.
- (25) Caste and social injustice.
- (26) Caste as a unifying force.
- (27) Caste as a divisive force.
- (28) Caste, its maintenance and continuity.

The fact that the descriptive studies are being divided into different topics as listed above does not by any chance mean that certain authors have emphasized a certain topic or certain topics to the neglect of other topics. However, the frequency distribution of the various topics discussed by the authors of different articles and monographs goes to point out the relative attention paid by the authors to the different aspects of the problem. The caste and its relation to economic organization as a whole has been stressed by 23 authors. The relationship between caste and ideology

has been tackled by 22 authors. 19 authors have concerned themselves with the problem of caste and ranking while 17 of them have tackled the problem of relationship between caste and belief system. An equal number has concerned itself with the problem of caste and mobility, caste as a divisive force, and caste and pollution. 11 authors have concerned themselves with analyzing the importance of caste as a central feature of the Indian social system. Nine have concerned themselves with caste and political power, caste and marriage, caste and Brahmins, caste its maintenance and continuity. Eight authors have stressed the importance of caste as a unifying force, while five authors have stressed the relationship between caste and territory, caste and migration and caste and local situation and caste and leadership, while three each have stressed the problem of origin and development of caste and of caste and family. Two authors each have stressed the relationship between caste and education, caste and class, caste and race and caste and population. The importance of caste and personality, and caste and social adjustment, have each been stressed by one author respectively.

As already mentioned, some authors have discussed the problem of the origin and development of caste in terms of the functional division of labor coupled with mystical and religious beliefs. One of the authors stressed the point that the origin of caste should be logically traced to South India. He further goes to point out that even before the advent of the Aryans, there were

castes in South India.¹⁰ Therefore, he discounts the theory that the origin of caste can be traced to Brahmanic influence. The importance of caste as the central feature of the Indian social system has been emphasized by a few authors. It is felt by these authors that a study of Indian social system must give weight to the consideration of the importance of caste. Caste and economic interdependence has been likewise stressed by several authors. However, some authors are also mindful of the fact that such interdependence causes social injustice and therefore the attempts made to eulogise caste interdependence with special reference to the Jajamani system must be taken with a grain of salt if not discarded altogether. The variations in the social situation and their impact on caste has been well brought out by some authors. Thus the number of castes obtaining in a given locality seems to be extremely crucial from the point of view of its functioning. Likewise in a situation where egalitarian philosophy is the climate of opinion, the rigors of caste are bound to be on the wane. Caste and its relationship to territory has been pointed out by some scholars. The extent of the influence of a caste is severely limited by territory in many a case. Actually importance of territorial segmentation as a contributory factor to the rigidity of caste interdependence has been forcefully pointed out by an author.¹¹

¹⁰Arokiaswamy, M., "Caste in South India", Tamil Culture, 1954.

¹¹Millar, Eric J. "Caste and Territory in Malabar", American Anthropologist, June 1954.

The author proceeds to observe that to the extent that territorial segmentation can be reduced, the rigidity of caste interdependence and social injustice can also be successfully countered. The territorial extent of caste is determined by the marriage circle. Some authors feel that in view of the priority of economic interest people may be prone to give up hereditary occupation. However, there are many others, who equally well feel that there tends to be an interaction and a good deal of correlation between caste and economic organization in the sense that those who occupy a higher status ritually also are the ones who stand higher up in the economic hierarchy. A further complicating factor being the alignment of caste and political power and leadership rendering concentration of power feasible. Many authors have said that the change in technology will spell a change in caste. However, that point will be discussed in the relevant place. Likewise many have felt that economic change will spell change in caste. Nevertheless there are authors who feel that economic change unless coupled with ideological change cannot unleash change in caste. By and large authors have felt that there tends to be a relationship between caste and political power. Thus those who are higher up in the caste hierarchy also tend to wield political power. In this context, reference must be made to the role played by caste in elections in the national elections in 1957 as exemplified by a study of the same made in South India.¹²

¹² Harrison, Selig, "Caste and the Andhra Communists", The American Political Science Review, June, 1956.

Another author also has made reference to the political power wielded by higher castes. Going into the relationship of caste and leadership, it is felt by many authors that such a relationship exists whereby leaders in a community are chosen from the higher castes. In this context one author has pointed out that formal leadership strengthens caste while informal leadership is likely to be a force against caste if it could be shaken out of its passivity.¹³ In so far as the Government tries to encourage formal leadership the caste alignment will not be affected. By and large it can be said that caste and leadership in the various walks of life goes hand in hand. Therefore caste difference and injustices get perpetuated. Some authors have also pointed out how there is relationship between caste and family with special reference to kinship pattern. Caste differentials are to be observed in family structure, and composition. Likewise there tends to be a relationship between caste and pattern of marriage. In this context reference must be made to an article in which the author points out that despite political and economic changes caste endogamy persists.¹⁴ Likewise two other authors point to a relationship between sex-code and caste and caste and widow-remarriage or restriction thereupon.¹⁵ The former stresses

¹³Orenstein, "Leadership and Caste in a Bombay Village", Leadership and Political Institutions in India, 1959.

¹⁴Bose, N.K., op.cit., January-March, 1958.

¹⁵Parthasarathy, V.S., "Caste in a South Indian Textile Mill," Economic Weekly, 16th August, 1958, and Datta, J.N., "Proportion of Brahmins in India's Population is Decreasing", Modern Review, March, 1958.

that sex-code is stricter amongst higher castes while the latter ascribes a smaller proportion of Brahmin population in the total population of India to the ban on widow marriage amongst Brahmins. A relationship is felt to exist between caste and education. In view of such relationship caste differences get perpetuated. It is also felt by some authors that caste affects in great measure the development of personality by providing a rigid frame of reference for the individuals concerned. It is felt that every caste offers an image of what is desirable to all its members, thereby restricting the chances of departure from such norms.¹⁶ Some authors feel that caste is developing features of class. However, some of them also feel that if caste and class become co-terminus¹⁷ there are very few chances of caste being eradicated in the near future. There are some who feel that a relationship exists between caste and race and as such the power of the higher caste cannot be reduced. Already a reference has been made to the relationship felt to exist by some between caste and population. There are many authors who stress that contrary to the existing belief, caste offers possibilities of mobility. It has already been mentioned how in the middle ranges there is a certain amount of uncertainty and fluidity as regards status. This fluidity and uncertainty is further accentuated by economic

¹⁶ Morris Carstairs, The Twiceborn, 1957.

¹⁷ Ghurye, Caste and Class in India.

and occupational mobility. In this context the role played by industrialization and technology needs to be stressed. It must also be mentioned that inspite of occupations being hereditary in a caste system, occupations such as that of an agriculturist have been proverbially open to all and sundry. Naturally, with enhanced prospects of following non-traditional occupations there is bound to be change in the occupational rigidity which was normally associated with castes. There is yet another factor which also enhances mobility in a caste system namely that of hypergamy. Hypergamous marriages render possible the emergence of isogamous units so that even within a caste fissures develop. Speaking of mobility, it should be mentioned that downward mobility has been an important source of recruitment to lower castes.¹⁸ Moreover, mobility tends to be a group phenomenon in a caste system where an individual cannot register ascent in the caste hierarchy by himself but has to move along with a group. The problem of ranking in a caste society assumes special features in view of the ritual and secular statuses. As already mentioned the ritual status plays a very significant part in the determination of caste hierarchy. This is not to deny the importance of secular force, for instance, economic betterment, betterment of occupation, enhancement of political power, etc., are some of the forces which enable the person to overcome the originally low ritual status. However, there are serious limit-

¹⁸ Fuchs, Stephen, "The Scavengers of the Nimar District in Madhya Pradesh", Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1951-1952.

ations to the betterment of one's ritual status in a caste society. Some authors feel that ritual rank is more important in South India than secular rank.¹⁹ Even now ranking in a caste society tends to be ascriptive. There is not much scope for achieving status in a caste society. More often than not there tends to be a correspondence between the various bases of ranking in a caste society. Thus, those who tend to be ritually higher, tend to be secularly higher too. Migration also seems to be related to caste in the sense that those who are at the topmost rung of the ladder as those who are at the bottom of the ladder tend to migrate. Of course in the case of the former the higher status is consolidated, while in the case of the latter, a new status can be achieved. Migration holds out special attraction for the untouchables in particular as will be noted below. Migration in India is a selective process. Earlier it has already been mentioned how caste cannot sustain itself in an egalitarian climate of opinion. In order that caste sustains itself it must be backed by a suitable ideology. The role played by myth in perpetuating the caste system has already been mentioned. It has also been mentioned how a change in economic organization will not be of much avail unless coupled with ideological change. As already referred to, if the Brahmantic model tends to persist in India, there are slender chances of a significant ideological shift. The

¹⁹ Gough, Aberte, "Criteria of Caste Ranking in South India," Man in India, April-June, 1959; Srinivas, M.N., Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India, 1952.

process of Sanskritization referred to already makes the same point. It is true that adoption of western ideology in respect of the worth of the individual, dignity of the human being, etc., have no doubt given rise to some kind of fissures in the caste system. Curiously enough, the higher caste are about the first group of persons to be exposed to modern ideology (i.e., westernization). However, the structural framework of caste as reflected by the economic and political organization did not undergo a sufficient change for these fissures to be of much significance. Moreover caste offers the possibility of what may be called meeting people at a tangent, so that one does not have to enter into all types of relations with 'other persons', (meaning thereby persons belonging to other castes). Moreover the caste ideology makes it possible for people to have the cake and eat it in so far as they can mingle with other persons in terms of economic interdependence and yet retain separate identity. The various religious, ethical and philosophical beliefs prevalent in India have further sustained the caste system. In fact the ethico-religious justification of caste has in no small way been responsible for the continuance of caste in spite of contact with western civilization. These beliefs have been given a philosophical and metaphysical basis evinced by the theory of Karma and Rebirth in particular. Naturally it becomes very difficult for people to shake off these traditional beliefs and caste practices. Caste habits are justified

by proper belief systems and therefore dispell any doubt as far as wavering minds are concerned. As already mentioned earlier, the concept of pollution has played a very significant role in maintaining the separateness of the different castes in India.²⁰ Minds of people are exercised with the concept or idea of pollution so much so that ritual distance is maintained on ceremonial occasions even within a unitary family, e.g., a person who is performing a religious workship cannot touch his own children. This concept of pollution has been carried to its logical extreme, exemplified in the institution and practice of untoucheability in India. No amount of economic or political enhancement of status can nullify the fact of untoucheability so much so that in Maharashtra, the Mahars had to take recourse to Buddhism, an offshoot of Hinduism though. It has already been mentioned how untoucheability presents the biggest barrier as far as mobility in a caste society is concerned.²¹ So pollution can be regarded as the biggest divisive force in a caste society. It has already been mentioned how the caste system follows the Brahmanical model.²² Brahmins have a special code of conduct and behavior as mentioned already in respect to sex and marital practices. Moreover the ritual avoidance has been carried to its logical extent at the instance

²⁰Srinivas, *op.cit.*

²¹Bailey, F.G., *Caste and the Economic Frontier*, 1958.

²²Opler and Singh, "Caste and Village Organization in a Community of Northern India", *A Reader in General Anthropology*, 1948.

of Brahmins in India. It is sometimes said that the economic and political power of Brahmins has been on the decline in India. However, it must not be forgotten that the ritual status of Brahmins has not in any significant way been impaired by modern currents. Moreover in terms of their ritual status the Brahmins are able to compensate for a loss of their economic and political power. Various studies point out the pervading influence which caste exerts on tribals and in neighboring countries. In India the tribals and Muslims have been under the influence of the caste system so much so that they have adopted some of the essential features of caste such as endogamy, determination of status by birth, etc.²³ Caste system has also influenced Muslim stratification.²⁴ Likewise caste had its impact on Ceylonese society too.²⁵ The peculiarity of a caste system should be regarded to lie in its capacity to adjust itself to changing situations. Thus given a new technology, economic organization, system of education, recruitment, new ideology, etc., caste system adjusts itself admirably well so that the essentials of a caste system do not get lost. The social adjustments which are necessary to make in the wake of different forces have already been referred to. However, it is a

²³ Sachidanand, "Class and Caste in Tribal Bihar", Man in India, July-September, 1955. Ansari, G., "Muslim Caste in India", Eastern Anthropologist, 1955-56.

²⁴ Gupta, R., "Caste Ranking and Intercaste Relations Among Muslims." Eastern Anthropologist, 1956.

²⁵ Gilbert, William H. Jr., "The Singhalese Caste System of Central and Southern Ceylon", The Ceylon Historical Journal, 1953.

higher caste that finds it difficult to adjust itself to changing situations.²⁶ It is true that economic decline has compelled Brahmins to accept lower castes as their neighbors. However, it has to be remembered that living in a neighborhood does not in any way connote close interpersonal relations on a footing of equality. Social injustice arising out of caste has already been referred to in the context of economic inter-dependence of castes. In recent times pointed attention is drawn to social injustices inherent in the caste system. Ways and means are suggested to reduce social injustice by giving special facilities to the down-trodden castes such as the untouchables, to migrate to towns and urban areas and settle there. It is true that social injustice entailed by caste would have been much worse, but for the avenues of enhancement of status open in a caste society through secular power. Moreover the influx of new ideology has also in a way worked to assuage the feelings and sufferings of the down-trodden by convincing them about the increasing awareness on the part of the higher castes regarding social injustice. The Constitution of India is further wedded to the ideal of removing caste injustices. Yet whether in terms of legislation or economic betterment, industrialization, etc. much remains to be done as far as routing out caste injustices is concerned. Caste interdependence has already been referred to. Many authors think that in terms of caste interdependence caste is a unifying force. Caste is regarded as

²⁶ Hitchcock, John T., "The Idea of a Martial Rajput", Traditional India - Structure and Change, 1959.

a force towards social stability. Caste is regarded as a force ensuring psychological and economic security. No doubt it is admitted that caste entails differences and distance but at the same time it is regarded as a force unifying the higher up and the low down. Caste links up Great and Little traditions in a significant manner.²⁷ Moreover the priestly caste extends over a very large territory, uniting people of different castes. The divisive potentialities of caste have already been referred to. Many authors feel that caste is a divisive force and has been responsible for creating a gulf between people and people in terms of caste alignment. However, the factual evidence regarding caste alignment does not seem to be in anyway inhibited by this awareness. The problem naturally arises as to what is it that sustains caste. This problem becomes all the more significant in view of the efforts made by the Government of India to plan for a casteless society. Some authors who have been making a special study of the sociological aspects of the governmental planning activity, have been constrained to point out that if planning has to succeed proper weight must be given to an understanding of the force of caste.²⁸ There are others who feel that caste is perpetuated by the myth of caste.²⁹ There are still others who feel that caste

²⁷Redfield, Robert, "The Social Organisation of Tradition", The Far Eastern Quarterly, November, 1955.

²⁸Dube, S.C., "Cultural Factors in Rural Community Development", The Journal of Asian Studies, November, 1956; India's Changing Villages, 1958.

²⁹Prasad, Narmadeshwar, op.cit.

is perpetuated by the economic and psychological security it offers to the people.³⁰ Moreover, as is true in the case of other social institutions, the very fact that caste functions helps to perpetuate it. It is also said that in an underdeveloped country caste will occupy a major force till such time as other substitutes have been made available. As will be noted below many authors have felt that caste cannot be undone unless and until economic and ideological change takes place. On the other hand there are other authors who contend that irrespective of economic and political changes caste sentiments do tend to persist. In short there is a group of authors which feels that the maintenance and continuity of caste is more or less assured for quite a few years.

IV. Prospects and possibilities of change in the institution of caste.

As regards the possibilities and prospects of change in the caste system, by and large the authors seem to feel that in the near future at any rate the caste system is not going to disintegrate. Yet it is true that there are many authors who feel that divergence between ritual and secular status has been a major source of hierarchical change.³¹ It is also felt that a mere change in attitudes does not mean any change in the structure of caste.³² Limitations of

³⁰Mukerjee Ramakrishna, *The Dynamics of a Rural Society*, 1957; Bose, N.K., *op. cit.*; Aiyappan, "Caste and Joint Family in Tamil Nad", *Sociological Bulletin*, Sept. 1955.

³¹Mayer, Adrian, "Some Hierarchical aspects of Caste" *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, 1956.

³²Murphy, Gardner, *In the Minds of Men*, 1953.

legislation in the change of caste have also been pointed out.³³ Untouchability has been regarded as a major impediment to caste mobility.³⁴ The loss in some cases of economic and political status by the Brahmins has already been referred to. However, due to their ritual superiority their overall status does not suffer a great deal. It is true that Brahmins who have lost their economic and political power accept barbers as their neighbours.³⁵ However, as mentioned earlier, such neighbourhood does not in any way spell close interaction on a footing of equality between the Brahmins and the barbers. It is felt by some that some changes in the features of class are in the offing. However, the same author feels that the essential features of caste remain unaltered.³⁶ Accounting for the factors which help continue the caste systems in India, it is found that the economic, philosophical and religious basis of caste is so firm, coupled with its adaptability, that there are very few possibility of a real change.³⁷ So also the fact that sentiments are in favour of caste system, as for example reflected in the preference for the Jajmani system³⁸ goes to explain the continuity of the caste system. Endogamy persists inspite of

³³Bernard, S., 'Madhopur Revisited', The Economic Weekly, July, 1959.

³⁴Bailey, F.G., Caste and the Economic Frontier, 1958.

³⁵Ray, A., "A Brahmin Village of the Sasana Type in the District of Puri, Orissa", Man in India, January-March, 1956.

³⁶Churye, G.S., Caste and Class in India, 1957.

³⁷Mukerjee, Ramakrishna, The Dynamics of a Rural Society, 1957.

³⁸Aiyappan, A., "Caste and Joint Family in Tamil Nad", Sociological Bulletin, September, 1955.

political and economic changes.³⁹ Endogamy has been regarded as a very important feature of the caste systems by most of the authors. Normally, one would be inclined to think of migration as a liberalising force as far as caste restrictions are concerned. However, one of the authors pointed out that migrants tend to be more rigid in the observance of caste restrictions, particularly in respect of marriage, as they want to retain their separate cultural identity.⁴⁰ Earlier, reference has already been made to the fact that even economic planning has not been able to affect caste differences and rigidities. One of the important factors which has perpetuated the caste systems seems to be the myth of the caste.⁴¹ In short, it is felt that nothing has happened to alter the ideological basis or foundation of the caste system as far as the system of beliefs is concerned. Nothing much has also happened to shake the caste system. It has already been noted as to how the process of westernisation has failed to eradicate the caste system. Authors are constrained to observe that change in caste has been more superficial than fundamental.⁴² Naturally, therefore the consensus of opinion among various students of the subject seems to be that caste cannot be eradicated in the near future.

V. Solutions offered to eradicate.

This section concerns itself with the solutions suggested by

³⁹Bose, N.K., op. cit.

⁴⁰Acharya, Hemalate, "Caste in an Immigrant Community", Sociological Bulletin, September, 1955.

⁴¹Prasad, Narmadeshwar, op. cit.

⁴²Damle, Y.B. and Desai, I.P., "A Note on the Change in the Caste", Ghurye Felicitation Volume, 1954.

various authors to effect a change if not a complete eradication of the caste system. As will be obvious enough from a review of the various solutions suggested, the authors seem to feel that rooting out the caste system is an extremely difficult thing to achieve. Actually what the authors have suggested amounts to solutions of certain facets of the caste system such as untouchability. Thus many authors suggest that untouchability can be eradicated by migration of the untouchables to urban areas.⁴³ So also it has been suggested that castes which are dysfunctional in village organization should migrate.⁴⁴ Political intervention can help raise the ritual status of a low caste.⁴⁵ Likewise breakdown of territorial segmentation is felt to be useful in reducing caste interdependence and therefore caste rigidity.⁴⁶ Industrialisation has been broadly regarded as a solution of the caste problem.⁴⁷ So also it is felt that economic change is absolutely necessary to ensure change in the caste system.⁴⁸ It is felt by some authors that opening

⁴³Epstein Scarlet, "Industrial Employment for Landless Labourers only", The Economic Weekly, July 1959; Cohn, Bernard, S., "Changing Traditions of a low Caste", Traditional India Structure and Change, 1959.

⁴⁴Opler, Morris E., and Singh, Rudra Datta, "Caste and Village Organisation in a Community of Northern India", A Reader in General Anthropology, 1948.

⁴⁵Mandelgaum, David G., The System of Caste in India, Unpublished Mss.

⁴⁶Miller, Eric J., "Caste and Territory in Malabar", American Anthropologist, June, 1954.

⁴⁷Ryan, Bryce, Caste in Modern Ceylon, The Sinhalese System in Transition, 1958.

⁴⁸Rao, M.S.A., Social Change in Malabar, 1957.

up of new occupations would help people overcome caste stigma.⁴⁹ It is felt that by resorting to new occupations people will be able to give up older habits of living. There are some authors who feel that unofficial active leadership should be strengthened as it is against caste unlike the official leadership.⁵⁰ However, the same author observes that so far at any rate the Government has pinned its faith on bolstering up the official leadership, which is presumably in favour of continuance of the caste system. It has already been referred to that there are some other authors who feel that intercaste marriage is not a solution to caste problem.⁵¹ So also many have felt that legislation has limited efficacy in changing the caste practices, injustices, etc.⁵² There are many authors who feel that a many pronged attack is necessary to change the structure of the caste system. Thus they feel that economic, political and ideological change is absolutely necessary for ensuring any amount of permanent change in the caste system.⁵³ In terms of the solutions suggested, it is very obvious that the authors are well aware of the immensity of the problem and

⁴⁹Bhowmick, P.K. and Bhattacharya, Benoy, "Caste Occupations and Status", Man in India, January-March, 1957.

⁵⁰Orenstein, H., "The Role of Leadership in the Changing Conditions of Caste and an Indian Village", Seminar on Leadership and Political Institutions in India.

⁵¹Patterson, Maureen, L.P., "Intercaste Marriage in Maharashtra", The Economic Weekly, January, 1958.

⁵²Cohn, Bernard, S., "Madhopur Revisited", The Economic Weekly, July, 1959.

⁵³Gough, Katherine, E., "The Social Structure of A Tanjore Village", The American Anthropologist, June, 1956; Cohn, Bernard, S., "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste", The American Anthropologist, June, 1955.

as such concern themselves either with one of the facets of the caste system and suggest piece-meal solutions or go out to suggest very radical solutions such as an overall change in the economic, political and ideological basis of social life in India altogether. From the solutions suggested it is quite evident that the authors do not seem to be particularly hopeful about any radical change coming in as far as the structure of the caste is concerned, in the near future at least. There seems to be a current underlying all this thinking that the caste is so well entrenched in the Indian system that very radical solutions would be necessary in order to effect anything worthwhile. Thus there does not seem to be much of a difference between the discussion of the prospects and possibility of the caste in the near future and the discussion of the solutions suggested to overcome or change the caste system. In fact the solutions suggested can be characterised as very cautious and fairly realistic in view of the appraisal of the caste system by the various students of caste.

Concluding Remarks

This broad survey of the study of the caste seems to pin-point certain important features of the caste system. In the first place, advances made in conceptual thinking must be mentioned. As has already been noted, the Varna scheme of classification has been felt by many authors, to be of not much use as far as a concrete study of caste in a given situation is concerned. One might even say that by and large the authors have discarded the Varna scheme of classification, except for its utility as an all-India frame of reference. Then again, the

importance of the concept of ritual and secular status has been emphasised. Likewise the central position occupied by the concept of pollution in the explanation of ritual avoidance and caste distances has been forcefully brought out. Various theories regarding the emergence and development of caste have been examined. The net impression one gets out of such examination is that one has to proceed in a very cautious and wary manner as far as such formulations are concerned. Caste interaction has been rightly emphasized. Significantly enough a considerable emphasis has been placed on taking into account the peculiarities of a given situation in the delineation of caste system. Thus there seems to be an awareness on the part of the authors that grandiose theories about caste system are not of much avail in the explanation of caste system as a functioning reality. Inherent in this awareness is the methodological insight, viz, the importance of a structural-functional point of view in the analysis of caste. It is true that many authors have addressed themselves to the task of measuring caste distances, working out basis of caste ranking, etc. However, there seems to be an increasing awareness on the part of such authors also that precision would be hard to attain as far as scaling and measuring is concerned. As regards the various facets of caste system, inspite of the fact that certain authors have tended to emphasise the importance of certain aspects there also seems to be equally prevalent an awareness that the various features of the caste system, such as the ritual and the secular, are interconnected. Further, the political

and economic organisation is also seen to be connected with other features of the caste system. In short, the various aspects of caste system need to be studied as a whole since they are integrated into a system viz. the caste system. As such it would be fatal to isolate a single aspect, however important it may be, for analysis and try to explain the caste system in its terms. So many authors have realised that the various aspects of caste system are interconnected and that they act and interact on each other, rendering the caste system very complex. By and large it is felt that the caste system is an all pervading force, leaving no feature of human life in India untouched. Thus interpersonal and intergroup relations are mainly dictated by the caste system. Likewise caste has a stamp of its own on the political and economic organization in India. In the sphere of belief and ideology, notwithstanding the modern forces and movements, caste seems to have left an indelible mark on the minds of the people. In fact caste can be regarded as moulding people's thinking, ideology and behavior in a very significant manner. It is small wonder then that the authors by and large feel that the prospects and possibilities of change in the caste system as such are not particularly bright. Sometimes one may be prone to mix up what ought to be and what is. Significantly enough, the authors seem to have avoided this fallacy in so far as they are very clear in mind as to what is. It is true that authors have suggested solutions of the caste problem. However, even in doing so, they seem to be completely mindful of the realities of the caste system. Therefore the solutions suggested have been

either piece-meal, affecting certain facets of the caste system only or very radical in the sense that a total change is prescribed to warrant a change in the caste system.

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- (13) SINGER (MILTON) Ed. Traditional India : Structure & Change. COHN (BERNARD S.) " Changing Traditions of Low Caste " - American Folklore Society 1959: 207-215 pp.

ABSTRACTS OF IMPORTANT WORKS ON CASTE

ACHARYA (HEMALATA) " Caste in an Immigrant Artisan Community ".
Sociological Bulletin, Vol. IV, No.2, Sept. 1955, pp. 129-138

The Author utilizes the concepts of Homaus; how a migrated caste maintained its " internal relations " while successfully adopting the new values (external relations) in the situation arising out of culture-contact.

AIYAPPAN (A.) " Caste and Joint Family in Tamilnad " -
Social.B.(Bombay) 4(2) September 1955. 177-122 pp.

There have been many forces working in the breaking down of caste system and joint family like urbanization, education, new ideologies. Yet the sentiment of caste and joint family have remained more or less unaffected as is revealed by a survey made by the author (in Madras city). Caste is yet the sole determinant in the choice of mates.

ANSARI (G.) " Muslim Caste in India " - Eastern Anthropology,
9(2) December 1955 - February 1956; 104-111 pp.

Though Islam preaches the essential quality of all human beings, there is a fixed system of hierarchy amongst the Muslims in India. Shurafa or Ashraf are high caste Muslims. They regard themselves superior because of their foreign origin, (Turkey, Persia, Arabia). Next stand high caste Hindu converts. Then occupational caste, and in the last stand Lal-Begi, the sweepers.

Both hierarchy and endogamy among the Indian Muslims display the features of a caste system. They are more or less stratified in status groups.

AROKIASWAMI (M.) " Caste in South India " - Tamil Culture
3(3-4), October 1954: 326-330 pp.

Even before the advent of Aryans there were castes in South India. Actually the caste system developed in South India in the wake of development of functions. The development of castes in South India was not due to Brahmanic influence.

BACHENHEIMER (R.) " Theology, Economy and Demography:
A Study of Caste in an Indian Village ". 10 p.

The present study was made in a village in western Andhra. The village had a total population of about 800 people belonging to eighteen different castes. The absence of caste rivalry in the village is reported and the author ascribes it to the following factors or rather to the interplay of them. In the first place there is almost a complete absence of Brahmins in the village and the presence of a relatively large number of Lingayats in the village. The author regards Lingayatism as a cult emphasising essential equality of all the Lingayats. Second, the sparseness of the population and third, the persistent widespread poverty of the people are the factors responsible for the absence of caste rivalries in the village.

BAILEY (F.G.) " Caste and the Economic Frontier "
Indian Branch Oxford University Press, Bombay I, 1958: 292 pp.

Caste system organizes ritual, economic, political and social status in Society. More often than not, there is a correspondence between the different statuses laid down by the caste system. Thus those who occupy a higher status ritually, also tend to possess higher economic and political status. What would happen to the caste system, if such correspondence were to be disturbed by the operation of external forces is the subject matter of this study. A village in western Orissa was chosen to study the impact on caste of the widening frontiers - economic and administrative. The equilibrium of the caste system gets disturbed, affecting power relations in the community. The possibilities of social mobility and their limitations arising from the factors of localisation and the practice of untouchability are highlighted. Mobility assumes a group nature in the context of the caste system. Even conversion does not guarantee a higher social status in the case of untouchables. Varna scheme of classification is abandoned by the author in favour of the Jati scheme of classification for the purpose of this study.

BEALS (ALAN R.) " Correlates of Caste Rankings in a Mysore Village " Symposium on Social Structure and Social Change in India at Chicago. 7 p.

This is a methodological paper, wherein the author has attempted to make a meaningful comparison of caste rankings. With this end in view a consistency measure is worked out between the following criteria of ranking viz. (1) Ceremonial rank, (2) Land tax, (3) Literacy, (4) Size, (5) Sociometric status, (6) Unskilled Labour, (7) Urban occupation, (8) Farms own land and (9) Net rank. Curiously enough the author admits that the use of such a correlational technique lends to a loss of precision.

BHATT (G.S.) " The Chamar of Lucknow " - Eastern Anthropology, 8(1), September-November 1954: 27-41 pp.

An occupational caste associated with leather work. Some of the Chamars claim descent from the Rajputs. The familial structure is patrilineal. No objection to polygamy, and yet there are very few polygamous families. There is sub-caste endogamy. Divorce allowed, but the incidence is low. Rank is determined by wealth, education and government service. " Beyond the sub-caste the commonsality observance becomes more important ". Reformist movements are in evidence. The panchayat exerts social control.

BHOWMICK (P.K.) and BHATTACHARYA (BINOY) - " Caste, Occupation and Status " - Man in India, Vol. 37, No.I, January-March 1957

The authors have shown how an occupationally displaced caste could be induced to learn a new trade even at the point of breaking caste norms.

BOSE (N.K.) " Caste in India " - Man in India, 31 (3 & 4) July-December 1951: 107-123 pp.

The author discounts the political, the racial, the philosophical and geographical interpretations given by many thinkers to explain the vitality of the functioning of caste in India. Economic organization has been well taken care of by the caste system. Likewise caste offers psychological security to individuals. Subordination of the interests of the individual to that of the collectivity has been smoothly attained by the caste system. All these explain the vitality of the system.

BOSE (N.K.) " Some Aspects of Caste in Bengal " -
Man in India, Vol. 38, No. 2, January-March 1958:

This study deals with the impact of modern forces i.e. political, economical and other reforms on the structure of caste in Bengal. It shows how castes maintained " endogamic " character inspite of the changes in the occupational pattern (supported by wide choice of tables). In its turn this process is helped by the " pluralism of faiths in Hindu society " to retain and perpetuate " cultural pluralism ".

CARSTAIRS (MORRIS G.) The Twice Born
The Hogarth Press. London 1957: 343 pp.

The role played by caste in the formation of the personality of the high caste Hindus has been analysed. Caste acts as a restricting force as far as personal ambitions are concerned. Caste provides a sort of boundary-maintaining system, within which an individual has to operate by and large.

CHOUDHARI (R.K.) " A Survey of Social Stratification in India " -
Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.U.S. Baroda, Vol. VI, No.I,
September 1956

The author employed the Marxian idea that economic structure defines the political structure. He gives the historical development of " Varna Class " into " Varna Caste " i.e. the transition from Rgveda dan to the present times. Cross comparison of world civilisations has been attempted to reinforce the thesis that " caste is nothing but a social class ".

CHAURAN (B.R.) " Recent Trends among Depressed classes in Rajasthan " Agra University J. Research (Lett.) Vol. III,
December, 1955, 158-161 pp.

A desire among the depressed classes in Rajasthan to raise themselves collectively by adopting names belonging to higher castes. As a result of this collective effort caste solidarity has increased. Changes in caste status are attained by a change in food habit, by giving up a certain type of work, and by marriage and ownership. Religion has been used as a means to this end.

COHN (BERNARD S.) " Madhopur Revisited " The Economic Weekly
11(28,29,30), July 1959: 966 p.

The impact of legislation on caste structuring of relationships has been forcefully brought out in a restudy of a village in the Uttar Pradesh in India. The economic, occupational and power correlates of caste were altered due to tenancy legislation. This has been demonstrated with reference to the changes that came about in the relationships of the three castes - the landlords and the virtual rulers, a clean but low Hindu caste and an untouchable caste. The untouchables were the greatest sufferers due to their economic plight.

COHN (BERNARD S.) " Some Notes on Law and Change in North India ". (pp.24).

Attitude towards law is determined by the total set of values accepted by a people. In India, where the caste-system dominates the social life, it is small wonder if the modern law which recognizes the essential equality of all human beings is felt to be repugnant by the disputants. The author points out with reference to the situation in a North Indian village how the dominant caste plays the role of adjudicator effectively. In case the dominant caste belongs to the proper kingly caste viz. the Kshatriya caste, then its power to adjudicate and settle disputes comes to be unquestioned. It is true that fissures have been made in the earlier method of settling disputes. But even then caste is the most important agency of settling disputes.

COHN (BERNARD S.) Based on Reports by - " The Chaning Status of a Depressed Caste " The American Anthropologist, 57(3) Part 2. Memoir No. 83, June 1955: 53-77 pp.

The possibilities of a change in the status of a depressed caste are discussed with reference to a village in the United Provinces in India. The Chamars are fighting for better status and are adopting the cultural features discarded by the Thakurs (high caste). The higher castes are being secularized. The economic, the political and ideological factors have rendered possible improvement in the status of the Chamars.

COON (CARLETON S.) A Reader in General Anthrcpology - Henry Hold & Co. N.Y. 1948.

" Caste and Village Organization in a Community of Northern India " by OPLER (MORRIS E.) and SINGH (RUDRA DUTT) 464-496 pp.

The authors have studied a northern Indian village with a view to analyse the functioning of the caste system. The relationship existing between caste, occupation and status in the village has been examined. It has been reported that imitation of the Brahmanic model of conduct and behaviour is a source of status to other castes. The traditional arrangement of interdependence within the various castes is practised and jealously guarded. The authors point out how the word " untouchable " is misleading for the " untouchables " are an integral part of the system. Social mobility and possibilities of the same have been examined. Social mobility within the caste system is usually the result of group action, and occurs when the ruling body of a Jati feels strong enough to assert itself. The Jajmani system reflects the caste interdependence. Castes that become dysfunctional must migrate.

DAMLE (Y.B.) " Caste in India " - Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section No. 7, 1956: 89-92 pp.

Structural approach is needed to make a study of caste meaningful. Thus caste has to be analysed with reference to the theories of Rebirth and Karma.

DAMLE (Y.B.) " Caste in Maharashtra " - Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section, No. 9, 1958: 87-98 pp.

The role played by caste in determining occupation, education, interpersonal and intergroup relations in Maharashtra has been analysed by the author on the bases of field studies made in Maharashtra. The inescapable conclusion is that caste is a major determinant of human interaction in Maharashtra.

DAMLE (Y.B.) and KARVE (IRAWATI) - Intergroup Relations in Rural Communities. To be shortly published by the Deccan College, Poona 6, 107 pp.

This is a methodological investigation designed to study intergroup relations in some villages of the Bombay State. The major hypothesis is that Kinship, Caste and Locality constitute the important bases of human loyalties. In terms of the field research findings the authors stress the importance of caste as a major determinant of inter-personal and inter-group relations. Interaction needs to be studied rather than attitudes and opinions to understand the working of caste. The authors have placed reliance on studying interaction, though they have tried to elicit attitudes and opinions of people with reference to inter-caste relations of various types. In fact the authors stress the importance of interpreting attitudes in the light of interaction.

DATTA (J.M.) " Proportion of Brahmans in India's Population is decreasing ". Modern Review (Calcutta) 103(3), March 1958: 230-38 pp.

The proportion of non-Brahman Hindus as a whole between 1891 and 1931 has decreased by 5.6%, that of Brahmans during the same period by 15.1%. While total population of India increased by 20.95%, during this period, the Brahmans increased by 2.80% only.

This slower growth of Brahmans possibly helped them to maintain their religious conservation and to follow tradition occupations.

Reasons for slower growth, (I) proportion of widows is higher and that of females is less among the Brahmans, (II) religious mendicants, sadhus and Brahmacharis, in large proportions are recruited from the Brahman males, (III) the food habit is confined to fewer items. It is being believed that a varied diet helps the growth of population.

DUBE (S.C.) " A Deccan Village " - Economic Weekly, 6(19-20) 8th and 15th May 1954: 526-29, 553-554 pp. (Field work - in Dewara, " a mixed village " in Adilabad district in Hyderabad).

Family - most important unit of social organization. Both agnatic and affinal ties are important. (The concept of " linked families " is utilized to designate such ties). Caste panchayat figures prominently.

DUBE (S.C.) " Cultural Factors in Rural Community Development " The Journal of Asian Studies 16(1), November 1956 : 19-30 pp.

Amongst the several factors that impede the programmes of rural community development, caste or rather the ignoring of the caste relationship is an important one. Neglect of this factor proves fatal to the implementation of the programmes.

DUBE (S.C.) "India's Changing Villages " Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1958: 230 pp.

Evaluation of the success of a Community Development Project in Western Uttar Pradesh has been the aim of this study. The author stresses the keyrole played by caste in village organization. Caste is both a cohesive and a divisive force. The success or otherwise of a Community Development Programme, hinges in no small way on giving due consideration to the force of caste. Thus in the choice of the personnel for implementing the programme, special care has to be taken not to harm the caste susceptibilities of people.

DUBE (S.C.) Indian Village Rontledge and Kegan Paul. Ltd.,
London 1955: 248 pp.

Any description of village social organization in India must give due weight to the role played by caste. Caste determined ritual, economic and social hierarchies. The interdependence between castes and distance between castes has been analysed. The Varna scheme of classification is felt to have a restricted validity in delinating the relative positions of castes in reality.

DUMONT (LOUIS) & POCOCK (D.) Ed. Contributions to Indian Sociology " A.M. HOCART on Caste-Religion and Power " 2,
April 1958 Monton & Co. Paris-The Hague: 45-63 pp.

The central point of the caste system lies in the concept of sacrifice. The concept of dominant caste was properly appreciated by Hocart. The structural consistency of Varna and Jati was pointed out by Hocart. The integral nature of secular and ritual values in India was grasped by Hocart.

DUMONT (LOUIS) & POCOCK (D.) Ed. Contributions to Indian Sociology, "Commented Summary of the first part of Bougle's Essays" 2, April 1958, Mouton & Co., Paris - The Hague: 31-44 pp.

Bougle's contribution lies in his understanding of the essence of the caste system. Bougle pinpointed the essence of the caste system as that of hierarchical arrangement based on ritual purity and the consequent division of labour. Social precedence is determined less by the utility or difficulty of occupations than by their relative purity or impurity. Caste system is characterized by repulsion.

DUMONT (LOUIS) & POCOCK (D.) Ed. Contributions to Indian Sociology & BOUGLE (C.), "The Essence and Reality of the Caste System", 2. April 1958, Mouton & Co., Paris - The Hague; 7-30 pp.

Indian caste system is characterized by hereditary specialization, hierarchical organization and reciprocal repulsion. Synthesis of feature of caste system of India. The nearness of Brahmins has been the measure of esteem of castes in India. Restrictions on social relations are carried to their logical extreme for the fear of pollution.

D'SOUZA (VICTOR S.) " Caste in India " - Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section No. 7, 1955: 80-88 pp.

A distinction is made between caste as a principle of social stratification and caste as a social problem. The author thinks that the former has assumed much greater importance today even when caste has ceased to be a principle of social stratification .

EPSTEIN (SCARLETT) " Industrial Employment for Landless Labourers only " - The Economic Weekly 11(28,29,30), July 1959: 967-972 pp.

The author points out how untouchability as a social evil can be eradicated only by facilitating migration of the untouchables to urban areas by giving them suitable employment. Problem of productivity of factories is linked up with absentecism and which in its turn is linked up with stake in land. Untouchables hardly have any stake in land. Therefore, the solution to their problem lies in migration. This has been demonstrated with reference to a study made near Mysore.

FUCHS (STEPHEN) " The Scavengers of the Nimar District in Madhya Pradesh " Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 27 (Part II), 1951-52: 86-98 pp.

A descriptive study of the sweepers of the Nimar District has been made with reference to the caste organization, marriage, employment and economic position. The greatest source of swelling of the membership of this caste is the process of outcasting. The author remarks that untouchability is of urban origin.

GHURYE (G.S.) Caste and Class in India - Popular Book Depot. Bombay. 1957: 316 pp.

Problems of origin and development of caste in India are discussed. The Racial theory of caste is examined by the author. The recent changes in the functioning of the caste system in India are analysed. The author concludes that caste has not disappeared. On the other hand there are indications that caste is assuming features of a class system. The author has suggested several remedies for the annihilation of caste.

GILBERT (WILLIAM H.Jr.) " The Sinhalese Caste-System of Central and Southern Ceylon " - The Ceylon Historical Journal 2(3 & 4), 1953: 295-336 pp.

The impact of the Indian caste system is quite discernible in the working of the caste system in Ceylon with special reference to the ritual ranking on the basis of caste and the functional interdependence of castes. Concept of pollution too played a vital role in segregating people in Ceylon.

GIST (NOEL P.) " Caste Differentials in South India " American Sociological Review, 19(2), February 1954: 126-137 pp.

Caste is a divisive force and enables people to maintain social distance. How pervasive the caste system is in South India has been studied in respect of caste differentials and occupation, education, demographic characteristics, migration, intermarriage and intracity mobility with reference to the city of Mysore and Bangalore. Questionnaire method was used. Even though the author finds difficulty in the precise division of the various castes into categories, a fourfold categorisation is felt to be useful. By and large caste differentials do emerge in respect of the items mentioned above.

GOUGH (KATHALEEN E.) " Brahman Kinship in a Tamil Village "
American Anthropologist 58(5), October 1956: 826-853 pp.

Differences in kinship system stem out of differences in the caste status. Thus the Brahmans of Tanjore District have a different kinship system from that of the Adi Dravidas. This seems to rest on two sets of factors: first, the Brahmans' occupations, means of subsistence, and position in the scale of ranked status; and second, certain moral values deriving from the Sanskrit religions tradition, of which they are the main carriers. The analysis presented in the article seeks to establish this proposition on the basis of a field study.

GOUGH (KATHALEEN E.) Caste in a Tanjore Village

First Chapter only MS unpublished 87 pp.

A village in Tanjore has been studied where the Brahmins have been the dominant caste. The changes in the fortune of the dominant caste and their impact on caste relationship is the subject of analysis. The dominant caste in this particular case being Brahman, ritual status comprises of economic, political and administrative power. What precisely happens if there is a shift in the secular status of the dominant caste has been studied. The complicating factor in this case was the unchangeability of ritual status. Therefore, diminution of secular status of the Brahmins didn't mean a serious depletion of their influence in the village. Thus disputes amongst lower castes continued to be settled by the Brahmins. Education and occupation also lent support to the Brahmins. It is true that the Brahmins were deprived of their formal juridical authority. Caste came to be the limiting factor in economic pursuits. There was a decline in the economic position of the Brahmins, with its consequences on other aspects of their life. Yet due to the firm ritual status, the Brahmins could maintain the facade of power and influence.

GOUGH ABERLE (E.KATHLEEN) " Criteria of Caste Ranking in South India " Man in India 33(2), April-June 1959: 115-126 pp.

Amongst the various criteria of social stratification such as age, sex, ritual value, authority, education and personal qualities, ostensibly people in villages of South India usually refer to ritual rank when they speak of higher and lower castes. However, the ritual rank reflects economic and political rank too. The author contends that ritual rank is more often than not a reflection of economic and political rank. The study is made with special reference to Kerala and the Tanjore district of Madras.

GOUGH (KATHALEEN E.) " The Social Structure of a Tanjore Village " The American Anthropologist, 57(3) Part 2, Memoir No.83, June 1955: 36-52 pp.

Economic changes and changing ideology are bound to affect the caste relations traditionally determined. Thus in a Tanjore Village the vicissitudes of the fortunes of the Brahmin caste are described with reference to economic changes as evidenced by a shift in the ownership of land, emergence of new occupations etc. and the contact with new ideology viz. the egalitarian ideas.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA - Leadership and Groups in a South Indian Village. P.E.O. Publication No. 9. Planning Commission Programme Evaluation Organization, New Dehli, 1955: 134 pp.

Amongst the factors to be contended with in the programmes of community development, an important place has to be given to the alignment of groups and leaderships. Therefore, factions and their leaders need to be studied. The present study was made in a village near Mysore. The village, selected for the study was almost a single caste village, for there were 126 Vokkaliga households amongst the 135 households, all the rest belonging to Harijans. There was no Jajmani system in operation, the various services needed by the Vokkaliga families e.g. that of washerman and barber being performed by the Harijans of a neighbouring village. The caste distribution being such as it was, the factions were not based on caste distinction. Major factions were confined to the Vokkaliga caste. As for the other caste there were minor leader amongst it, who didn't count for much in the power position.

GUHA (U.) & KAUL (M.N.) " A Group Distance Study of the Castes of U.P. " Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology 2(2), July 1953: 11-32 pp.

Measuring of social distance between castes is a method of analysing interaction amongst castes. Study is made with reference to certain villages in U.P. A sort of scale emerges with reference to the various types of relationships entered into by the various castes with each other. Thus marriage marks the closest type of relationship, while having nothing to do with each other signifies the least relationship. Caste stereotypes are brought out.

GUPTA (R.) " Caste ranking and intercaste relations among the Muslims of a village in North-Western U.P. " - Eastern Anthropology 10(1), September-November 1956, 30-42 pp.

The emergence of the caste system amongst the Muslims can be readily explained in terms of foreign rulers and the local converts. In the top - Muslims of foreign origin. Then came ruling castes, Brahmin converts, agriculturists, craftsmen etc. in descending order. Muslim Caste system entails caste endogamy and rating of occupation into high and low and clean and unclean. But less rigid caste system, in comparison to the Hindus.

HARRISON (SELIG S.) " Caste and the Andhra Communists " -
The American Political Science Review - 1(2), June 1956:
378-404 pp.

The Role played by caste in India in its political life is so great that even the Communists are found to exploit it to their advantage. The author makes a study of the post-independence election in Andhra and establishes the above proposition.

HOCART (A.M.) CASTE, Methuen and Co., Ltd., London 1950: 157 pp.

For a proper study of caste it is extremely essential to take into account as to what people feel about the system. Caste is integrally linked up with the concept of sacrifice. Social hierarchy is based on the right to sacrifice. The Ksha triyas who were the kings were the topmost sacrificers. The Brahmins officiated at the sacrifices. Social precedence had to do a great deal with one's connection with sacrifice. The seemingly economic functions had a ritual basis. All services were those of a priest.- higher or lower. The racial theory and the occupational theory of caste is successfully refuted by the author. Castes are nothing but families to whom various offices in the ritual are assigned by heredity. The fourfold division of caste is well exemplified in social order, habitation areas in a city, division of labour etc. The kingly caste plays a pivotal role by maintaining law and order, by protecting and much more so by effectively maintaining the link between men and the God. The concept of Kshatra is more equivalent to that of the Roman Imperium. Caste can be studied properly by making a comparative study of neighbouring countries.

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KAPADIA (K.M.) Ed. "A Note on Change in the Caste "
DAMLE (Y.B.) & DESAI (I.P.) Ghurye Felicitation Volume,
Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1954: 266-276 pp.

The changes that have occurred in the caste have not been of such a nature as to effect the caste system. Moreover the forces which are normally assumed to bring about change in the caste system such as education, industrialisation, inter-caste marriages have failed to do so. If caste remains unchanged in its essentials inspite of so many modifications, would it be proper to describe caste as a structure.

KAPADIA (K.M.) Ed. " Caste and Race " by MAJUMDAR (D.N.)
Ghurye Felicitation Volume, Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1954:
205-225 pp.

The higher castes are connected with land as owners or with superior rights over it, those of the artisans who are considered indispensable to social economy come next in importance and the lower artisans are kept at a distance for social economic purposes. There seems to be a correlation between the order of social precedence and anthropometric and serological statuses in some parts of India. By and large caste and race are interrelated.

KAPADIA (K.M.) Ed. " The Hypergamy of the Patidars " by
POCOCK (D.F.), Ghurye Felicitation Volume, Popular Book Depot,
Bombay 1954: 195-204 pp.

Internal mobility within a caste is facilitated by hypergamy. Hypergamy renders possible isolation of individual families within a caste from the rest of the families. This has been shown with reference to the Patidars, an agricultural caste in Gujarat.

Dr. (Mrs.) KARVE (IRAWATI) " The Cultural Process in India " -
Society in India - Edited by A. AIYAPPAN and L.K. BALA RATNAM -
pp. 29-48, October 1956.

The peculiar philosophical heritage of India viz. the possibility of seeing through appearances is reflected in diversities that can exist side by side in respect of ethical notions, art forms and aesthetics, social organization etc. The caste system is perfectly congruous with the philosophical system. Migration facilitated lack of fusion. Ethnic differences have also been responsible for the rise and maintenance of the caste system with all its differences.

KARVE (IRAWATI) " What is Caste ? " - The Economic Weekly
10(4,5,6,14,26,27,28) January, March, July 1958: 125-138; 401-407,
881-888 pp. and 11(4,5,6), January 1959: 149-163 pp.

What is caste is sought to be analysed in terms of endogamy, territorial extension and restriction, occupation, status ranking, special cultural features prevailing in India. The author contends that caste is extended kin and is an endogamous unit. The misconception about sub-caste is sought to be cleared away. Territorial extension and restriction of caste as a functioning sociological reality raises problems about the usefulness of Varna system of classification. Though occupation forms a major correlate of caste, any divergence between the two does not affect the endogamous nature of caste. Caste is one of the major determinants of status in Hindu society. In this context the Varna system of classification is discussed and found to be partially useful. Caste decides the nature of interaction in India interpersonal and intergroup. The system of philosophy, vedantic thought and the upholding of different alternative paths to salvation, the metaphysics of rebirth and the doctrine of Karma facilitate, rationalise and encourage separatness which is the keynote of the caste system, despite economic and functional interdependence between different castes.

KUPPUSWAMY (B.) " A Statistical Study of Attitudes to the Caste System in South India " - The Journal of Psychology 42, 1956: 169-206 pp.

The present study reports the opinion among the college youth in Madras with respect to the various aspects of the problem of caste. The cleavage between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin opinion about the satisfactoriness or otherwise of the caste system is pronounced. Sex too makes for a differential. Other factors such as family orientation, residence, occupation etc. have also been studied.

LEWIS (OSCAR) Group Dynamics in a North-Indian Village."
Programme Evaluation Organization Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi 1954: 48 pp.

Group alignments in a village are governed by kinship and caste. The alignment of castes factionwise, depends upon the power structure of castes. Thus in the village studied, a Jat Village from Northern-India, minority castes had to align themselves in such a manner that their interests would not be harmed. The Brahmins for instance aligned themselves with the dominant Jat caste. Likewise the Ghamars had to align themselves on the side of Jat factions so as to serve their ends. The dominant caste and the role played by it is well brought out.

LEWIS (OSCAR) and BARNOUW (VICTOR) " Caste and the Jajmani System in a North Indian Village " - The Scientific Monthly 83(2), August 1956: 66-81 pp.

The Jajmani system has been greatly eulogised by many authors. It is the contention of the authors of this article that the Jajmani System has many defects too, based as it is on the inequities of the caste system. The authors analyse the relationship between ritual and secular status within the caste system.

MAHAR (P.M.) " A Multiple Sealing Technique for Caste Ranking " Man in India 39(2), April-June 1959: 127-147 pp.

The ritual distance between castes is sought to be measured by adopting scale analysis in a village in the Uttar Pradesh, India.

MAJUMDAR (D.N.) Caste and Communication in an Indian Village.
Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1958: 358 pp.

The importance of analysing the group orientation of individuals in India is stressed with reference to a study made of a village in the U.P. in India. Caste is the most important group. Caste facilitates interdependence between persons, economic, ritual and social. Likewise caste also spells segmentation of society. Mobility within caste is more of a horizontal nature than that of a vertical type, though process of isogamy within a caste is also to be seen at work.

MAJUMDAR (D.N.), PRADHAN (M.C.) and MISRA (S.) - " Inter-caste relations in Gokhan Rallan - a Village near Lucknow " - Eastern Anthropology, 8(3 and 4), March-August 1955: 191-214 pp.

Relations between castes in a rural areas are standardised. As a result - greater measure of stability in social relationships. Highest in hierarchy - Brahmins. The Thakurs, who are most influential group of people regard themselves inferior only to Brahmins. Last stand the untouchables. The relationship of the different castes to each other are described through a net-work of different occasions in like, like birth, 'mundan', marriage, death devotional singing and narration etc. Both cooperation and conflict in the relationships are evident. Leadership - with higher castes. Economic interdependence and cooperation between different castes.

MANDELBAUM (DAVID G.) The System of Caste in India, Part I.

Unpublished MS. 148 pp.

Caste order is analysed with reference to the caste in India, the peculiarities of the local setting, interdependence of castes, significance of the local social order, ritual and secular criteria for rank order and the interplay of ritual and secular forces. The study is based on published and unpublished material. The author attempts to give an overall survey of the caste order in India. A caste system is one kind of social system and related to cultural system. The study primarily describes conditions as they exist in rural India. The influence of the local setting on caste relationships has been forcefully pointed out. The nature of caste loyalties described. The economic and ritual interdependence between castes has been analysed with reference to the Jajmani system prevailing in India, whether or not such a nomenclature is given to the functional interdependence of castes. Occupational specialisation hinges on two things, 1) the possession of specific skills and, 2) the religious sanctions behind occupations. Yet there is a wide area of occupational activity e.g. agriculture which can be taken up by both high and low castes. The concept of pollution is extremely crucial in the determination of ritual rank. The interplay between ritual and secular forces has been emphasised to pinpoint the fact of social mobility within the caste system. Thus political intervention can help raise the ritual status of a low caste.

MARRIOTT (MOKIM) " Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan " Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute 19(162), 1958: 31-105 pp.

Problem of caste ranking can be best tackled in the context of the local and regional structures. The concept elaborate has been introduced by the author with reference to caste ranking. The keynote of elaborateness is the extent to which numerous ranks may be consensually distinguished among ethnic groups. The method followed is that of hypothetical deductive analysis. Elaborateness of caste ranking depends on four sets of factors viz. (1) number of local ethnic groups - the greater its number the greater the possibility of elaborateness, (2) correlative stratified interaction among ethnic groups - interaction is of crucial importance, (3) consistency among individuals in stratified interaction - in the absence of consensus as to caste standings there can be no caste ranking at all. (4) derivation from inconsistent interaction elsewhere. These four determinants of elaborateness of caste ranking are examined with reference to five regions - (1) Upper Ganges, (2) Bengal Delta, (3) Middle Indus, (4) Kerala and (5) Coromandel of India and Pakistan. The hypothesis has been established. The author also discusses the problem of the origin of caste. The communities of the Indus and of the South at the disparate times, may have provided structural elements nearly equally appropriate to the development of caste ranking in view of the operation of the four determinants listed above. Of course as for the later universal features of caste ranking go, they can be explained in terms of increasing contact between persons of the various regions.

MARRIOTT (McKIM) " The Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking " Man in India 39(2), April-June 1959: 92-107 pp.

Attributional theory of caste ranking regards behaviour or attributes of caste as the major determinant of caste ranking. The author characterizes theories of caste ranking right from the Brahmanic theory to those offered by Sociologists as attributional. Attributional theory is criticized on the ground that it is really applicable mainly to the topmost and the lowermost castes only, while in the middle ranges it is not applicable. This fallacy arises out of superficial knowledge of the working of the caste system or due to the preoccupation of the Western thinkers with the parallel concept of class and its attributes. The author suggests an interactional theory of caste ranking whereby it would be possible to analyse caste as a functioning reality, emphasis being placed not on qualities but on transaction.

MATHUR (K.S.) " Some aspects of Social Organization in a Malwa Village " Agra University Journal of Research 3, December 1955: 100-108 pp.

Social organization is characterized by the important role played by the caste system. Thus traditional occupations as enjoined upon by the caste pattern are followed. The hierarchical division of society based on caste is followed. Likewise endogamous restrictions are adhered to. Peculiarly enough the higher castes displayed a certain measure of liberalism of attitude, while the lower castes tended to be very particular about caste restrictions. Functional interdependence amongst the various castes ensures the stability of social organization.

MAVLANKAR (N.A.) " Caste System " - Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section No. 7, 1956: 98-101 pp.

Caste cannot be annihilated by merely waging a war on the ideological front. Suitable economic organization must be developed to fight economic rivalries based on caste.

MAYER (ADRIAN C.) Land and Society in Malabar Oxford
University Press. London, 1952: 158 pp.

Caste is not merely a determinant of ritual and social hierarchy, but it also models economic hierarchy. This has been demonstrated with reference to a study made in Malabar, where caste decided ritual, social and economic hierarchy. Thus there was a correspondence between ritual, social and economic superiority. The inroads made into the caste system by modern technology and ideology have been described. However, the linking of ritual and landed power would be difficult to be undone. Caste system is upheld by belief in reincarnation and the philosophy of indifference to material well-being.

MAYER (ADRIAN C.) " Some Hierarchical Aspects of Caste "
Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 12(2), Summer 1956: 117-144 pp.

Hierarchical arrangement is the keynote of the Indian Caste System. Yet this hierarchy is not immutable, though it is vital to the system. The paper examines the hierarchy of castes in a single village of Central India with a view to setting out certain features of the system and the problems connected with their analysis. Criteria of ranking such as the secular and the ritual have been noted and inter-relationship and divergences between the two have been analysed. The divergences between ritual and secular status have been seen as a major source of hierarchical change. It has been also seen that a general rank does exist, in terms of action it has in commensale relations, in formal terms of verbalisation it takes the shape of Varna classification. The author finds the Varna as a useful structural concept.

MILLAR (ERIC J.) " Caste and Territory in Malabar " -
American Anthropologist 56(3), June 1954: 410-420 pp.

Territorial segmentation is a necessary correlate of a rigid caste system since it promotes localized interdependent relations between castes in a limited spatial context and it supports the hierarchical order of castes by permitting greater mobility and a greater space of intercaste relations for those who are leading in the caste scale. This has been demonstrated with reference to a study in Malabar. Social changes in Malabar have been responsible in reducing caste interdependence and also in affecting the long accepted hierarchical order in certain cases.

MORRIS (E.) " Extensions of an Indian Village " - The Journal of Asian Studies 16(1) November 1956: 5-10 pp.

Amongst many factors which extend village as a unit of social organization and link it up with the external world is also the fact of caste interdependence which cuts across village boundaries and the functioning of caste organizations. This has been shown to be the case with a village in North India.

MUKHERJEE (RAMKRISHNA). The Dynamics of a Rural Society -
Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1957: 134 pp.

The autor is primarily interested in analysing the impact of caste system on economic structure. This has been done with reference to a special study of Bengal villages. Caste system came into its own due to two sets of factors - 1), the provision of an economic structure by ensuring economic interdependence between castes and, 2), the provision of a philosophic-ethical foundation for social differentiation based on caste. The resilience of the caste system can in no small measure be attributed to the way it has accommodated itself with the changing economic organization. As a result by and large social and economic strata tend to merge.

MURPHY (GARDNER) In the Minds of Men Basic Books,
Inc. Publishers, New York, 1953: 306 pp.

The book deals with the problem of social tensions in India. Since caste is a major determinant of inter-personal and inter-group relations, the role of caste in India has been analysed with special reference to life in villages. Likewise tensions which arise out of caste conflict have been analysed with reference to an industrial city in India. A study of attitudes relating to caste has been included in the book. The author, however, cautions the readers that a mere change in attitudes does not signify a change in the working of an institution viz. the caste in India.

NADEL (S.F.) " Caste and Government in Primitive Society " Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay 8(2).

Presenting a comparative picture of the emergence of caste and class in Africa and India, the author observes that the distinguishing feature of the Indian caste system lies in the mystical and religious sanctions behind the division of labour. This feature explains the feeling of disgust with which lowly occupations are looked down upon.

NAIR (B.N.) THE DYNAMIC BRAHMIN Popular Book Depot, Bombay I, 1959: 251 pp.

The essence of Hindu Social System lies in the fact that the Brahmins have regarded themselves as the keystone of the system and have also been regarded as such by others due to the very significant cultural role played by them once upon a time. A group which is the creator of culture, inevitably comes to control the ideas and thoughts of the masses. Now this can lead to a very bad type of exploitation. This is precisely what happened in the case of the exploitation of the masses by the Brahmins. Even when the Brahmins ceased to play a cultural role, their power to control did not abate due to routinization of Charisma. Newer and newer avenues of control are exploited by the Brahmins. The author has studied the problem with special reference to conditions prevailing in South India.

NEWELL (WILLIAM H.) " The Brahman and Caste Isogamy in North India " The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 85 (I & II), January-December 1955: 101-110 pp.

The process of isogamy is due to hypergamous unions and is feasible only in the middle strata of the caste hierarchy, wherein status is changeable. The Varna scheme of classification misses this important sociological fact, particularly in view of the impress of the local idiom on the statuses of various castes.

The author describes the process of isogamy with reference to a village in the Punjab, where castes have ceased to be separate entities as exemplified by marriage within them. However, the Brahmans, whose status depends on birth, do not form a part of this process in spite of the fact that they may neither be very learned nor follow the traditional occupation. Thus the status of the highest caste remains unaffected.

OPLER (MORRIS E.) and SINGH (RUDRA DATT) " Two villages of Western Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), India: Analysis of similarities and differences". American Anthropologist 54(2) April-June 1952: 179-190 pp

One of the villages studied had a dominant caste, while the other village depended on pilgrimage for its carvings and didn't have a dominant caste. In the first village the traditional caste distance and prerogatives were being questioned and the caste system experienced some disturbances. In the second village, every caste seemed to have found a place in the Sun and caste rivalries were at their minimum. The article brings forth the varying caste situations within the villages of the same region.

ORENSTEIN (HENRY). " The role of Leadership in the Changing Conditions of Caste in an Indian Village " - Seminar on Leadership and Political Institutions in India - 15 p.

The basic postulate of the paper is the changing village. A village that has been under the impact of technological change viz. irrigation has been studied. Leadership in the village has been described in detail. The only kind of leadership that can bring about change in the caste situation is the unofficial active type of leadership. Any official type of leadership, whether active or passive, simply perpetuates the caste inequalities, largely because of the fact that such leaders themselves belong to the higher castes. And in-so-far-as unofficial leadership is of a passive type, it cannot do anything to change the caste situation.

PARK (RICHARD L.) & TINKER (IRENE) Ed. Leadership and Political Institutions in India, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1959, ORENSTEIN (HENRY) " Leadership and Caste in a Bombay Village " 415-426 pp.

Disorganization arising out of technological change and the impact of new ideas has been discussed with reference to a village in the Bombay State. Caste is also affected thereby. Formal and informal leadership is discussed with reference to caste. The fissures in the caste are plugged by the overall supremacy of the caste structure.

PARTHASARATHY (V.S.) " Caste in a South Indian Textile Mill " - Economic Weekly, 10(33), 16th August 1958, 1083-1086 pp.

Harijans were the earliest entrants to the mill, and, due to their presence, the high castes, at early stages avoided to work there. Later on, the worsened employment situation in the city compelled the high castes to enter the mill as labourers, though Brahmins and Lingayats mainly constituted the white collar level of the mill. It is usual to find Brahmin living next door to low caste family in the labour housing colony.

Individual actions in employment relations are explained on the basis of intercaste grievances. The sex code is more strict among the higher castes. Among the lower castes it is not strict.

PATNAIK (N.) " Caste and Occupation in Rural Orissa " Man in India, 34(4) December 1954: 257-270 pp.

Barpali Police Station containing 77 villages is studied. Rigid caste system. No case of intermarrying reported. In respect of occupation it is less strictly followed. However, this does not lead to social communication among the different castes who follow the same occupation. It also determines the level of education. Caste traditions show some evidence of breaking down due to migration. Increasing heterogeneity of villages. Caste tradition determines intercaste behaviour.

PATTERSON (MAUREEN L.) " Caste and Political Leadership in Maharashtra : A Review and Current Appraisal ". The Economic Weekly, 6(39) September 25, 1954: 1065-68 pp.

The role played by caste in the political affairs of Maharashtra has been analysed with special reference to the impact of the majority caste in the region on the alignment of party loyalties.

PATTERSON (MAUREEN L.P.) " Intercaste Marriage in Maharashtra " -
The Economic Weekly 10(4,5,6), January 1958: 139-142 pp.

The author counters the suggestion that intercaste marriages would reduce caste tension with special reference to her study of urban Maharashtra. This is done on two grounds - one, the very small number of really intercaste marriages that have actually taken place and two, the increasing caste consciousness on the part of the people in Maharashtra.

POCOCK (DAVID F.) " Inclusion and exclusion: A Process in the Caste System of Gujerat " - South-Western Journal of Anthropology 13(1), Spring 1957: 19-31 pp.

The factors which give raise to the process of inclusion and exclusion within a caste are discussed in this paper with reference to the Patidar caste. The practice of hypergamy and the rise in economic conditions are listed as the two main facilitating the process of inclusion and exclusion.

POCOCK (D.F.) " The Movement of Castes" - Man 45, May 1955:
71-72 pp.

Varna scheme of classification may not be always a good method of analysis of caste in India. There may be either a Brahmanic model or a kingly model. It is true that neither the apex of the caste system nor its bottom change their respective positions. But in the middle ranges movement of castes is possible. This has been demonstrated with reference to a caste in Gujerat. The operation of the Brahmanic model and a smaller operation of the kingly model facilitates the movement of castes.

POHLMAN (EDWARD W.) " Evidence of Disparity Between the Hindu Practice of Caste and the Ideal Type " American Sociological Review 16(3), June 1951: 375-379 pp.

The author discards the Ideal Type of caste as propounded in the Brahmanical theory and in the theories of social scientists as an explanation of caste as a functioning reality. Caste has never been as rigid in respect of (1) occupation, (2) endogamy and (3) social isolation as the ideal type would lead one to believe. Mobility, however, small, has characterized the functioning of the caste system in India.

PRASAD (NARMADESHWAR) The Myth of the Caste System,
SAMJNA PRAKASHAN, PATNA 1957: 319 pp.

The aim of the study is to analyse the factors responsible for the continuance of the caste system in India, despite so many onslaughts on the same such as foreign rule, inculcation of science and technology contact with new ideologies etc. The various aspects of the caste system such as the philosophic-religious, the political and the economic are studied. The author concludes that the myth of the caste system is responsible for the continued working of the same. The myth which is of a philosophic-religious nature is so powerful that despite many attacks, the caste system persists. The myth percolates even to the unconscious. Thus the Marxian explanation of social development is not borne out in India.

RADHAKRISHNAN (S.R.) Ed. Essays in Philosophy, 1954.
Varna and Caste.

The author discusses the relationship between caste as it is in fact and as it is subsumed by the traditional concept of Varna. The author points out the various discrepancies which exist between the two.

RAO (M.S.A.) " Caste in Kerala " Sociological Bulletin,
Vol. IV, No. 2, September 1955: 122-129 pp.

Caste movements have helped to break inter-caste relations such as hypergamy and led to caste endogamy.

RAO (M.S.A.) " Social Change in Malabar " Popular Book Depot,
Bombay, 1957: 228 pp.

Any force that brings about a change in the occupational structure in India is bound to affect the caste system. In Malabar the change in occupational structure was brought about by the reformatory movement and the emergence of industrial economy. Consequently it affected the caste system as far as occupational structure was concerned. Otherwise the customs and traditions of the caste groups have not changed appreciately.

RAY (A.) "A Brahmin Village of the Sasana Type in the District of Puri, Orissa " - Man in India 36(1), January-March 1956: 7-15 pp.

Birla - Marsingpur, a Brahmin village studied in November 1955. Social gradation came to prevail amongst the Brahmins. However, today the supremacy of the Brahmins has not remained unchanged. Brahmins who enjoyed a secluded living have been compelled to have castes like barbers as their neighbours. Economic and occupational interdependence.

REDDY (N.S.) " Functional Relations of Lohars in a North Indian Village " - Eastern Anthropology, 8(3 &4), March-August 1955: 129-140 pp. (Field Study in Senapur Village in Janapur District in Eastern U.P.).

Lohars work both on iron and wood. Serve all the castes. On the one hand, they have age-old hereditary tenure, with traditional duties and " Jajmani system ", on the other, they can have free contractual relationship; but the first system prevails.

REDFIELD (ROBERT) " The Social Organization of Tradition " The Far Eastern Quarterly 15(1), November 1955: 13-21 pp.

The coalescing of the Great and the Little Traditions in India has been in no small measure due to the operation of the caste system, with its hierarchical ranking of all facets of individual and social life. Thus Sanskritising or parochialising of culture was facilitated.

RYAN (BRYCE) " Caste in Modern Ceylon : The Sinhalese System in Transition " - Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958: 371 pp.

The study of caste in Ceylon has been made by the author with special reference to the role of caste as the determinant of social status. Familial and kinship organization is affected by the working of the caste system. Caste system pervades even those who lie outside its formal and legal scope. Caste has its correlates in the economic and the political fields. Changes in occupation have been facilitated by urbanization and by the impact of new ideas which are hostile to occupational immobility and the fixity of caste status.

SACHCHIDANAND (). " Class and Caste in Tribal Bihar " - Man in India, 35(3), July-September 1955; 195-202 pp.

" In most cases the class structure is intermingled with caste". Some tribes have assumed the characteristics of caste in so far as they adopt endogamy and birth as determinant of membership of group as the guiding principle of social organization. In Tamar area the social stratification among the Mundas have developed along class lines. (A boy from the higher class may keep a girl from a lower class as a mistress without marrying her).

SACHCHIDANANDA " Class and Caste in Tribal Bihar " Agra University Journal of Research 3, December 1955: 82-87 pp.

Caste system and its influence are so pervading that even the tribals adopt features of caste system. The criterion of differentiation is the greater or smaller extent of Hinduisation. Tribals who are Christian are naturally kept apart by the other tribals, following the typical Hindu way of social distance. Rules pertaining to marriage also become more stricter. The tribals are taking over Hindu caste prejudices.

SANJANA (J.E.) Caste and Outcaste - Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay 1946: 249 pp.

Caste system with all its attendant injustices is firmly rooted in the Hindu theory of Karma and Rebirth. In fact the author asserts that Hinduism, devoid of its caste system, cannot exist. The author's primary concern has been to analyse the bases of the caste system and to pin-point the injustices of the same with special reference to the outcastes, the untouchables. It is suggested that the untouchables embrace Christianity for their amelioration. The book has a case to plead.

SHAH (A.M.) " Caste, Economy and Territory in the Central Panchmahals " Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda 4(1), March 1955: 65-95 pp.

The author has studied a village in the Panchmahals district in Gujerat with a view to analyse the role played by caste, economy and territory.

SHARMA (R.S.) " Caste and marriage in Ancient India (c.600 B.C. - c. 500 A.D.) " - Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 40(1) 1954: 39-54 pp.

A valid marriage, should be amongst one's own caste - Dharmashastras.

The Asura form of marriage, involving payment of bride's price, was prescribed for Vaisiyas, while it was denied to Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Rakshasa and Gandharva form of marriage were not confined to the lower castes. The Kshatriyas also resorted to these. In Gandharva form of marriage the emphasis on caste was very little.

Higher castes were denied the right of divorce. Niyoga could be practiced by women of lower castes.

Caste regulations also provided the basis for polygamy and monogamy. Inter-caste marriages were purely of a hypergamous nature. The marital customs of Brahmins and Kshatriyas had " an odour of respectability about them ".

SILVERBERG (JAMES) " Caste-Ascribed 'Status' versus Caste-Irrelevant Rules " Man in India 39(2), April-June 1959: 148-162 pp.

Much of social interaction is irrelevant to caste status. Therefore, it would be wrong to maintain that caste membership ascribes status by scrutinizing the caste-relevancy of various Indian peasant roles. The author demonstrates this with reference to his study of a village in Gujerat. Towards this end of the concept of role is found to be useful by the author.

SINGER (MILTON) Ed. Traditional India: Structure and Change.
COHN (BERNARD S.) " Changing Traditions of a Low Caste " American Folklore Society 1959: 207-215 pp.

Migration to cities facilitates the process of Sanskritisation in the case of Chamars, an untouchable caste of U.P. Thus through urbanisation the Chamars can take on the elements of the Great Tradition.

SINGER (MILTON) Ed. Traditional India: Structure and Change.
HITCHCOCK (JOHN T.) " The Idea of the Martial Rajput " American Folklore Society 1959: 10-17 pp.

In the make of political and administrative changes, the Rajputs, who regard themselves as the descendants of the illustrious Kshatriyas, find it very difficult to adjust themselves to the changing scene.

SINGER (MILTON) Ed. Traditional India: Structure and Change.
 LAMB (HELEN) " The Indian Merchant " American Folklore Society 1959:
 25-34 pp.

The vigour of Indian trading community is puzzling in view of the hierarchical arrangement of the Indian caste society. A kind of Protestant Ethics can explain the development and success of the Indian Merchant and trader. That Protestant Ethics was supplied by movements to reform narrow. Hinduism such as the development of Vaishnavism in Gujerat.

SINGH (RUDRA DUTT) " The Unity of Indian Village " The Journal of Asian Studies 15(1), November 1956: 10-19 pp.

One of the most important factors responsible for the unity of an Indian village is the caste system, exemplified by functional interdependence. The study of a village in North India establishes this point.

SINGH (V.B.) " Changing Patterns of Indian Village Community ".
Agra University Journal of Research 3, December 1955: 91-98 pp.

Caste prejudices are utilised for exploiting the economically backward people. Likewise elections to the Panchayats are being contested on the basis of caste. Factions also have assumed caste lines. Caste and class interests tend to coincide.

SMITH (MARIAN W.) " Structured and unstructured Class Societies " American Anthropologist 55(2) April-June 1953: 302-306 pp.

Caste is not frozen Class. Any study of class should take into account the structural peculiarities of a society. Under the caste system material correlates may not be pronounced. Gulf between ritual and secular rank has to be borne in mind before applying the concept of class.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " A Note on Mr. GOBEEN'S Note " Economic Development and Cultural Change 7(1), October 1958: 3-6 pp.

In contrast to Mr. Gobeen's assertion, the author contends that Indians are quite practical. However, it is conceded that caste meant narrowing of individual loyalties and put a damper on the development of a sense of nationhood and also impeded economic development by causing a house to be divided amongst the Hindus due to the notions of pollution.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " Caste and Its Future ". A National Talk before the All India Radio, Delhi, on 3rd September 1958, 4 p.

The author discusses the various factors which have lent stability to the caste system such as the economic, political, philosophical etc. and concludes that it is very difficult to eradicate the caste system in the near future.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " Castes: Can they exist in India of tomorrow ?" Economic Weekly 7(42), 15 November 1959: 1230-1232 pp.

Should castes exist and whether they can exist are the two problems discussed in this article by the author. The author feels that many people in India are not against the caste system on ideological grounds; secondly, that the interdependence of castes and westernisation have actually entrenched the caste system.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " Caste in Modern India " - The Journal of Asian Studies 16(4), August 1957: 529-548 pp.

The role played by caste in modern India has been analysed with special reference to the political set up, to changing technology and new ideologies prevalent in India. The author points out how the British Rule made it possible for the caste to extend beyond restricted territories. The relationship between caste and economic classes, opportunities for certain types of career etc. has been brought out. The part played by caste in political campaigns in India, with special reference to elections has been pin-pointed.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) RELIGION AND SOCIETY AMONG THE COORGS OF SOUTH INDIA.

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4, 1952: 267 pp.

The main theme of the book is the analysis of the social function of religion among the Coorgs of South India. Other principles of social organization such as the joint family and the caste also find a prominent place in the analysis. In particular caste is dealt with at great length for caste is not merely a principle of social stratification but it differentiates between persons on ritual basis. Thus caste and religion are integrally tied together in India. Concept of Varna is examined as a principle of classification and the author concludes that the same is inadequate from the point of view of understanding caste as a functioning reality. Yet it is true that the Varna scheme offers an All India frame of reference. Caste is religious stratification. Yet there are processes at work whereby mobility in the caste hierarchy can be attained by sanskritizing the ritual. In this context the misconception that caste status is immutable is dispelled. It is only at the topmost and the lowest levels of the caste hierarchy that status can not be changed. The concept of pollution governs relations between castes. Caste offers possibilities of vertical as well as horizontal unity. The interdependence of castes has ritual sanctions behind it. Caste is at once a unifying and a separating force.

Dr. SRINIVAS (M.N.) " Sanskritization and Westernization " Society in India - Edited by A. AIYAPPAN and L.K. BALA RATNAM - pp. 73-96, October 1956.

Ritual, economic and political statuses constitute the essence of the caste system. Sanskritization and Westernization are the twin cultural processes, which have affected the working of the caste system. It would be wrong to deny mobility within the caste system. But the two processes have accelerated mobility a great deal. Sanskritization is significant for the non-Brahmins, while Westernization is more significant for the Brahmins. The two processes support each other in certain respects, while they conflict in others. Sanskritization is in many respects a preliminary to Westernization.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " The Case of the Potter and the Priest " - Man in India 39(3), July-September 1959: 109-209 pp.

A dispute between a potter and a priest, seemingly based on monetary transactions which took place in a village near Mysore has been analysed by the author. On analysis it is found that the dispute was rooted in caste dissensions, ritualistic status of the priest being in danger due to the threat pronounced by the potter about polluting the priest by beating him with sandals and thus involving him in the process of purification and all that. Disputes are not personal but assume a group nature in terms of caste alignments. Of course the wider principle of affiliation in terms of a village enables people to overcome caste disputes.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " The Dominant Caste in Rampura "

The author defines the concept of the Dominant Caste and then proceeds to make a study of the Dominant Caste in Rampura, a village near Mysore. The interplay of ritual and secular factors has been brought out. In certain circumstances the formal ritual status is over-shadowed by secular status. Factors such as the strength and number of caste group, its political and economic status and the possession of a not too low a ritual status are crucial in the determination of the dominance of a caste. Life in a village is largely influenced by the interests and opinions of the dominant caste. Thus the model approximates more to the kingly model than to the Brahmanic model.

SRINIVAS (M.N) " The nature of the Problem of Indian Unity " -
The Economic Weekly 10(17), April 26, 1958: 571-577 pp.

Discussing the factors which prima facie impede the unity of India such as regional and linguistic differences, the author stresses the need for understanding the power relationships as exemplified by the caste relations. Without such an understanding it would be impossible to alter caste relationship.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " The Social System of a Mysore Village " The American Anthropologist, 57(3) Part 2, Memoir No. 83, June 1955: 1-35 pp.

Caste plays a decisive role in the maintenance of a social structure of a village by ensuring economic and ritual interdependence and by allocating roles to individuals in an effective manner, thus facilitating vertical unity. The positive role played by caste is stressed. Mobility is possible under the caste system. The role played by the dominant caste is analysed. Caste also isolates people from each other. But the vertical unity overcomes.

SRINIVAS (M.N.) " Village Studies " - Economic Weekly - 6922) 29th May 1954, 605-608 pp and 615 p.

Territorial exogamy has significant consequences for determining intervillage ties.

Self-sufficiency of villages is dubbed as a myth and the relative self-sufficiency is emphasized.

STEVENSON (H.N.C.) " Status Evaluation in the Hindu Caste System " The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 84(I&II), January-December 1954: 45-55 pp.

The aim of the paper is to take a critical survey of the material, discussing the bases of status evaluation in caste society. Obviously there are two main bases - the secular and the ritual. The latter is dominated by the concept of pollution. The author stresses the importance of belief and behaviour as far as status is concerned. The relativity of ritual status and the influence of varying local conditions are emphasised. Therefore, the Varna classification is not felt to be suitable. Personal and group bases of ritual status and pollution are analysed. However, mobility is extremely limited for the individual concerned has usually to renounce the group norms. The manifestations of pollution - temporary and permanent are discussed. Behaviour guided by the concept of pollution plays a significant part in the extension of the caste stratification even to Christians and Muslims. In fact the concept of pollution provides an all India frame of reference within which all the people are integrated.

THAKKAR (K.K.) " The Problem of Casteism and Untouchability " Ind. J. Soc. Wk. 17(2), June 1956, 44-48 pp.

While all people not belonging to any 'Varna' are theoretically regarded as untouchables, in practice the Muslims and Christians are not so regarded, but only the Hindus. 16 million untouchables in Hindu society of to-day.

There is the possibility of a " casteless society " as Dr. Eva Rosenfield's experiment shows. A public opinion survey conducted on behalf of UNESCO among Bombay labourers showed that the caste discriminations were disfavoured. Legislative measures against untouchability are not enough.

VIDYARTHI (L.P.) " The Extensions of an Indian Priestly Class " Man in India 39(1), January-March 1959: 28-35 pp.

The structural relationship that exists between a priestly caste, other religious leaders and the vast communities of India has been demonstrated by the author with reference to the Gayal Brahmin, who inhabit the famous sacred city of Gaya in North India. The different types of sacred relationships of the Gayawal with the outside world are analysed for this purpose.

VYAS (S.N.) " Caste System in Ramayana Age " - Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S.U., Baroda (Vol.III, No. 2, December 1953).

The 'Purusa Sukta ' theory of ' origin of castes ' had been . accepted in Ramayana age. Although inter-caste relations are cordial, there is certain amount of mobility from caste to caste as represented in the exapades of Vishwanitra. No doubt the emphasis was on the division of labour.

WISER (W.H.) The Hindu Jajmani System Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, U.P. India, 1936. 192 pp.

A field study was made by the author in a village in North India of the system which facilitated functional interdependence of different castes and fixed the social and economic position of individuals in the village. Such system is entitled the Jajmani system as each worker labour for his masters or the clientele. The system is based on the caste divisions and hence it is described as the Hindu Jajmani system. The nature of the caste interdependence is analysed. The services rendered and the payment received, ritual status, rights, privileges, duties and obligations are described in detail. The symmetry and asymmetry pertaining to the relationships within the various castes from the point of view of giving and receiving of services has been well brought out. To quote a single instance it may be mentioned that the Brahmin is served by all the castes, while he serves very few castes, in the village. The attitude of the serving castes in regard to the advantages or otherwise of the system has been indirectly discussed. The author praises the system as a satisfactory method of attaining functional interdependence of castes and that of giving place to a very individual in the social and economic status system.
