CHAPTER I

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
AND THE METHODOLOGY

The concept of Marginal Man was introduced first into sociological literature by Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stonequist. Before them a similar type of concept was put forward by Georg Simmel, which he called the "Stranger".

Simmel\(^1\) discusses the "stranger" not as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the person who comes to-day and stays tomorrow, that is, he is a potential wanderer, who has the freedom of coming and going, but who has not moved on. He is fixed within a particular spatial group, but his position in this group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he does not belong to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself. Simmel says that, "the unity of nearness and remoteness involved in every human relation is organized, in the phenomenon of the stranger, in a way which may be most briefly formulated by saying that in the relationship to him, distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who also is far, is actually near. For, to be a stranger is naturally a very positive relation; it is a specific form of interaction."
While explaining this specificity of interaction, Simmel distinguishes between the stranger and the inhabitants of some distant place with whom we have no concern at all. Simmel observes that such people are not really strangers to us, at least not in any sociologically relevant sense, as they do not exist for us at all, they are beyond far and near. While, on the other hand, the stranger is an element of the group itself. This position as a full-fledged member involves both being outside it and confronting it.

In his discussion of the peculiar position of the stranger in a group, Simmel points out that, throughout the history of economics the stranger everywhere appears as a trader, or the trader as stranger. In a self-sufficient economy trader is only required for products that originate outside the group. In so far as members do not leave the circle in order to buy these necessities, the trader must be a stranger. If such trader, who is a stranger, settles down in the place of his activity, his position stands out more sharply.

In a closed economy the stranger is by nature no "owner of soil". Simmel says, "although in more intimate relations, he may develop all kinds of charm and significance, as long as he is considered a stranger in the eyes of the other, he is not an owner of soil." 2 Restriction to intermediary trade, and often to pure finance, gives him the
specific character of mobility. If mobility takes place within a closed group, it embodies that synthesis of nearness and distance which constitutes the formal position of the stranger. For, the fundamentally mobile person comes in contact, at one time or another, with every individual, but is not organically connected, through established ties of kinship, locality, and occupation with any single one.

Simmel finds that another expression of this constellation lies in the objectivity of the stranger. This objectivity is due to the fact that he is free of all commitments which could prejudice his perception, understanding and evaluation of the given. But his objectivity does not simply involve passivity and detachment; it is a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement.

Finally, Simmel points out that the proportion of nearness and remoteness which gives the stranger the character of objectivity, also finds practical expression in the more abstract nature of the relations to him. It means, with the stranger one has only certain more general qualities in common. Simmel observes, if the participants in the particular relationship feel that their commonness with others is only in some general features, then the effectiveness of the common features becomes diluted. The stranger is close to us, in so far as we feel between
him and ourselves common features of a national, social, occupational, or generally human nature. He is far from us, insofar as these common features extend beyond him or us, and connect us only because they connect a great many people. Thus, this relationship includes both nearness and distance at the same time. But between nearness and distance, there arises a specific tension when the stranger becomes conscious that his commonness with others which is only in some general features is stressed more.

Simmel tells us that, because of the strangeness of origin the strangers are not treated as individuals but only as strangers.\footnote{Simmel illustrates this by giving the case of medieval Jews in Frankfurt and elsewhere, where Jew had his social position as a Jew and not as an individual, and so the tax to be paid by the Christian citizen changed with the fluctuations of his fortune, while the Jew as a taxpayer was, in the first place, a Jew, and thus his tax situation had an invariable element.}

Thus, in the case of stranger Simmel has shown that the stranger is an element of the group itself, but his social position in the group is of peculiar nature. It is a specific form of interaction. In this relationship there is a unity of nearness and remoteness. Stranger lives in intimate association with the world about him but never so completely identifies with it.

This concept was afterwards developed by Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stonequist and is titled as "The
Marginal Man".

Robert E. Park, in his introduction to Stonequist's book, The Marginal Man\(^3\) tells us about the cultural conflict and the marginal man. Park tells us that, in the course of long historical process from which the modern world has emerged, the picture of primitive society--the society which was "a group of groups" and where every group was characterized by inner-cohesion and outer-hostility, as portrayed by William Graham Sumner--has been progressively altered. Because of the modern scientific innovations like aeroplanes distances between the nations and peoples have abolished and radio has converted the world into "one vast whispering gallery". Park says: "... the great world--inter-tribal, inter-racial and international--the world of business and politics--has grown at the expense of the little world, the world of intimate, personal loyalties in which men were bound together by tradition, custom, and natural piety."\(^4\)

Park observed that, particularly during the last four hundred years due to the vast expansion of Europe, various devastating changes took place in the world's history. The movements and migrations incident to this expansion have brought about everywhere an interpenetration of peoples and a fusion of cultures. Incidentally, it has produced, at certain times and under certain conditions, a personality type, a type which may not be wholly new but
which is peculiarly characteristic of the modern world. It is to this type of personality Robert E. Park has titled as "The Marginal Man".

According to Park the marginal man is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures. Park points out that, individual's personality is not only based on instincts, temperament and the endocrine balance, but it achieves its final form under the influence of the individual's conception of himself. Each individual forms this conception of himself by the role which fate assigns to him in some society, by the opinions and attitudes which others in that society form of him. In short, individual's conception of himself depends upon the social status given to him by others in that society. So Park reasons that, individual's conception of himself is not an individual but a social product.

Park observes that the marginal man is a personality type which arises at a time and a place where, out of conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence. The fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds, also compels him to live the role of a cosmopolitan and a stranger in the same world in which he lives. As a result, such a man inevitably becomes, relatively to his cultural milieu, the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intel-
ligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint. Park finds, the marginal man is always relatively the more civilized human being.

Thus, here, Park tells us that the marginal man is an incidental product of a process of acculturation, such as inevitably occur when people of different cultures and different races come together to carry on a common life.

Everett V. Stonequist a student of Robert E. Park developed this concept in his book on *The Marginal Man.* At first, Stonequist talks about how an evolution of human personality takes place in society. Stonequist observes that, since birth human being is the responding subject of a stream of social influences. Before even learning the language he starts feeling the impress of the activities, objects and standards in the culture of his social group. Afterwards he gradually learns consciously to adjust himself to the expectations of his social group. Through the conscious or unconscious interaction with other persons he gradually comes to have a recognised place in his particular social world, he plans his career and lives a particular way of life. If well adjusted to his social world, he becomes a mature and harmonized personality.

But such an evolution of personality takes place most easily and spontaneously when the individual is born with normal human capacities and lives in a reasonably stable and organised society. Stonequist emphatically points out
that the definite limits thus set may, to the modern mind, seem narrow and imprisoning, but to the individual concerned they are quite natural and desirable, since he has no other standard by which to make comparison. Such an individual has to learn one kind of tradition, one language, has to develop one political loyalty, has to follow one religion. The unity and harmony of his social system gets reflected in the unity and harmony of his personality, that is, in his sentiments, his conception of himself, his aspirations and his style of life. There will be a minimum of uneasy self-consciousness and sensitiveness. The manner and method of meeting crises and reaching goals—the style of life—will, therefore, be attuned to adjustment.

But such stable societies, if at all found, will be found only among relatively isolated and protected groups. The modern world of economic competition and shifting social relations places the individual in a situation where change and uncertainty are the keynotes. Fixed or permanent adjustments become impossible. The world moves and the individual must continually readjust himself. The possibility that he will fail to adjust himself is greater than before. Social maladjustment, whether slight or great, becomes characteristic of modern man. Stonequist says, "One sees this social dislocation clearly and sharply in the case of those individuals who fall between two major racial or cultural groups, but it is also apparent in the
relations of minor groups such as social classes, religious sects and communities. The individual who through migration, education, marriage, or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another finds himself on the margin of each, but a member of neither. He is a "marginal man".6

Stonequist further says, "Wherever there are cultural transitions and cultural conflicts there are marginal personalities. If the cultural differences are of major importance, if the social attitudes are hostile, the problem of the individual whose sentiments and career are bound up with both societies may well be acute. His dual social connections will then be reflected in the type of life he leads, the nature of his achievements or failures, his conception of himself, and many of his social attitudes and aspirations. He will, in fact, be a kind of dual personality."7

Thus, Stonequist has conceived the marginal man as one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds, reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often dominant over the other, within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality) and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations.

After defining the concept of the marginal man,
Stonequist tells us about some of the more representative types of marginal men and their social background. At first he begins with the persons of mixed race, that is, racial hybrid and then passes to those who are not of mixed blood, that is, cultural hybrid.

The Racial Hybrid:

Stonequist observes, the most obvious type of marginal man is the person of mixed racial ancestry. His very biological origin places him between the two races. Generally he has distinctive physical traits which mark him off from both parent races. He also frequently possesses some characteristics of manner, thought and speech which are derived from both lines of his ancestry. Because of these peculiarities the mixed blood presents a special problem—what is to be his place in the society? Particularly when such person matures, he too becomes aware of his problematic and anomalous social position, and then the problem of adjustment becomes really very acute.

Stonequist observes, though there is such something universal in the problem of racial hybrids, still there are some important differences between one situation and another of such racial hybrids. So he discusses seven mixed blood situations having distinctive characteristics. They are the Anglo-Indians, the Cape coloured of South Africa, the Mulattoes of the United States, the Jamaican coloured, the Indo-Europeans of Java, the part-Hawaiians,
the Metis of Brazil.

Stonequist finds that each of these situations has its special influence upon the character and personality of the mixed bloods, but still there are some resemblances among all mixed bloods situations. Normally mixed blood's first impulse is to identify himself with the race which is considered superior. Failing this he may develop a negative or ambivalent attitude, perhaps a desire for differentiation in some form. Because of his anomalous position—not fully belonging to either parent race—he becomes more than ordinarily conscious of himself and conscious of his ancestry. There is an increase in sensiveness. His uncertain social position intensifies his concern about status. His anxiety to solve his personal problem forces him to take an interest in the racial problem as a whole. Consequently he has an important part in defining and eventually changing the general pattern of race relations. As his numbers increase he may become allied with one of the parent races, or form a new racial type.

The Cultural Hybrid:

While discussing the position of cultural hybrid, Stonequist has made distinction between two types of cultural hybrids, first, those who are a consequence of culture diffusion, and second, those who are a product of migration.

Among the first type, Stonequist has discussed such
situations as: Europeanised Africans in whose case de-
tribalisation and Europeanisation has completely uprooted
and disorganised the native life. The uprooted African's
position is such that he has neither left the tribalism,
nor he has become completely a part of white civilization.
Particularly the Christian converts among them have been
pulled out of the old order of things without necessarily
becoming a part of the new order. Generally more educated
has become more sensitive and as a consequence resentment
and race-consciousness are developing and some rebellions
have grown out of these conditions.

Secondly, Stonequist discusses the situation of the
Westernised Indians, particularly the English-educated
Indians, who experience a kind of tension in their thoughts
and ideas which is caused by the twofold appeal of Western
influence and of Indian tradition. They feel upon their
mind the pull of two loyalties, the loyalty to the old
order and the loyalty to the new. Among them, at first,
there arose a tendency to admire and assimilate European
ideas, but when assimilation proved impracticable, there
arose counter movement of resentment and differentiation
and Indian nationalism gave a new expression and direction
to the mental and emotional life of young Indians.

Stonequist, then, speaks of Denationalised Europeans.
When Western Europe was expanding into the farther corners
of the globe, the struggle of submerged nationalities within
Europe has also given rise to marginal personalities. According to him, the spirit of nationality awakened in them not in the feudal period when the masses were illiterate and custombound serfs, but only in modern period of social change. Economic changes, migration and city life; the growth of education and literacy; echoes of liberty, equality and democracy from the French Revolution and from European emigrants in America—such influences set in motion the popular restlessness, discontents and aspirations which enter into nationalism. They became selfconscious and felt the need of common action to raise their status.

Stonequist, then, tells us about the perennial problem of the modern individual Jew: to be or not to be—a Jew! Stonequist very rightly puts forward their problem in these words: "Paradoxically, perhaps, it is easiest to be a Jew when the world is hostile and socially distant, when ghetto exists in fact as well as in law, when no luring contact with the gentile world has planted the fatal seed of doubt. But in most countries the days of the closed ghetto have passed and have been succeeded by the attractions and repulsions of the open or voluntary ghetto. The Jew has been generally freed to participate in the larger world about him. He has penetrated deeply into this world, contributed largely to its culture and yet he does not feel quite at home in it. Once having entered it, he cannot comfortably withdraw again into the ghetto. He is too
much of a Jew to be assimilated, and too little of a Jew to be isolated."

After discussing the problems of the cultural hybrids due to cultural diffusion, Stonequist, then, turns his attention to the problem of the migrant peoples--who occupy a minority or subordinate status in the new land. Here he speaks, at first, of the immigrants in the United States who are in the process of assimilation, and their second generation and then, a peculiar problem of American Negro.

While speaking of the immigrants' situation, Stonequist observes that these migrants have faced considerable and often painful readjustments. The immigrant has to undergo a more basic and prolonged transformation. But the transition is difficult enough for immigrants as the cultural differences in some cases are too great to be easily bridged. If person fails to adjust himself properly, the normal tendency is to blame the host country for individual's own failure in adjustment. Sometimes a sentiment of revolt is also aroused in such minds. Even after many years of stay in a country the migrant does not become thoroughly assimilated in a cultural sense.

Then comes the population of children of the immigrants who are in a distinctive social situation. As native-born residents, they are identified with the land of their birth and its institutions, but as children of immigrants they
inevitably absorb much of the culture carried over from the "old country". Thus they are the meeting points of two streams of culture. To the extent that the two cultures conflict, they experience this conflict as a personal problem. Such a person is bound to his parents by the usual family sentiments. But his loyalty to them clashes with his loyalty to his newly adopted friends and sometimes he may even come to despise his parents as "foreigners" and to repudiate the family name. Such clashes are tragedies for the parents; they are hazardous for the children themselves and for the community as a whole.

Stonequist, then, turns to the situation of American Negroes, who, aside from the question of the mixed blood, forms an interesting minority group in the United States. In his efforts to improve himself, Negro tries to become more like the white man. But this is exactly what the white people, who are prejudiced, resent. They feel that the Negro should "remain a Negro", he should "stay in his place". White Americans have a rather fixed conception of what the Negro is. The Negro who is affected by this attitude is in a marginal situation. Stonequist finds, it is the advanced and educated coloured people who are most acutely in the anomalous position of the marginal man. They are actually aware of the discrepancy between their cultural achievements and rights as an American citizen on the one hand, and the white group’s attitude toward them
on the other. This leads to bitter frustration and mental conflict.

In this way Stonequist analyses the specific types of situations in which the marginal man can be observed. What constitutes the essence of all these situations is the fact that groups in all these situations are in a relationship of inequality, whether or not this is openly asserted. The individuals of the subordinate or minority group whose social contacts have led them to become partially assimilated and psychologically identified with the dominant group without being fully accepted, are in the marginal situation.

After analysing the various situations in which the marginal man can be observed, Stonequist shifts his attention to the personality of the marginal man: how this reflects the evolving situation (1) in terms of a general pattern of development; (2) in typical psychological traits; and (3) in roles, or forms of adjustment, and maladjustment.

The Typical Life-Cycle:

Though there is no stereotyped uniformity in the personal lives of such individuals, with this limitation in mind, Stonequist attempts to outline a pattern of individual development typical of the marginal man on the basis of comparative study of the available evidence.

Stonequist observes, the marginal man has at least three significant phases in his personal evolution:
(1) a phase when he is not aware that the racial or nationality conflict embraces his own career; (2) a period when he consciously experiences this conflict; and (3) the more permanent adjustment or lack of adjustment which he makes or attempts to make to his situation. In a rough manner, according to Stonequist, these three stages frequently correspond the protected environment of childhood, the widening of social contacts and ensuing conflicts of adolescence, and the necessary accommodations of maturity.

In Stonequist's opinion the first period is one in which the individual has as yet no inner conflict of the kind we are interested in. He is not sensitive about his race or nationality because he is not "race-conscious". Stonequist defines race-consciousness as "Race-consciousness is one form of self-consciousness—a consciousness which arises in the person when he becomes aware that others regard him in a certain way because he belongs to a particular racial group." In a marginal person such race-consciousness or the consciousness of uncertain, usually inferior status, is a constantly recurring experience. According to Stonequist this comes in the second stage in the development of marginal man, the phase in which he becomes marginal. It constitutes a "crisis" situation. There is an important change in his conception of himself, although total transformation may come only after a prolonged and painful process, especially if the crisis has
been severe. The individual must then "find himself" again. He must reconstruct his conception of himself as well as his place or role in society. The third stage consists of the ways in which the individual responds to his situation, the adjustments he makes or attempts to make. He may reach a successful adjustments which permits him to be at ease again: he then evolves out of the marginal class. Again, he may fluctuate from one position to another--at one time reaching a satisfactory adjustment, then being thrown back again into a condition of conflict. In such situation he remains a partially adjusted marginal man. Or, lastly, the difficulties may be so overwhelming, relative to individual's resources, that he is unable to adjust himself and so becomes disorganised.

The pre-marginal phase of race-unconsciousness is the period when members of the subordinate group are partly assimilated into the dominant culture. Stonequist is of the opinion that, "a certain degree of assimilation is a necessary prelude for the creation of the marginal personality."10 Ordinarily it takes place during the childhood when the barriers of the adult world have not yet been fully experienced. He observes that the more completely the individual assimilates the culture of the dominant group the greater are his confusion and difficulty when he finds himself excluded. It is the growing awareness of the lines and barriers of the adult world which produces the typical
characteristics of the marginal man. This may be the result of a single experience which climaxes a process summation, or it may dawn in a more gradual and imperceptible manner not clearly recallable by the subject.

Stonequist finds that the responses of such persons (the third phase of the life cycle) depend upon their marginal situation. Normally the responses may be in the three directions:

(1) Assimilation into the dominant group--this may take place if the racial or cultural barriers between the two groups are not felt to be impassable.

(2) Assimilation into the subordinate group - At first there would be an attempt for imitation of and assimilation into the dominant group, but during this process of partial assimilation new values are learnt and this itself provides the stimulus, the concepts and the methods for a movement of protest, of revolt. As this movement develops, the marginal man, previously trying for assimilation, turns more and more against his earlier tendencies, and assimilates in the subordinate group.

(3) Some form of accommodation, perhaps only temporary and incomplete, between the two groups. The marginal person in such instances have a more complex situation to which to respond. Such marginal person, if it is possible for him, may try to "pass" for the dominant group. He may oscillate forward and backward, out of his group and then
back into his group, and then remain persistently in the psychological centre of the cultural conflict. Thus they will find temporary and incomplete accommodation between the two groups.

**Personality Traits**

After giving his observations about the typical pattern of individual development of the marginal person, Stonequist speaks about the personality traits of the marginal man. He observes that the personality traits of such a person reflect the general situation he is in, his experience with that situation, the phase of his life-cycle, and perhaps certain inherited or previously acquired personality traits.

Stonequist finds that the individual is not a marginal person until he experiences the group conflict as a personal problem. Experiencing the conflict constitutes the turning point in the career of the individual. This is the period when the characteristic personality traits first appear. The experience itself is a shock. The individual finds his social world disorganised. Personal relations and cultural forms which he had previously taken for granted suddenly become problematic. He does not know how to act. There is a feeling of confusion, of loss of direction, of being overwhelmed. This crisis is not merely a simple experience of discrimination. Many persons are the object of some form of discrimination at some time or other in their lives. But with them it is an incidental, perhaps unpleasant
happening. In the experience of the marginal man it is 
crucial, for it involves his whole life organization and 
future career. It defines his place in the world in a 
way which he had not anticipated. It delimits his present 
and future in terms of his career, his ideas and aspirations, 
and his inmost conception of himself. It is a shock 
because his previous contacts have led him to identify 
himself with the cultural world which now refuses to 
accept him.

As a consequence of the crisis experience, the indi-
vidual finds himself estranged from both cultures. Having 
participated in each, he is now able to look at himself 
from two viewpoints. Stonequist says, "he has something of 
a dual personality, a double consciousness, to use the 
words of Du Bois."

Stonequist further says, "the double 
consciousness can be made clearer in terms of Cooley's 
analysis of the reflected or looking glass self. ... In the 
case of the marginal man it is as if he were placed simul-
taneously between two looking-glasses, each presenting a 
sharply different image of himself. The clash in the 
images gives rise to a mental conflict as well as to a 
dual self-consciousness and identification." 

When such person becomes conscious of the fact that 
he is rejected by the group with whom he has so far identi-
fied himself he may start to dissociate himself from it 
and find a new identification. But this dissociation is
painful and incomplete. The making of a new identification is forced by the violent emotional reaction against the old. The old identification, however, though shaken, continues to exist and trouble the mind. It will not be stilled or easily thrust aside. On the other hand, a new identification cannot be formed by the mere willing of it. It must grow, if at all, with time and experience.

In the interval of transition the individual suffers from a divided loyalty—an ambivalent attitude. This ambivalence of attitude and sentiment is at the core of those things which characterise the marginal man. Stonequist says: "he is torn between the two courses of action and is unable calmly to take the one and leave the other. The unattainable world for him continues to haunt his imagination and stir his emotions. At one moment it may be idealized and longed for; at another moment despised and hated. The other world to which he has been assigned has the same contradictory character: at times it appears as a beloved place of refuge, solace and recognition; again, it may seem like a prison—something cursed and hateful, or even shameful."\(^{13}\)

Further, Stonequist observes, it is this divided loyalty and ambivalent attitude which explains the fluctuating and contradictory opinions and actions of the marginal person. At one moment he may affirm one point of view, at another he is positively voices an opposite
opinion. Some individuals are able to control these divergent tendencies although realizing their existence. Some express one tendency in one situation and the opposite in another situation, the suppression of one is compensated for by an over-expression of the other.

The marginal situation produces excessive self-consciousness and race-consciousness. The individual is conscious of his anomalous position between the cultures and his attention is repeatedly focussed upon each group attitude and his relationship to it. This continual calling in question of his racial status naturally turns his attention upon himself to an excessive degree. He becomes problem to himself and supersensitive about his racial connections. "Inferiority complex" are a common affliction. The consequence of the feeling of inferiority, according to Stonequist, is a constant striving to find a situation in which the individual can excel. A "superiority complex" may then develop as a compensation for the "inferiority complex".

Stonequist reasons that, the hypersensitiveness of the marginal man is related to the exaggerated self-consciousness developed by continually looking at himself through the eyes of others. It may result in a tendency to find malice and discrimination where none was intended. By brooding over his situation and by repeatedly rehearsing past-experiences in his imagination a distorted view of the
world is built up. Having this conception of the world in his mind he is more likely to provoke antagonism and prejudice against himself. Or it may lead to a withdrawal which prevents the individual from having experiences which might change his attitude and give him more self-confidence.

Out of inferiority complex emerge various compensatory reactions. Excessive egocentrism is present in but relatively few cases. The tendency to "rationalize" is evident with some. The person of weaker character finds his race or nationality a convenient scapegoat; failure through personal defect is attributed to the discrimination of race prejudice. Stonequist observes, correct diagnosis, however, is difficult, since prejudice is frequent enough to make the individual's plaint a fair one.

According to Stonequist the less sensitive or more aggressive person may push on in spite of difficulties. This may sometimes enable him to establish friendly contacts or achieve a success which gives him place in the dominant culture. It is also true that aggressiveness accentuates the dominant group's resentment. "They are getting out of their place", is the common view taken by the dominant group about them. When the ambitious person is aiming at purely material and personal success, his opportunism is also stigmatized by an epithet from his own group. Stonequist observes that, fundamentally, the striving
upward of the under group is a healthy reaction which leads to increased self-respect and eventually forces recognition and respect from the overgroup. Individuals who make their mark in the world become models and sources of inspiration. Stonequist observes, discrimination stimulates some and depresses others. Day-dreaming is another form of compensation.

Because of marginal man's in-between situation, Stonequist points out, he may become an acute and able critic of the dominant group and its culture. This is because he combines the knowledge and insight of the insider with the critical attitude of the outsider. "His analysis is not necessarily objective--there is too much emotional tension underneath to make such an attitude easy of achievement. But he is skillful in noting the contradictions and the "hypocrisies" in the dominant culture. The gap between its moral pretensions and its actual achievements jumps to his eye. ... The sentiments if not the roles of the radical and revolutionary are therefore natural ones to take."14

After discussing the personality traits of the marginal man, Stonequist discusses how a marginal man meets his problem. Though there is no universal way of meeting the problem, still Stonequist attempts to see what responses are actually made. He observes, being a marginal man always involves something of a problem. At its minimum it denotes a subtle, perhaps indefinable, sense of estrangement
and malaise, an inner isolation related to his social life. The maladjustment may be purely inner. It may be so well controlled or concealed that others do not realise what is going on. At the other extreme are those conflicts which are severe enough to demoralise the individual throwing him into continual restlessness, and initiating a process of disorganization which ends in dissipation, crime, suicide, or psychosis. To some individuals the situation is a challenge bringing about greater mental activity as a compensation for a questionable status.

The Nationalist Role

While studying the responses actually made by the marginal men in meeting the problem, Stonequist found that, in certain situations, some of them took the "Nationalist Role". He found that when the tendency towards identification with the dominant culture or group is rebuffed, then one form of adjustment or at least of partial adjustment, for the marginal man is found through identification with the subordinate or "oppressed" group, and perhaps the assumption of a role of leadership in that group. Such leadership frequently takes the form of nationalism or of "racial" movement. Stonequist observes, by leading the minority group the individual acquires status and self-respect. He secures a role through which he can organize and integrate his attitudes and aspirations. The aggressive and militant nationalist or radical has an important part
in the situation. He acts as a leader in organizing the subordinate group and often helps to revive the traditional culture and to modernize it. As an agitator, the nationalist acts as a ferment, constantly keeping old issues alive and pointing out new ones. Stonequist is of the opinion that by losing himself in the cause larger than himself the marginal nationalist overrides, if he does not solve, his own personal conflicts.

**Intermediary Role**

Stonequist, then, finds that certain conditions favour the development of intermediary role. This normally happens in the earlier phases of assimilation. Those who are little bit more assimilated in advance of other people of their group find a useful role as intermediaries between the two societies. Such intermediary role leads to an accommodation and reapproachment between the clashing cultures; he often becomes an interpreter, conciliator, reformer, teacher. Stonequist observes, the intermediary transforms the relations of the races or nationalities from within outwards. "His is an unconscious boring from within by which the underlying conditions are slowly changed, so that new attitudes and accommodations become inevitable. His work belongs in the category of the slow, silent changes of history, not the spectacular and cataclysmic mutations. He may appear timid, compromising, or opportunist to impatient temperaments; yet his persistent and
pressure is an essential part in the progress of the subordinate group. His method has the further virtue of softening or undermining resistance, instead of hardening it. Thus, in Stonequist's opinion, the role of the moderate complements and reciprocally facilitates the role of the radical.

**Assimilation and Passing**

Partial or complete incorporation into the dominant culture is a third possible goal of endeavour for the marginal person according to Stonequist. This may take the form of assimilation, as with the immigrant and his children; it may take the form of "passing" as a member of the dominant group where such assimilation is impossible. Where assimilation is possible, the marginal stage is relatively short, although it may be acute. In so far as he succeeds in becoming assimilated, his marginal experience proves to be a period of transition from the old culture to the new. But assimilation is not always possible. The attitude of dominant group may be such that, no matter how completely individuals of subordinate groups take over its culture patterns, they are still made to feel that they do not really belong.

Here, Stonequist speaks of the "racial marks"—the distinguishing physical traits such as colour and other physical characteristics and social traits such as spoken language, the clothing, the name, the religion, or even the
manners and gestures—which indicate person's racial or national origin and which become significant in the adjustment of these unassimilable groups. Such marks of identification range from the most obvious to the most obscure and their significance varies according to the place they have on this scale. When they are obvious, individual's group identity is recognized at once and he is therefore treated in a relatively uniform manner. When the differences are more obscure the individual cannot at once be racially recognised. There are opportunities for mistakes of identification to occur and for intimate contacts to develop. These mistakes and their later discovery often prove to be disturbing. Friendships begin and then are suddenly terminated or gradually cooled when the individual's racial or national identity is discovered. The result of a few such experiences is to render the subject acutely conscious of himself and his race. He becomes uncertain about the proper conduct to pursue, and is likely to develop either a protective reserve or an aggressive initiative. Shall he conceal his race or nationality origin and so avoid unpleasant experiences? Or shall he aggressively declare it at once so that no misconceptions can arise? Either course involves difficulties—but so does that of allowing relations to develop spontaneously and naturally.

Stonequist observes, "passing" is a doubtful form
of adjustment. It signifies that the group conflict is so severe that the individual is compelled to resort to subterfuge. It may prove of advantage economically and socially, and sometimes such advantage may be of temporary nature, but it often involves some moral struggle. Secrecy is a pre-requisite of passing and one who passes is always under tension that someone will discover his concealed identity.

Such passing is found in a group situation where the subordinate group is held in disesteem. The principle seems to be that of the minority wishing to share the advantages of membership in the majority, or to escape its discriminations and antagonisms.

An intermediate form of adjustment between passing and assimilation is religious baptism according to Stonequist. He finds that, this has been prominent among the Jews. Baptism is sought as a kind of way out from the disabilities under which the Jew labours. However, the amount of baptism is less in the situations where the Jew is accepted as equal; the amount is more, where the extent of acceptance is less; and again, the amount is less where the repression is too severe, because of which revival of Jewish consciousness and tendency of isolation take place.

Baptism can be viewed as a late stage in the process of assimilation, but it also indicates the existence of considerable social pressure and therefore is psychologically
akin to passing. One important difference is that the 
baptised is often known to be such while the one who 
passes conceals his real identity.

Maladjustment and Adjustment:

Stonequist observes, a certain degree of personal 
maladjustment is inherent in the marginal situation, but it 
varies both in terms of individuals and situations. At a 
minimum it consists of an inner strain and malaise, a 
feeling of isolation or of not quite belonging. This may 
be subtle and evanescent in quality—coming and going with 
particular experiences and shifting moods. From an external 
point of view, the individual appears to be socially adjusted: 
he has a family and friends, perhaps a good position and a 
measure of success. But his mind is not quite in harmony 
with his social world. He need not be unhappy; in fact, 
he may laugh at his position; but laughter may be compensa-
tory and not satisfactorily disclose his real state of mind. 
The problem can be "forgotten" or "outgrown" by some. This 
will depend upon the individual's success or accomplish-
ments relative to his expectations and philosophy of values.

Perhaps it is the socially sensitive but introverted 
person who has idealistically identified himself with a 
scheme of life which subsequently proves unrealizable, who 
finds it hardest to contract his spiritual life into a 
narrower framework. He cannot rid himself of his earlier 
aspirations; and even when he adopts the role of inter-
mediary, or becomes a flaming nationalist, the mental
tension persists as an underlying motive colouring his moods
and driving his thoughts.

According to Stonequist, such personalities, when
superior in intelligence and will, may become outstanding
leaders. At the other extreme, Stonequist observes, the
mental conflict becomes a disorganising force. Inability
to diagnose the source of the conflict and personal failures,
overwhelm the individual. Mental conflict leads to dis-
couragement. In its extreme form this eventuates in mental
disorganisation and in suicide. According to Stonequist
this is evidenced by the fact that in the United States
the suicide rates of certain cities are higher for the
immigrant than for the native-born.

But when some sort of working adjustments are done and
gradual assimilation is taken place, tension subsides and
personal disorganisation also declines. A large common
understanding replaces the conflict. As this occurs,
adjustment rather than maladjustment becomes the rule.

Adjustment

What is the "best" adjustment for the marginal person?
Is it to aim for assimilation, to turn to nationalism, or
to strive for some intermediary role? Stonequist thinks
that no categorical answer can be given. It will be decided
by the nature of the situation and the traits of the indi-
viduals.
He observes in the situations where a self-respecting acceptance is possible, there a natural tendency toward assimilation produces a certain degree of adjustment. Where such self-respecting acceptance is difficult or impossible of attainment the goal of adjustment must be different. Stonequist finds that a nationalistic attitude is normal in those regions where the dominant group is only an invading minority. The most difficult situations are those where neither assimilation nor nationalism is feasible. But, Stonequist thinks, even in such cases the principles of adjustment seem to be clear: equality of public rights and loyalty to the state combined with cultural freedom, if genuinely carried out, will make possible political unity and economic cooperation while leaving each group free to follow its distinctive cultural life.

However, Stonequist is of the opinion, that the adjustment is a matter of slow evolution. It depends on the factors like progress in the diffusion of culture, growth of humanitarian sentiments, etc.

He thinks that from individual’s standpoint the problem of adjustment is one of psychological integration, which is promoted by a realistic interpretation of the social situation and by understanding its influence upon the personality. This does not always adjust the problem, but, Stonequist thinks, it is a necessary first step. Further integration is achieved by adjustment in other
important segments of life such as marriage and family relations, occupation, and religion. If the individual can identify himself with a movement or task which enlists his energies and interests, the racial and the national difficulty can be made secondary. Creative minds may find an outlet through using the conflicts as a theme of artistic expression or scientific investigation. It is possible for some individuals to move to localities where racial problems are less acute. Friendships also have their part in adjustment, for congenial personal association provides a protective barrier against the assaults of the outside world as well as a release for pent-up emotions.

What seems generally essential, according to Stonequist, if the individual wishes to maintain his self-respect is that, he shall not evade the issues, deceive himself, or act a role which does not have the fullest possible support of his deeper thoughts and sentiments. Such a person should not deny his real identity. If person's nationality is despised he will not solve his difficulty by denationalisation. If, on the other hand, he takes refuge in bitter, fanatical nationalism, he may not achieve a genuine harmony of inner attitude and sentiment, but merely release his hatreds on outgroup and his loves on the ingroups.

To confront the issues with courage will not necessarily solve the whole conflict, for the action of one person cannot eliminate, although it may significantly
modify, the objective situation. But, Stonequist emphasises the point that, those who maintain their personal integrity, reaffirm the rights of personality in the face of external pressures, and so become pioneers and creative agents in that new social order which seems to evolve as narrower group loyalties gradually give way to larger human values.

The Sociological Significance of the Study like 'Marginal Man'

Sociological significance of such studies, according to Stonequist is that, in the first place, marginal personality is a function of social conditions and not biological factor. He tells us that this was the assumption of his study and the facts seem to support this assumption. He observes, marginal type appears in every major race, among unmixed groups as well as among racial hybrids, and in almost every culture. The common factor is not biological but a certain social situation.

Sometimes attempts are made to show correlation between person's temperament, sensitivity and his problem of marginality; i.e., according to this view, those who are sensitive by nature become the most sensitive marginal men. Stonequist observes that there is probably some truth in the assertion but the interviews and life-histories of many cases show that sensitivity develops largely with the crisis phase and it fluctuates with the situation in which
the individual is living. Thus, Stonequist emphatically points out that, the social situations and not the biological factors or individual's temperamental factors are the deciding factors here.

In the second place, Stonequist tells us how some social anthropologists have wrongly used the term "marginal cultures" while referring to distant or border cultures. Stonequist makes it clear that the concept of "marginal culture area" refers to a region where two cultures overlap and where the occupying group combines the traits of both cultures. Such marginal areas may or may not involve culture conflict. When they do, we may expect to find marginal men.

In the third place, Stonequist makes differentiation between the significance of culture content and culture conflict in the context of the problem of marginal person. Stonequist observes that the marginal personality springs from the conflict of cultures and not from the specific content of any culture. Each society has a distinctive culture which creates its own type of personality, but it is the conflict of groups possessing different cultures which is the determining influence in creating the marginal man. Stonequist points out that membership within a social group is more vital to the individual than sharing any particular culture. It is because the marginal individual has an uncertain status in two or more groups that he becomes
a distinct type of personality irrespective of the particular content of the cultures. Culture conflict is simply a form of group conflict where the source of conflict lies in the cultural differences. Stonequist observes that, fundamentally, it is a struggle for existence: which group shall control the situation? Each group--particularly the one in control--seeks to protect itself by keeping the other in its place. This is a matter of maintaining social distance; when position of the controlling group is threatened by the advance of the subordinate group, it responds with fear and antipathy--i.e., race prejudice. Stonequist is of the opinion that race prejudice is a collective attitude directed to the other racial group as a whole. Individual members of the latter are treated in terms of the attitude toward the group--not in accordance with their own personality traits. A few members who know the assimilated individual intimately may treat him in terms of his individual traits. Thus, Stonequist observes, culture conflict and differential assimilation are the basic factors in creating the marginal man.

Stonequist, then, discusses the marginal man and the social theory of personality. Stonequist points out that while analysing the concept of self C.H. Cooley says that there is always a "social reference" involved in the self, but in many cases it takes the form of a "reflected or looking-glass self" which consists of "the imagination of
our appearance to the other person." Stonequist observes that this "social reference" of the self is the social group. Accordingly, one may define personality as "the sum and organization of those traits which determine the role of the individual in the group." But since the individual usually belongs to several groups in each of which he has a role, his personality has multiple facets. So there arises a problem of harmonizing and integrating his various selves, so that a stable character and meaningful inner life can be achieved. To the degree that the individual lives in a society where change is rapid and where different codes of conduct exist, his problem of achieving a harmonious personality and a stable character is correspondingly increased. Stonequist observes that, in a society where there is profound clash of codes and philosophies, this duality of cultures or duality of codes produces a duality of personality—a divided self. It is this cultural duality which is a determining influence in the life of the marginal man. His is not a clash between inborn temperament and social expectation, or his problem is not a problem of adjusting a single looking glass self, but two or more such selves. And his adjustment pattern seldom secures complete cultural guidance and support, for his problem arises out of the shifting social order itself.

Finally, Stonequist writes about the marginal man and the cultural process. Here, he tells us how migration
performs a vital part in culture change. According to him migrants are broken away from their traditional roots or as he puts it, "through it (migration) the cake of custom is sufficiently disturbed and broken", and individuals are released for creative thought and this gives rise to periods of creative activity and advance. Here, Stonequist states the theories developed by Psychologist like F.J. Teggart and historian like A.J. Toynbee, which support his own opinion. Teggart\(^{17}\) says that the biographies of notable men indicate the fact that the people who broke away from the traditional bindings, could think individually, and so they contributed to the advancement of the society. Toynbee\(^{18}\) also, after analysing the lives of genuises like Saint Paul, Gautama the Buddha, etc., finds that in their lives there was a "movement of withdrawal - and - return" in which the individual undergoes an inward psychic experience. It means that these great men withdrew or got themselves disengaged from their social milieu temporarily and then subsequently returned to the same milieu in a new capacity and with new powers. Toynbee observes that the temporary withdrawal helps the individual to realize his potentialities, which could not have happened if he had not been released for a moment from his social toils.

Stonequist finds that this analysis by psychologists and historians has much in common with the analysis of the concept of the Marginal Man. Stonequist observes that in
the case of marginal man the "crisis experience" is the event which throws the individual back upon himself and produces a "disengagement and temporary withdrawal". Those individuals who have the potentialities to reconstruct their personalities and "return" as creative agents, not only adjust themselves but also contribute to the solution of the conflict of races and cultures.

In the contacts of cultures, the marginal man becomes the key-personality. It is in his mind that the cultures come together, conflict, and eventually work out some kind of mutual adjustment and interpenetration. Stonequist says, "he is the crucible of cultural fusion."^19 The practical efforts of the marginal person to solve his own problem lead him consciously or unconsciously to change the situation itself. His interest may shift from himself to the objective social conditions. He may take up a role of nationalist, conciliator, interpreter, reformer, or teacher. In these roles he inevitably promotes acculturation. Consequently, the life-histories of marginal men offer the most significant material for the analysis of the cultural process as it develops from the contacts of two social groups. Stonequist says, "it is in the mind of the marginal man that the inner significance and the driving motives of such culture change are most luminously revealed."^20

The significant role of marginal man in the process of cultural change also has been pointed out by others.
For example, Thorstein Veblen\textsuperscript{21} and George Simmel,\textsuperscript{22} among others, have pointed out that marginal individuals are likely to be highly motivated to engage in innovating behaviour because they are structurally induced to depart from prevailing social norms. However, the least opportunity for full participation in the most valued activities of their own society, they may be stimulated to make new responses that depart from the habitually required. Being less tied to the system of wont and use that regulates the lives of insiders, they may see alternatives of action that escape the latter's attention. The structural circumstance of their exclusion from some of the prized values of the group may make the marginal man more sensitive to the lacunae that may well remain hidden from "well-adjusted" members of the group. If he wishes to gain acceptance among insiders, he will be motivated to propose innovating means designed to allow the group to reach its goals more effectively than before.

Thus the "innovating role" may be one very important consequence of structural position of the marginal man. Another equally important effect of his marginal character can be that, he may become revolutionary.

Stonequist has pointed out that, it is in the situation, where the marginal man assimilates into or identifies himself with the subordinate group, there in some instances the inner conflict is merely pushed below the threshold of
consciousness, in others it is sublimated in some intermediary role. In the case of nationalism, however, the inner conflict is resolved or redefined in the group conflict, the hostile tendencies toward the dominant group override the friendly sentiments, and sometimes overcompensate in the form of bitter hatred. In such situation the marginal man turns more and more against his earlier tendencies of imitating and seeking admission into the dominant group. He becomes ardent "nationalist". He protests and revolts against the domination of the dominant group. When his earlier tendency toward identification with the dominant culture or group is rebuffed, the situation becomes a challenge to him, bringing about greater mental activity as a compensation for a questionable status. He becomes revolutionary—the crisis situation makes the marginal man revolutionary. Thus according to Stonequist it is the marginality which is the root cause of the revolutionary character of the marginal man.

Lewis Coser, in his book Continuities In the Study of Social Conflict, while trying to interpret the source of social conflict, makes a comparison between the ideas of Sorel and Frantz Fanon on violence. Coser makes a comment that in Sorel's hands the myth of violence had a somewhat bloodless character, while Fanon believed in "the cleansing quality of the knife, the gun, the bombs." Coser reasons that this difference in their viewpoints is because of the difference in their social positions.
Sorel who was a "settled petty-bourgeois moralist, dreamed of heroic virtues, but fantasies of the real blood bath seem to have been utterly alien to him." While Fannon was a man torn from his moorings, most of his adult life spent working in the world of French medical professionals without being of that world. XV Scarred and humiliated, stripped of his previous identity, he searched for redeeming wholeness through a cataclysmic destruction. To him the call to violence, the belief in its redeeming quality, was no rhetorical device; he meant it."

Fanon in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, has depicted all the evils of colonialism but, as Coser observes, the real importance of the book lies in the fact that Fanon wished to show how the native, degraded by his conquerors, can reconquer himself. Fanon has argued, the violence of the conquest has dehumanized the native and only counter violence can make him whole again. ".... violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect."27 According to Fanon violence is the only effective individual and social

---

XV Frantz Fanon was born on the island of Martinique in the French West Indies. He studied medicine in France. During the Algerian revolt against French domination, Fanon was assigned to an Algerian hospital and soon threw in his lot with the revolutionists to become one of their major ideological spokesmen. Coser, op.cit., p. 219.
therapy, it helps to overcome a schism of the soul which has been caused by colonialist contempt, and it welds together a body social that had been rent by the colonial system. Violence unifies the people.

In this way Fanon has fashioned an apologia for violence and its regenerative virtues that makes, according to Coser, Sorel's efforts look "positively timid and pusillanimous" in comparison. So much importance to violent revolution given by Fanon is, in Coser's opinion, because of the marginal position of Fanon in his society. The "Myth of Peasant Revolt" created by an ideologist like Fanon has sprung from his marginal character. Coser says, "one must never forget while reading Fanon's book that it was written in anguish and heart break... the vision that informs the book may be profoundly repellent, but we must not forget that the violence and hatred it breathes on every page is a reactive violence."

Later on, Robert K. Marton, taking up this issue of marginal man, has pointed out that marginal character of a person emerges due to his "reference group" behaviour.

The reference group acts as a frame of reference for self evaluation and attitude formation, whether the group is one in which ego has membership (a membership group) or one of which he himself is not a member (a non-membership group). The impact of one's own group upon behaviour has long been noted and accompanies the concept that rewards flow from
conformity. However, the impact of the group of which person himself is not a member is the characteristic concern of reference group theory. Merton says, "men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behaviour and evaluations, and it is the problem centered about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group theory."\(^{31}\)

Reference group theory systematically takes account of "positive orientation" towards non-membership groups. Merton, while discussing the consequences, functional and dysfunctional, of positive orientation to the values of a group other than one's own, points out how the process of anticipatory socialization" is an outcome of such an orientation. Anticipatory socialization, according to Merton, is "the acquisition of values and orientations found in statuses and groups in which one is not yet engaged but which one is likely to enter."\(^{32}\) Merton observes that, anticipatory socialization is functional for the individual only within a relatively open social structure providing for mobility. For only in such a structure would such attitudinal and behaviour preparation for status shifts be followed by actual changes of status in a substantial proportion of cases. By the same token, the same pattern of anticipatory socialization would be dysfunctional for the individual in a relatively closed social structure, where he would not
find acceptance by the group to which he aspires and would probably lose acceptance, because of his outgroup orientation, by the group to which he belongs. Merton says, "this latter type of cases will be recognized as that of the marginal man, poised on the edge of several groups but fully accepted by none of them."33

The functional or dysfunctional consequences evidently depend upon the relatively opened or closed character of the social structure; and the marginal man pattern represents the special case in a relatively closed social system, in which the members of one group take as a positive frame of reference the norms of a group from which they are excluded in principle. Within such a social structure, anticipatory socialization becomes dysfunctional for the individual who becomes the victim of aspirations that he cannot achieve and hopes that he cannot satisfy. The structural context of mobility rates determines whether such anticipatory orientation on the part of non-members will be functional or dysfunctional for them. In an open system, the positive orientation to non-membership groups will more often be rewarded by subsequent inclusion in the group, in a closed system it will be more often directed to frustrated aims and marginal status. Through this more or less recognized system of patterned rewards and punishments, in Merton's opinion, open systems encourage a high rate and closed systems a low rate of positive reference to non-membership groups--
depending on the open or closed character of the system, then persons are variously apt to orient themselves to it as a reference group.

In this way, Merton has tried to establish an array of type of social structure, the functional and dysfunctional consequences of positive orientation to non-membership groups and the rate of positive orientation to non-membership groups.

Taking this array as the basis, Damle, who has used "Reference Group" theory as an analytical tool in understanding caste mobility in India, has presented a picture of Indian urban system as open and unbounded and where "anticipatory socialization can occur and it has the effect of reducing distance and repulsion between castes even if it does not ensure ultimate absorption or inclusion."34

McKim Marriott, whose observations are based on Damle's presentation of the picture of modern Indian urban type of stratification, adds further that, "reference behaviour.... may occur in the Indian metropolitan type of stratification with perhaps no more frustration than would be met in the social class system of the urban West."35

So far we have discussed the development of the concept of "Marginal Man". However, in our study we wish to apply this concept of "marginal man" as an analytical tool in understanding the peculiar position of a cultural group
which quitted their traditional Hindu caste fold and embraced Buddhism. Today this group is called the "neo-Buddhists".

By the term "Marginal Group" we mean a group which through migration, conversion, cultural diffusion, or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another, finds itself on the margin of each but a member of neither.

In this enquiry we propose to examine these points:

1. Does this group of Neo-Buddhists form a "Marginal Group"?

2. If it is a "Marginal Group", what are its marginal characteristics?

3. If it is a "Marginal Group" what are the consequences of its marginality?

4. How do the upper-caste-groups look at the Neo-Buddhists? What are their views about the Neo-Buddhists?

**Methodology**

To examine the above points we have chosen the Neo-Buddhists of Poona city in the State of Maharashtra. This selection of Neo-Buddhists living in the urban setting was done mainly for two reasons. First, we assume that interaction in an urban situation takes place in a more flexible field of human behaviour where non-ritual, secular symbols play an increasingly larger role. In such peculiar urban
setting, assimilation with the dominant group seems to be more possible for the so far suppressed groups.\footnote{This was also one of the reasons why Dr. Ambedkar, the founder of the neo-Buddhist movement, was advising the untouchables in rural areas to migrate to cities and to accept the non-traditional jobs in cities.} The urban setting appears to be of encouraging type of situation to aspire to assimilate with the dominant culture. In such situation discrimination may not be expected, and if received, the blow it would give may be more harder, more shocking. If without expectation differentiation is experienced it may be more frustrating. So, we felt that to study this particular problem of marginality it would be advantageous to select a group of Neo-Buddhists in an urban setting where certain extent of assimilation is possible. Stonequist says, "a certain degree of assimilation is a necessary prelude for the creation of marginal personality."36

The second reason for choosing the urban setting was the convenience of the investigator. For a single investigator within a certain time limit it was physically not possible to study the rural as well as urban situation and then attempt a comparison between the two. We know that such study would have been more interesting and useful.

In the State of Maharashtra the Neo-Buddhists are found in large number in urban areas like Nagpur, Bombay, Aurangabad, Nasik and Poona. We have chosen Poona city, as this city represents the combination of modern and tradi-
tional elements of culture. It is not modernized to the extent for the disappearance of all the traditional concepts, sentiments and behavioral patterns; similarly, it is not traditional to the extent to discourage the aspirations of the status-seekers. It is in the peculiar stage of transition. We assume that in such situation the creation of marginal personality may be more possible.

The Neo-Buddhists in Poona

In Poona City, including the City Cantonment, the approximate number of households of Neo-Buddhists is 10,000. These households are concentrated in a few residential clusters located in different parts of the city. However, there are certain areas where we find the major concentration of Neo-Buddhists such as, Cantonment area, Parvati Hill area, Yeravada, etc.

It was physically impossible for a single person within a limited time period to investigate every household of Neo-Buddhists in the City. Therefore, for the purpose of our study, we have chosen a few clusters mainly from two large residential areas--Cantonment area and Parvati Hill area--where Neo-Buddhists predominate. In both these areas all the Neo-Buddhists do not live together but live dispersed in different clusters. We selected four residential clusters from the Cantonment area and two clusters from the Parvati Hill area. It was mostly a purposive selection than a representative one.
Our first approach to the Neo-Buddhist residents of these areas was through some of their leaders or some educated influential persons among the Neo-Buddhists, who resided in these areas, and with whom we had come into contact earlier. This approach proved to be very helpful to us as these leaders passed on the word about the nature and purpose of our study and it eased out to some extent the difficulties which almost every field investigator had to face in the first stage of his investigation. Even then, the investigation was not a very smooth sailing. There were many occasions when the respondents expressed fear that we might write something harmful to their interests or insulting to their community. Some suspected the investigator as a worker of some political party. Some expressed their disappointment with such type of data collection which ultimately was of no use, particularly in an economic sense, for them. Some showed their wish and even expectation that at least our work should bring them something good in return. Some put it as a condition that if we are going to be of any help to them in solving their various problems then only they would cooperate with us by giving responses to our queries. There were also instances, of course, not more than three or four, when the investigator came across such persons who completely refused to respond. Facing all such difficulties and without giving any false promises, we carried on the work. In order to get ourselves acquainted
with the people, we visited these localities, and sometimes particular families on certain occasions like weddings, Buddha-Jayanti (Birth anniversary of the Buddha) celebrations and Ambedkar Jayanti (Birth anniversary of late Dr. Ambedkar) celebrations. Incidentally, it may be mentioned, that once the rapport was established, we could get not only their spontaneous responses, but also could establish intimate relations with the people. Later this intimacy developed to such a level that we were even sometimes invited on occasions like weddings, name-giving ceremonies in many families and for Buddha-Jayanti celebrations, Ambedkar-Jayanti celebrations and even for certain political and religious meetings of the group. Such opportunities gave us a chance to probe into the real life-style of the people.

Preliminary Household Survey

In these residential clusters of Neo-Buddhists preliminary household information was collected with the help of a Preliminary Enumeration Survey. This information was collected from a total of 212 households from both the large residential areas. The Preliminary Enumeration Survey gave us the information about the members of the households on these points: their total number, their relation to the head of the family, their age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, monthly income, religion, urban/rural origin, etc. The preliminary survey also included certain questions which were addressed to the head of the family,
to understand such points as: if he had been converted to
Buddhism, the year of conversion, religion before conversion,
whether the conversion took place before or after his
marriage; if his father was Neo-Buddhist, his year of
conversion, if he was not Neo-Buddhist, his religion; wife's
religion/caste before marriage; daughters' husbands' religion/
caste before marriage, sons' wives' religion/caste before
marriage.

**Detailed Enquiry**

Out of this survey of 212 households a further simple
random sample of 100 cases was drawn for the detailed
enquiry. We tried our best to choose every alternate house-
hold but in cases where the respondent was not available
or the respondent was not willing to give further coopera-
tion, or the respondent had left the place, the next
immediate household, if it was neo-Buddhist, was chosen.

In the case of those two localities where the residential
population was of a heterogeneous type—different castes
staying together in the same locality—we chose only the
Neo-Buddhist residents falling in the cluster.

For the detailed enquiry we used a Guided Enquiry
Schedule. We filled in the schedule with the head of the
family sitting before us along with their family members.
Some of the questions in the schedule were open-ended,
while the others were closed. A good number of closed
questions were with fixed alternatives, and we used to read
to the respondent the alternatives and tried to get, one, two or several alternatives approximating his preferences to the particular question. The language media through which we carried on the investigation was Marathi, their own mother-tongue.

This schedule was divided into four main sections: Religious life, Economic life, Political life and Social life. The section on religious life contained questions regarding their religious behaviour particularly in relation to *samskāras* (life-cycle rites), festivals, fasts, worship of gods and goddesses, their beliefs, superstitions and magical practices. The section on economic life included questions regarding their occupation, father's occupation, their ambition regarding children's career; their present financial conditions; their views regarding general economic problems, low type of jobs; their conception of status. In the section on political life, we have tried to get information regarding their voting pattern; their views regarding different political parties; their inclinations, if any, to political revolution; their views regarding a militant movement among the Neo-Buddhists called 'Dalit Panther' and the separatist tendencies, and also their view about the steps to be taken in the future.

In the section on social life we have tried to probe into certain aspects like, their intention behind the act of conversion to Buddhism; their opinions regarding the
extent to which conversion has helped them to reach the desired goal; their concept of hierarchy in society; their views about the special privileges for the Neo-Buddhists; their friends and associates; their views about the neighbourhood they prefer; their food-habits, etc. In order to investigate their attitudes about the groups other than their own we used the modified form of Bogardus's Spcial Distance Scale.

This elaborate Schedule obviously took substantial time. Quite often, it was not possible to complete the work in one household with one sitting; so we had to visit the same household twice or thrice, and that too, according to their convenience.

Highly Educated and Well-Placed Neo-Buddhists

It is a general view that higher education and prestigious job help the Backward Class individuals to get rid of prejudices and to get the acceptance by the upper-caste Hindu society. In this study we felt that we should examine this question too.

For this purpose we contacted the Neo-Buddhist individuals in the city who had attained good positions in life. These individuals were persons employed in higher administrative services of State Government, and some professionals like Advocates, medical practitioners, and some educated elite among the Neo-Buddhist community in Poona.

The process of selecting such persons for this kind
of study is beset with serious difficulties. An exhaustive list of all such Neo-Buddhists was not available. So in the beginning we contacted the various administrative departments of the State Government to get the list of Class I and Class II officers, with the hope that from amongst these names we would be able to locate the persons belonging to Neo-Buddhist community. But to our surprise and disappointment, we found that, most of such persons had not recorded themselves as Neo-Buddhists, they were still on record as Mahars or scheduled caste persons. But, very often, the officers or the clerks in different administrative departments, in their personal capacity, were able to give us some information about the Neo-Buddhists who held the Class I or II posts in their own departments. With the help of this information we contacted these Neo-Buddhists. They put us in contact with other Neo-Buddhists too. Thus, in a chain we met twenty such persons. The important considerations for us were, first, the person's position in the field, and second, his willingness to spare some time and talk frankly.

---

* Posts in Government services come under different categories. There are four categories--Class I to Class IV.

** Whether this tendency is in existence in order to maintain the secrecy about the Buddhist identity, or it is due to something else will be discussed later on in details.

*** Of course, there were such incidents, when a person whom all others, including other Neo-Buddhists, identified as Neo-Buddhist, refused to identify himself as Neo-Buddhist and so refused to cooperate with us.
Our method of investigation for this group was slightly different than the earlier one. For this group also we used the same Guided Enquiry Schedule which we had used for the earlier group of not so-educated-and-well-placed Neo-Buddhists. But, here, this schedule primarily intended to serve as a guideline for conducting detailed discussion.

As these individuals were highly educated and well placed we were more interested in knowing their experiences and views expressed in a free and elaborate manner; this would not have been possible if our discussion would have been stuck to the questions and sentences in the Schedule only. This enquiry took substantial time of our field investigation.

Of course, this type of enquiry did not sometimes run smoothly. There were some occasions when people raised objections to certain questions or were hesitant, or completely refused, to express their opinions particularly on political issues. Even after our free and frank discussion, on other issues for quite a substantial time, when we tried to raise those points again, we found, that they used to side-track the issues. In such cases those particular parts in the schedule remained unfilled.

Attitudes of Upper-Caste Hindus

Usually most of the studies related to 'Backward Classes' deal with the problem of how these 'Backward Class'
people look at the 'outer world', their own feeling regarding the acceptance by others, their problems of adjustment and their grievances and grumblings. But very rarely such studies deal with problems of how the outer world looks at them.

In marginal group studies it is very essential to understand the views of the other groups regarding the marginal group. As Robert E. Park observes that the study of "Marginal Man" is based on the conviction that the individual's personality achieves its final form under the influence of the individual's conception of himself and this conception of himself is not an individual but a social product.  

Therefore, we thought it necessary to ascertain the opinions and the attitudes which others, particularly the so-called upper caste groups, have formed about the Neo-Buddhists, what kind of social status these others offer to the Neo-Buddhists.

For this purpose we selected people from two upper-caste groups, namely, Brahmins and Marathas and chose 100 households. These 100 households were divided into two main groups—50 Brahmins and 50 Marathas. Maratha group was again divided into 25 Middle Class Marathas and 25 low

---

Brahmins form the high caste group and are traditionally dominant caste group in Hindu society and Marathas are at present the "dominant caste" in Maharashtra, and belong to the middle range in the caste hierarchy in Maharashtra.
Class Marathas. These two classes of Marathas differed in their levels of education, occupation and income and we wanted to find out whether these differences had affected their attitudes towards Neo-Buddhists.

These informants were living on the fringes of one of the residential clusters of Neo-Buddhists which we had already studied. The selection was based on the presumption that because of the closeness of residence, these upper caste groups at least would have some knowledge about the existence of Neo-Buddhists in our society, and some few may have even developed personal contacts with Neo-Buddhists. We thought that this would help us to understand the attitudes and the trend of change, if there was any, compared to the general attitudes towards Neo-Buddhists.

A different questionnaire was used for this enquiry. Here the questions were framed to elicit information about their views regarding certain issues like the status giving things in our society, low type of occupations, the conversion of some groups to Buddhism, Dalit Panther Movement, etc. Some questions were also asked to note their actual acquaintance and association with people of other caste groups and religious groups.

Because our observation was that, many upper caste Hindus, who have no contact with this community or its member, know little about it.
In order to investigate their attitudes about the groups other than their own, we also used the modified form of Bogardus' Social Distance Scale. We used an Opinion Scale to study the degree of their opinions on certain issues like practice of equality, inter-caste and inter-religion marriages, conversion to other religions for getting status, the special privileges given to the scheduled castes and to the Neo-Buddhists, etc. In order to find out their concept of status hierarchy, we used a Status Ladder. Along with all this, their personal information too was gathered.

These respondents were given a brief idea of the purpose of the study before issuing the questionnaire which was in Marathi. Also they were requested to fill in their frank opinions without revealing their identity anywhere, so that a sense of objectivity could be maintained. The respondents were assured of their anonymity. A week's time was given to them to fill in the questionnaire at home in their leisure time. In case of some of the illiterate Maratha respondents, the instructions were given to take help from their educated relatives or friends. Before collecting each filled-in questionnaire it was checked whether the informant had left any question unanswered. In cases where such gaps were found, they were requested to fill in the same, and if they were averse to answer any of the questions, they were requested to give the reasons for
not answering such queries.

Some times there were respondents who, along with their family members, showed more interest and took initiative in discussing certain issues regarding the present situation of the so-called untouchables in general and the Neo-Buddhists in particular in our society, their problems, their weak-points, etc., and also made suggestions for their improvement and made predictions about their future. This qualitative information, in fact, supplemented the quantitative data obtained through the questionnaires.
REFERENCES

2. Ibid., p. 403.
5. Stonequist, E.V., op.cit.
6. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
7. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
8. Ibid., pp. 77-78.
9. Ibid., p. 122.
10. Ibid., p. 130.
11. Ibid., p. 145.
12. Ibid., pp. 145-146.
13. Ibid., p. 146.
15. Ibid., pp. 182-183.
20. Ibid., p. 222.
27. Fanon Frantz, quoted in *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*, op.cit., p. 214.
28. Coser Lewis, op.cit., p. 211.
29. Ibid., p. 222.
31. Ibid., p. 288.
32. Ibid., p. 438.
33. Ibid., p. 319.
35. Marriott McKim, "Multiple Reference in Indian Caste System", in *Social Mobility in the Caste System in India*, Silverberg James, ed., op.cit., pp. 103-114.

36. Stonequist, op.cit., p. 130.
