
UNIT 10 M N SRINIVAS*

Structure

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Biographical Sketch

10.3 Central Ideas

10.3.1 Structural-Functionalism

10.3.2 The 'Other' in Sociological Studies

10.3.3 Book-View vs. Field-View

10.3.4 Villages in India

10.3.5 Caste

10.3.6 Social Mobility

10.3.7 Community Development and Nation-Building

10.4 Important Works

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 References

10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- outline the biographical details of M N Srinivas;
- discuss his central ideas; and
- list some of his important works.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Srinivas's lectures and writings have influenced multiple generations of sociologists and social anthropologists. His observations and forecasts about the trajectory of Indian society appear to have gained new relevance several years after they were delivered in letter and word. Srinivas's in-depth and precise study of material has resulted in generalisations that apply in many facets of life even in this age of uncertainty and change.

We begin this Unit with an understanding of the socio-cultural background which influenced the ideas of M N Srinivas and then examine some of his important ideas. Thereafter, we will list some of his important works.

* Written by Nita Mathur, School of Social Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi

10.2 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas was born in Mysore on November 16, 1916 in the traditional Brahmin family of Narasimhachar. His father belonged to a village named Arakere (which is about 20 miles from the city of Mysore). He was a government servant. Narasimhachar had to leave the village in order to provide education to his children. As you would have concluded by now, Srinivas's family valued education greatly. His eldest brother taught English first as a teacher in a school and later joined the University of Mysore as Assistant Professor in English. Srinivas's brother urged him to improve his writing skills. One of the ways in which Srinivas tried to improve his writing skills was to get his manuscripts edited by R.K. Narayan – the well-known novelist.

Srinivas's intellectual ideas were shaped in the three universities in which he studied. First was Mysore University where he studied social philosophy under the tutelage of A R Wadia and M H Krishna. Second was Bombay university where he was nurtured by G S Ghurye. Third was Oxford University where he was trained by A R Radcliffe Brown and E E Evans- Pritchard. At the post-graduation level, Srinivas worked closely under the guidance of G S Ghurye. Encouraged by Ghurye, Srinivas conducted a short field-based study on marriage and family in the Kannada caste in Mysore state. The study was submitted as a dissertation which was later published as a book titled, *Marriage and Family in Mysore* (1942). Srinivas went to Oxford to undertake D. Phil. Programme. His research began under the supervision of Radcliffe – Brown. It was on the suggestion of Radcliffe-Brown that he re-studied the Coorg material using the structural-functional approach.

In an interview with Fuller (1999:5) Srinivas reveals 'Anyway, between October'45 and October'46, I had worked out the structure of the thesis and I discussed in particular the concept of ritual idiom with Radcliffe-Brown. That is when I discussed purity and pollution as providing the framework, and for analysis of the Coorg wedding ritual I went to the *Andaman Islanders* which was very helpful to me. I discussed with him the linkage of Coorg ritual with the groups, the *okka* (joint family) and the village and so on... the whole idea of 'spread' also I owe to R-B [Radcliffe-Brown] – the ideas of Sanskritization and Westernization came up from the material, they were not imposed on it.' Later, he worked with E. E. Evans – Pritchard when Radcliffe –Brown left Oxford in 1946. This study was published as a book titled, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*.

In 1951 Srinivas returned to India. He founded the Department of Sociology in Baroda University. In 1959, he was he was offered the newly established Chair of sociology in the Delhi School of Economics at the Delhi University. Between 1966 and 1969, as he remained President of the Indian Sociological Society (ISS). He reorganized of the society's journal, the *Sociological Bulletin*. In the year 1972, Srinivas returned to his home state of Karnataka. He joined the newly set up Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) as Joint Director. His

chief objective was to enhance the standard of sociology in south India (Shah 1996). Seven years later he retired from the ISEC and joined the National Institute for Advanced Studies at Bangalore. He passed away on November 30, 1999.

Box 10.1 Comparison between Oxford and Baroda

In the course of an interview with A.M. Shah (2000: 629) Srinivas says, 'First of all, I had no idea of the kind of situation that I would be facing when I moved from one of the oldest universities in Western Europe to the university in Baroda, which had been started only two years earlier. The contrast between Oxford and Baroda could not have been greater. During the first year of my stay in Baroda I went around in a kind of daze, wondering what I had let myself in for. Sometimes I got the impression that the people around me were playing at setting up a university. I felt nostalgic for Oxford, where academic conventions were several centuries old. But deep down in me I knew that I had to make a go of my job, as I wanted to stay in India'

10.3 CENTRAL IDEAS

Srinivas is known for his writings on methods and prospects of sociological research, villages in India, caste, nation-building and many more themes. Let us learn about some of his main ideas.

10.3.1 Structural-Functionalism

Srinivas learnt the concept of social structure from Radcliffe-Brown. Later, he became convinced of its significance in the study of social life. Srinivas's work was supervised by E. E. Evans-Pritchard, in addition to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. This occurred when Radcliffe-Brown retired and Evans-Pritchard took over. Despite the fact that Evans-Pritchard considered Srinivas's basic approach had an undue reliance on Durkheim, which appeared undesirable to him, he did not want to interfere in his work. While Radcliffe-Brown shaped his approach, Evans-Pritchard inspired his vision.

Srinivas's engagement with Radcliffe-Brown and Evans Pritchard sharpened his intellectual ideas. Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functionalism and his treating social anthropology as natural science were challenged by Evans-Pritchard (1951). Evans-Pritchard critiqued Radcliffe-Brown's idea that societies are like natural systems that are governed by laws. Instead, he proposed that interpretations were more important in understanding social reality. Also, Evans-Pritchard suggested that historical perspective was essential for holistic understanding of social life. Following Evans-Pritchard, Srinivas adhered to the functionalist idea of studying social institutions in relation to the whole system.

Srinivas agreed with Radcliffe-structural-functionalism Brown's approach. He concedes, though, that his perspective had shifted by the time he graduated from Oxford in 1951. He realised the significance of historical evidence in the functioning of civilization. He also concluded that comparing social laws to scientific laws was pointless. Srinivas began to recognize the need of historical

data in societal functioning and the futility of the underlying principles of structural-functionalism. Srinivas did not limit himself to the structural-functional method. He sought to explore meanings within and beyond contexts. He tried to incorporate meanings in the course of analysing major social conditions and processes such as dominant caste, sanskritization, and westernization (Khare 1996).

Srinivas maintained that problems in Indian society e.g., agrarian conflicts, inequalities, ethnicity, communalism, and regionalism should be understood in the context of interrelationships that connect them with other aspects of life. This approach would enable politicians and administrators to see many options to resolve the problems. Srinivas emphasized the importance of systematic comparisons of a society's problems, processes, and institutions with those of neighbouring countries in the first phase and developing countries in the second.

10.3.2 The 'Other' in Sociological Studies

Anthropologists and sociologists commonly feel that they should study 'other' cultures rather than their own. Two of the main reasons are: first, the familiarity with one's own culture could result in overlooking certain important aspects of the culture; second, one's own bias could influence the study. Srinivas was aware of the diversity of lifestyles and their coexistence throughout the country. For this reason, he set studied cultures in his own country. He re-interpreted the notion of 'other' in anthropological and sociological studies. Srinivas maintains, 'Differences of language, dialect, religion, sect, caste, class and ethnicity confront Indian anthropologists at every pint, so they can find "the other" in adjacent village, tribe, or backward slum' (see Shah 2000:634).

Srinivas believes that the anthropological technique should be extended to the study of one's own family and existence. Srinivas had been sensitive to changes in people's lifestyles since early years of his life in the course of which he wandered both on College road and Bandikeri areas. College Road was dominated by Brahmins from various parts of South India, whereas the Bandikerineighborhood was dominated by Kunubas, who were shepherds/wearers by caste (Shah 1996).The diversity of College Road and Bandikeri's inhabitants provided Srinivas with his first exposure to cultural difference. Srinivas spent a lot of time researching the Rampura hamlet and the Coorg region in south India. The study of one's own society demands the use of all moral and intellectual resources available to the sociologist. Ethnic, regional, linguistic, and religious diversity, as also migration from one region of the country to another have enriched Indian culture.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Outline Srinivas's critique of Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functional approach.

.....
.....
.....

- 2) Explain Srinivas’s justification of studying one’s own society by Indian anthropologists and sociologists.

.....

.....

.....

.....

10.3.3 Book-View vs. Field-View

Srinivas was keen to differentiate between a book-view of society (based on religious literature and an Indological perspective) and a field-view of society in the Indian context (derived from in-depth fieldwork and sociological approach). Books have remained an indispensable part of people's lives in India. They provided norms and laid out the normative code of behaviour. In urban areas, norms and normative code of behaviour were imposed by rulers. In rural areas, however, dominant castes or councils of individual castes enforced norms and normative code of behaviour. Noticeable cultural diversity exists not only between regions, but also across castes and ethnic groups. He noticed a significant gap between the book-view of society and the field-view of society. In reality, the disjunction between the two provided a unique viewpoint on understanding how caste regulates social relations across time. While Srinivas was attempting to establish the significance of field-view for the study of Indian society and culture, Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* (1970) introduced the book-view in academic circles. The impact was so much that for many sociologists, book-view gained more importance than field-view.

10.3.4 Villages in India

Srinivas believed that village studies were the best way to learn about Indian society, culture, and civilization. They signified a transition in social anthropology's emphasis from tribal studies to studies of peasants' lifestyles, social movements, and societal change. Srinivas made a significant contribution to the realistic understanding of villages. At the outset, he busted the myths that surrounding villages in India. The Select Committee on the Affairs of the East Indian Company's Fifth Report treated the village regarded as a little republic, a stagnant, passive, and unchanging entity. Srinivas countered this overly simplistic view by bringing out the reality of Indian villages. He shed light on inequality, disease and illiteracy as also village resources. Srinivas brought out the point that rather than being egalitarian, villages were driven by hierarchy and influence of politics. He drew attention to the gap between lived reality in villages and perceived or imagined reality in the minds of policy makers.

While describing the routine or continuing ties between the village and the state, as well as individual occasions of contact, Srinivas (1975) emphasized the role of self-defense, collective fight, and local governance in the matrix of village life. In pre-British period, both political and economic factors combined to hinder formation of horizontal ties beyond political boundaries. Coming together of people beyond political lines was difficult for everybody, but notably for lower

caste people. Furthermore, politically ambitious patrons had to acquire and retain local supporters. For this, they had the politically ambitious patrons had to give out food and drink, especially at weddings and funerals. They had to provide loans and other assistance as needed. The leader who donated or loaned foodgrains to his tenants and labourers acquired their goodwill and ensured their support later. Again, the fundamental dynamics of village life are defined by meanderings through formalised arrangements in landowner-labourer and patron-client relationships. When labour was scarce, society was split into a series of 'production pyramids,' with the landowner at the top, artisans and service castes below, and landless labourers at the bottom. on top. Disputes and rivalry amongst patrons were governed by institutionalised connections and threats to the village society. In such a context, political power could only be obtained through negotiating institutional arrangements.

10.3.5 Caste

Srinivas discussed the importance of caste in managing social ties. This was illustrated in the specific setting of Rampura hamlet, and then in the larger context of the subcontinent. In his critique of Dumont's thoughts on caste, Srinivas aimed to subvert western socio-centrism onto an Indian social institution,' projecting caste as indigenes do. The fundamental perspective flip has far-reaching consequences. Srinivas (1957, 1984) established that caste hierarchy was one of several forms of rigorous social stratification that were antithetical to individuality. Historically, there was a great deal of connection among the various castes. Members of one caste were always reliant on commodities and services provided by members of other castes. People from one caste competed for the commodities and services given by other castes, which occasionally resulted in conflict.

In Rampura village, the population of peasants was the largest. The headman of the village was a peasant. All this made their social, economic and political position in the village strongest. Brahmins and Lingayats also respected them in spite of the fact that peasants belong to the shudra varna. Brahmins and Lingayats remained dominant in the ritual domain only. For support in all other aspects of life, they depended on peasants. Interestingly, peasants resolved disputes between high caste people and untouchables. You might be aware of the fact that arbitration is sought from most influential people in the village.

The Rampura study inspired Srinivas (1976, cited from 2002:75) to develop the concept of dominant caste. In his own words, 'A caste may be said to be "dominant" when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low' (1976, cited from 2002:75). Another factor which has been crucial in deciding dominance is the amount of educated males and their vocation. Often, western and traditional education determines dominance. Hence, Srinivas refers to this aspect of western. The common aspiration of the people is

to get younger members of their caste group educated and thereafter get employment on government offices.

When the position of a caste changes in different villages, the people in the village with the low position strive to identify with those with better positions and therefore move up in the local hierarchy. People of the ruling caste revel in social security because they know they will not be humiliated or insulted by those who are ritually or otherwise superior to them. The presence of able-bodied males who are willing to battle strengthens their position and security. A study of the locally dominant caste and the kind of dominance it enjoys is critical to understanding rural society in India. According to Srinivas, most essential characteristics of domination are numerical strength, economic and political power, ritual status, and western education and occupations. In a community, the various elements of power are usually distributed among distinct castes. a caste is said to be dominant when it possesses all or most of the elements of dominance.

10.3.6 Social Mobility

Srinivas (1968) emphasises mobility within the caste framework. He cites two sources of mobility in the pre-British era: flexibility in the political system , particularly at lower levels, and the availability of marginal land that might be cultivated. Prior to the British government, political power was typically taken by leaders of powerful castes who could fight battles and shift loyalties often. . The sheer size of their numbers, as well as the status and power that comes with owning land, put them in a strong position to seize political power. because The Kshatriya varna was made up of several castes. Each of the castes constituting the Kshatriya varna held political power. It was for this reason that when a leader of a dominant caste rose to the position of ruler, he claimed the status of a Kshatriya.He inspired others and emerged as a source of mobility for others. According to Baines (1912), it was mandatory for the king to be served by a specific number of Brahmins. A king who did not have the required number of Brahmins to serve him would elevate people of a lower caste to the status of Brahmins.

As a result of British rule, new sources of mobility emerged. According to Srinivas (1968), the British pushed the following as key sources of mobility in contemporary India:

- (i) the Concept of land ownership and economic opportunities in port cities and capitals. This encouraged individuals of all castes to purchase land. In times of economic distress, persons of high castes residing in cities sold their land to peasants and other castes in villages. Ownership of land offered them prestige and status.
- (ii) New values with it, with a focus on equality, assertion of one's rights, and freedom to practice one's faith which came with modern knowledge. The newly westernized Indians geared up to reform the society. Missionary propaganda criticized untouchability, animal sacrifice, idolatory, elaborate rituals, polytheism, polygyny, child

marriage and other such practices. In addition to hospitals, orphanages, and schools, the missionaries established a printing press, which aided in the dissemination of regional literature. They created dictionaries and translated regional literature into English.

- (iii) A new economic system, and an expansion of the communication network that connected the country internally and with the rest of the globe. The upper castes sucked up the majority of educational and economic chances. This widened the rift between the upper and lower classes. Eventually, the Backward Class Movement was formed in order to capture chances and resources for the upper castes. Those who did succeed motivated others who were impoverished or oppressed. In Srinivas's words, the 'demonstration effect' broadened social horizons and provided vigour and strength to the Backward Class Movement,
- (iv) new trading and employment opportunities such as road, railway, and canal construction work that benefited Noniyas of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Kolis of Surat Coast in Gujarat, and several other castes,
- (v) liberty to acquire symbols and rituals of higher castes that inspired lower castes to wear the sacred thread. The regionally dominant castes resisted, often resorting to violence and economic boycott. Such movements, however, are not always successful since victims file complaints with the police and file lawsuits in court, and
- (vi) conversion to Islam, Christianity, and sects such as Sikhism and the Arya Samaj. Many converts found they took the stigma with them into the new fold as well (see, Mathur 2020).

Adult franchise and prospects for attaining power have opened up new avenues of movement in Independent India. Leaders of the dominant and the non-dominant (but numerically larger) castes wield enormous influence. As the gap between the leaders and the rest of the population becomes wider, the leaders struggle to retain ties with the grassroots (without which they would not be able to retain the coveted position). Srinivas (1968) presents a typical type of mobility in which caste is contrasted with class among rich educated people in big cities. They take up activities that have little to do with their conventional caste employment back in the village. Such people can conveniently flout pollution norms, mingle with, and even marry persons who do not adhere to casteist standards. In such instances, rather than caste, class emerges as the organizing element in lifestyle and interpersonal relationships.

The economic aspect offsets the impact of the ruling caste on the social life of the. Joshi (1996:138) critiques Srinivas's interpretation of the Rampura situation, in following words, 'However, with the pace of change accelerating, the village and the town getting reintegrated, new opportunities, apart from broadening the scope of upward mobility, also enlarged the scope of economic disparity between members of the dominant caste. The new rich in this context, belonging, both to

the rural and the urban worlds, emerged as the new class, thus losing the attributes of a dominant caste. Even as a mode of their self-identification or of identification by other members of the village, the dominant caste could no longer serve as a meaningful concept.' According to Joshi, *The Remembered Village* suffers from a failure to provide appropriate place to people's economic organization.

Lower castes are inspired by upper castes to strive for upward social mobility. One of the chief means by which lower castes move up the ladder of social stratification is the process of sanskritization. Srinivas explains the process of Sanskritization in following words, 'A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon. In short it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins and the adoption of the Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though, theoretically forbidden. This process has been called 'Sanskritization' in preference to "Brahminization" as certain Vedic rites one confined to the Brahmins and the two other twice-born castes' (1952:32). They followed the Brahminical way of life, mainly in observing, among others, stringent marriage code, adherence to purity – pollution restrictions, taking religious vows, and reading of Sanskritic tales and stories.

According to Srinivas (1967), in the traditional setup, a jati adopted the name and characteristics of a dominant caste which could be respected in a region but was not highly sanskritized. A jati could simply adopt changes in its diet, way of life, and rituals and start to assert itself as Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaishya. Often, this could be carried out over a span of one or two generations. This implies that after a span of one or two generations, people of the jati could be identified as those belonging to the Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya varna. You will be surprised to learn that many Lingayats who claim equality with Brahmins refuse to eat food cooked by Brahmins., give an interesting case in point. Another example cited by Srinivas that stands out in stark contrast to the Lingayats is that of the Smiths of south India. They identify themselves Vishwakarma Brahmins. They wear the sacred thread, and practise sanskritized. Some of them, however, still enjoy meat and liquor. They were forced to perform weddings in villages that had a temple of their caste deity. The wedding procession would not pass through streets in which the Right Hand castes lived. The case of Smiths differed from that of Lingayats. Smiths's case was unique in the sense that the castes tried to avoid the hierarchy offered by structural neighbours by asserting equality with Brahmins.

Srinivas (1956) indicates that, whereas lower caste individuals try to raise their social standing by imitating the upper castes, the upper caste people are influenced by the western ways of life, ideas, and the prospects for economic advancement the western ideas provide. During the pre-independence period, Brahmins controlled the literacy tradition and held the highest position in the rural economic hierarchy. They took advantage of the majority of the chances

available in the Western way of life following the foundation of British authority. The westernized Brahmins acted as go-betweens for the British and the rest of the populace. As a result, a new and secular caste structure was superimposed on the previous system. Surprisingly, in the new and secular caste structure, the British and the new Kshatriya were at the top, the Brahmin was second, and Sudra was at the bottom of the pyramid. Brahmin looked up to the British; the rest of the people looked up to Brahmins and the British. The complexity in this system consisted in some British beliefs and customs that were diametrically opposed to those of Brahmins and their ethos. Sanskritization and westernization are two, often competing influences in contemporary social life. As Brahmins become more westernized and abandon some habits, the people of the lower castes adopt them as if to embellish their own way of life and advance in the regard of their relevant others.

10.3.7 Community Development and Nation-Building

The westernized elite in India upholds western concepts and values. These are used to understand the state of affairs in our own country. Focusing on nation-building in Independent India Srinivas held social scientists in the country for ignoring the complexity of political and social stability consistency in drawing conclusions about the country as a whole. He maintained that social scientists' conclusions were drawn on the basis of on the basis of inadequate ambiguous data. They did not celebrate the success in nation-building given the facts of the country's vastness and diversity. He suggests the importance of westernized elite for their commitment towards reforming society. They also strive towards parliamentary democracy as the form of government for the country. In this way, they contribute towards nation-building.

Srinivas outlines fundamental elements in the process of nation-building in India, including:

- (i) protective discrimination for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other Backward Classes, which aims to ensure that opportunities for growth and development reach the socially and ritually underprivileged;
- (ii) democracy as an information system in which the needs and necessities of people living in different regions, the effects of administrative action in the implementation of policies are brought to the notice of those in power. A free but responsible press is essential to the effective functioning of democracy;
- (iii) (iii) political education and decentralization not only in the political realm but also in the fields of administration and industry;
- (iv) a policy of pluralism in matters of religion, language, and culture;
- (v) sub-nationalism in the form of ethnicity communalism, linguistic consciousness, and regionalism that brings together people of hereditary groups, many of which operate as pressure groups at

regional and state levels because of which their leaders are able to secure political power and economic benefits. The threat of sub-nationalism and overwhelming nationalism is perpetual; and

- (vi) secularism ensuring that members of each religion are allowed to profess, practice and propagate their faith on the one hand and that no individual will be discriminated against on the basis of religion (Mathur, 2020).

Srinivas (1977) describes multiple cultures centred on the urban middle class and the rural poor in the larger framework of Indian society. The emphasis is on the relationship between them. This relationship influences India's economy, politics, society, and world-view of the people. The urban middle class consists of high and medium castes as well as the upper layer of minority groups. A large number of upper middle class people are employed as government officials, professionals in many fields, and other professions. , they are powerful but are submissive to the political elite. The political elite make an effort to keep members of the urban middle class pleased. This ensures smooth functioning of the administrative machinery. The rural poor, on the other hand, are largely peasants. Most of them communicate in regional language. They remain in awe of urban middle class people who are able to speak in English. Despite being impoverished and lacking the power that the urban middle class possesses, politicians target rural people because they constitute a larger vote bank. Landowning families of dominant and high castes occupy a strategic position between the two classes. They are politically and economically influential, with fair representation in bureaucracy and other professions. They are the oppress people of the lower castes, landless people, and the under-privileged. They main seek to join the upper middle-class and at the same time control the village activities.

Politicians approach rural patrons for votes particularly when elections are close. At this time, rural patrons demand licenses for buses, rice mills, and other businesses, as well as seats in medical and technological colleges for their relatives. Shah (2000: 631) maintains, 'Once middle-class status is gained, those who have arrived try hard to maintain it and also move up. This involves coping with new concerns and anxieties by visiting temples, going on pilgrimages, seeking out miracle-performing holy men and consulting astrologers. Life-cycle rituals become more elaborate, and vegetarianism, yoga and meditation become part of the Sanskritized lifestyle. At the same time, birthdays and wedding anniversaries are celebrated in Western style, with parties, alcohol, cake cutting etc. On the secular front, getting children admitted to good schools, seeking admission to professional courses of study, and conspicuous consumerism become important goals'.

Srinivas could foresee an increase in tension and conflict between dominant castes and the dalits (formerly referred to as 'untouchables'). Governments' preferential policies have enabled dalits to challenge the dominance of upper castes. Politicians seek to impress both the dalits and the upper castes in order to build vote banks. Even decades after its origin, Srinivas's concept of a vote bank is

relevant in contemporary times. The dominant rural elite take away the gains from community development projects while the powerless remain waiting. This deepens the split between the two groups. According to Srinivas (1962), conflict would escalate as more rural poor people realize they are not benefiting from development programmes supposed to ameliorate their lot. He goes on to say that tensions between higher castes and harijans are likely to worsen in the future. The position of dominant castes has been strengthened in the Panchayati Raj. This has been used by dominant castes to further subjugate people who have long obeyed them but are now seeking independence. Srinivas also believes that the urban elite may not notice these changes until they reach a tipping point. Rise in level of education could be linked with change in values and attitudes of people. Education promotes economic progress by facilitating the transition from an agrarian to an industrial culture with a higher emphasis on logic, punctuality, and discipline.

He believed that social anthropologists and sociologists couldn't overlook India and China, not just because of their size, population, and cultural richness, but also because they are emerging as world powers. In India, the twin phenomena of decentralization of authority and reservation of women and underprivileged sections of the population in local self-government have attracted the interest of social scientists all over the world (see, Srinivas 1966, 1997, 2000).

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Explain Joshi's critique of The Remembered Village study.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) List the fundamental elements of nation-building outlined by Srinivas.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

10.4 IMPORTANT WORKS

Some of M N Srinivas's important works are:

Marriage and Family in Mysore (1942)

Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952)

Caste in Modern India and Other Essays (1962)

Social Change in Modern India (1966)

The Remembered Village (1976)

10.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we learnt about the life and work of M N Srinivas. We began with developing an understanding of the social and academic environment in which his ideas developed. The influence of his training under G S Ghurye, Radcliffe-Brown and Evans Pritchard is evident in his ideas concerning individual, society and culture. He emphasised the need to develop indigenous concepts to understand Indian social reality. We discussed his central ideas relating mainly with structural-functionalism, villages in India, caste system and social mobility. His work presents holistic and profound understanding of society of that time.

10.6 REFERENCES

Baines, A. 1912. *Ethnography*. Strassburg: TrubnerVarlag.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1951. *Social Anthropology*. London: Cohen and West.

Fuller, Chris. 1999. 'An Interview with M.N. Srinivas', *Anthropology Today*, 15, 5.

Joshi, P.C. 1996. 'The Remembered Village: Insights into an Agrarian Civilization'. in A.M. Shah, B.S. Baviskar, and E.A. Ramaswamy (eds.), *Social Structure and Change*, Vol. *Theory and Method-An Evaluation of the Work of M.N. Srinivas*. New Delhi: Sage.

Khare, R.S. 1996. 'Social Description and Social Change: From Function to Critical Cultural Significations.' In A. M. Shah, B.S. Baviskar, and E.A. Ramaswamy (Eds.), *Social Structure and Change*, Vol 1. *Theory and Method – An Evaluation of the Work of M.N. Srinivas..* New Delhi: Sage.

Mathur, Nita. 2020. 'The Remembered Anthropologist:Engaging with the Insights of M. N. Srinivas' *Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India*, 69(2) 224–240

Shah, A.M. 1996. 'M.N. Srinivas: The Man and his Work'. in A.M. Shah, B.S. Baviskar, and E.A. Ramaswamy (eds.), *Social Structure and Change*, Vol. 1. *Theory and Method-An Evaluation of the Work of M.N. Srinivas*. New Delhi: Sage.

Srinivas, M.N. 1961. 'Changing Attitudes in India Today', *Yojana*, Special Number, 1 October: 25-28.

Srinivas, M.N. 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley, CA: University California Press.

Srinivas, M.N. 1968. 'Mobility in Caste System'. In Milton Singer and Bernard Cohn (Eds.), *Structure and Change in Indian Society*. Chicogo: University of Chicago Press.

10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Srinivas's critiqued Radcliffe-structural-functionalism Brown's approach mainly on following points: ignoring historical evidence in the functioning of civilization; (ii) comparing social laws to scientific laws. was pointless. Srinivas began to recognize the need of historical data in societal functioning and the futility of the underlying principles of structural-functionalism.
- 2) According to Srinivas, an Indian anthropologist who studies the 'self-in-the-other' is studying someone who is the other as well as someone with whom s(he) has cultural forms, beliefs, and values on one level. The nature and extent social and cultural variation in India. Differences in language, dialect, religion, sect, caste, class, and ethnicity challenge Indian anthropologists at every turn, so they can locate "the other" in an adjacent hamlet, tribe, or backward slum

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) According to Joshi, *The Remembered Village* suffers from a failure to provide appropriate place to people's economic organization. The broader propensity to disregard economic activities covers up a comprehensive understanding of caste in India.
- 2) Srinivas lists the following elements of nation-building in India: (i) protective discrimination for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other Backward Classes, (ii) democracy; (iii) political education and decentralization in the political, administration and industry areas; (iv) policy of pluralism in matters of religion, language, and culture; (v) sub-nationalism, and (vi) secularism.