CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

The problems

The problem of this dissertation is to interpret the phenomenon of change in terms of the equalities and inequities arising out of the social situation based on democratic and antidemocratic forces, prevailing in the context of contemporary Indian social scene. This study is based on empirically observed facts, collected from a careful examination of the realities in the field under study. The study was conducted in three different but limited units and these units of study were Belgaum, Bedkihal, and Halashi, constituting examples of the city, the town and the village respectively in the district of Belgaum in Karnataka State in India. The study is primarily concerned with the untouchables in these units, but it does not ignore the touchables. The study concerns itself with the untouchables in particular and the touchables in general. Such a step is necessarily unavoidable, for untouchables being part and parcel of the system as a whole, cannot be independently studied and such study would be incomplete without relating them to the touchables. In fact the study attempts to keep the untouchables in the system as a whole and thereby look at their actual position or the conditions that may arise out of the
LOCATION OF KARNATAK STATE IN INDIA

FIG. NO. 1
multifarious relationships that they have established with the touchables. Thus, this study treats the touchables and untouchables as equally important in understanding the untouchables. The socio-economic relations of untouchables with those of their traditional masters in the present context are difficult to be redefined or restated in terms of equalities. The effect of independence of India over the traditional relations between the touchable and untouchable communities in achieving equality or in doing away with all inequalities, cannot be easily judged. In fact, the phenomenon has confused many social scientists. The effect of independence of India on these relations still poses a problem, open to an enquiry with wide scope. This enquiry is the main task of this dissertation. To take into account of the complexity of the reality, different units in the same district have been chosen.

In the units of this study, the focus will be on Mahars, Mangs, Chamars, and the Dhors from the side of untouchables, and the Brahmans, Jains, Lingayats, and the Marathas, from the side of touchables though all caste units, have also been considered to some extent in the study. All these major castes, of both the touchable and untouchable communities, are found amply in all the three units, thus making the comparative study of the relations between these communities easy. The relations
LOCATION OF STUDY SETTLEMENTS
IN BELGAUM DISTRICT,
KARNATAK STATE.

INDEX
1. BELGAUM
2. BEDKIHAL
3. HALASHI

SCALE
20 0 20 60 80 Kms

FIG NO 2
The questions examined in this thesis are as follows:

(1) Have the changes brought about by the Independence of India and by the adoption of Western democratic ideals and the modernisation of a wide field of activity, changed the old value patterns of the Hindu society?

(2) If yes, then can such changes lead to a social revolution based on equality in the real sense of the term in all walks of life?

(3) If not, what is the nature of the actual change? Can it be called a superficial change?
(4) If change is just superficial then the Hindu social structure has changed without helping the untouchables since it has continued to keep them in the same old position, though in a different form.

(5) Thus such change from the point of view of untouchables may not be real but just apparent and superficial.

The explanation of the issues raised:

Speaking in terms of traditional Hindu India (i.e. India of the period before Independence or of the period even before the British rule), one cannot doubt that its social structure was based on vast and varied inequalities. In fact, it is useless to deny the fact that inequality was the only spirit around which and on which alone was the whole of Hindu social system organised. But when we come to present India (i.e. the India after independence) we see some new trends in Hindu society. Owing to these newly developed trends Scholars have changed their opinion are the Hindu Society. They have begun to take the view that many of the features of the traditional Hindu society have disappeared and that there has occurred an amazing
change and mobility in the Hindu social structure. The Scholars have explained their position in terms of only three limited frameworks viz., Sanskritization, Westernization, and modernization. But the view that Independence has helped enormously in accelerating the process of change and mobility is most current among the scholars, particularly because they have laid the foundations of the new nation, using a Western ideology. Therefore, to put it in a nut shell, we can say that anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists, all seem to have a tendency to argue that there has occurred a definite change in the Indian social system, a change that has occurred due to greater social mobility.

Now, to counter the thesis of mobility and change is a difficult task, because we can see the forces of change that are hard at work. Nobody can deny the fact that there is mobility and change in the Indian Hindu social structure. Therefore, one may find it difficult to question what our scholars have said so far. But then what actually do these scholars mean by mobility and change? What kind of mobility and change do we mean, when we speak of mobility and change in the Indian social system? Has it benefited in any way the suppressed humanity in India? Has it served the purpose of elevating the sub-human to the level of the human? Has it freed human beings from the age-old shackles of socially branded
sub-human status? These are the questions that call for answers while analysing the problems of equalities and inequalities in terms of the changing trends in the Hindu social structure. The scholars asserting change and mobility may counter-question: Are there not to-day members of suppressed communities who have become politicians, officers, and administrators? Have not the untouchables got access to Hotels, Hostels, Saloons, Temples, and such other public places? Have they not become educated and shared co-equal status with other castes? Have they not changed their dress, food and their style of life? Has not the institution of untouchability been destroyed by the Constitution of free India? Many such questions may be asked by those asserting change and mobility. Such questions tend to strengthen the thesis of genuine change.

Now before establishing the validity of our thesis it would be necessary to analyse the views expressed by some of the important Scholars who have studied mobility and change. There are a number of these scholars but all of them have put forth more or less the same kind of views. They are all sure of there being some change, and argue that the change is real and not apparent. The views of the following scholars can be considered:

M.N. Srinivas (1965:30) has coined the term 'Sanskritization' to represent his view of mobility and change. He says:
"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 Brahmans, and the adoption of the Brahmnic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. This process has been called 'Sanskritization' in this book in preference to 'Brahmanization' as certain Vedic rites are confined to Brahmans and other two 'twice born' castes." (Srinivas 1965:30).

Marriott, McKim (1967):VIII) says:

"The general process of change was due to the disintegration of social system based on group or corporate relations of status, the decline of occupational specialities, increasing use of money, growth of factionalism, changes in the inter dependence of castes and a tendency for the depressed to find common cause in the economic and political interests the double process of sanskritization and Westernization."

D. Mandelbaum (1966:1538) opines:

"The political changes in India (since Independence) have opened up new possibilities for the lowest and the poorest,
the opportunities that require changes in self identity as
well as in identification by others."

Owen Lynch (1969:3) says:

"This new environment (such as acceptance of universal
franchise, the adoption of a parliamentary system of govern-
ment, an increased availability of education for all, the
abolition of untouchability etc.) shows a caste such as
Jatav caste to be an 'adoptive' structure which can respond
to the new means for social action provided in post-Independence
India and thereby gain a greater share of scarce goods such as
power, prestige, wealth and education for its members. Thus
our ethnographic hypothesis is that a caste is an 'adaptive
structure' through which its members can relate and re-relate
themselves to members of other castes in terms of potentialities
provided to them by the socio-political environment in which
they interact."

Whatever the way the scholars may represent their views,
one thing is certain, that is that they are sure that a funda-
mental change has been occurring in the Indian social order.
But basically they have all failed to look at the problem in
the manner in which they should have. They have all been struck
or impressed by what should be called as external nature of the
problem or the one that is directly visible.
To start with M.N.Srinivas, he claims that the low caste was able to rise to the higher position provided it took to the ways of life of the twice-born. But his conception of sanskritisation is based on the wrong assumption that the low castes can be upgraded to the level of higher castes, and that, to us, appears impracticable. In fact Srinivas himself expressed doubts over the use of the term sanskritisation. He declared "Sanskritisation is an awkward term and it should be discarded quickly and without regret" (Parvathamma : 1970: 83). But how can the term simply be discarded when it has gained a lot of popularity in the analysis of Hindu social structure? Thus the term is still bound to be useful in the continuing studies of the changing social structure of Hindu Society. But, what makes one wonder is: can he upgrade one caste without degrading the other? When one goes through the report produced by the Venkatswemy's Backward Classes Commission (1985,6) one can see this issue in clarity.

"In Karnataka each caste is so placed as to have some superior to it and some inferior to it and any caste at any rate cannot change its inferior or superior status."

So also Scholars like, D.Souza (1967:192-211) have preferred the term 'hereditary groups' rather than, 'endogenous groups' for the units in the caste system and have argued that,
it is not endogamy but the ranking of endogenous groups which is the essential mark of the caste system. According to the dictionary of sociology (Mitchel and Pauli 1968) "the caste system is rooted in the religious order and may be thought of as a hierarchy of hereditary endogenous occupational groups with positions fixed and mobility barred by ritual distances between each caste." Reading this definition closely, one can say that, immobility is also one of the definite characteristics of caste. How can then a caste be a mobile group? Even D'souza committed is incorrect when he says that changes in the properties of castes bring about changes in the hierarchical relations of caste. Can a caste which is traditionally superior or inferior go up or come down just because it has brought about changes in its properties due to some modern interruptions? Can a caste which is traditionally superior come down willingly and accept an inferior position? If it comes down willingly then it ceases to be a caste and becomes something else. For by doing so it does away with rigidity and when it does away with rigidity it becomes flexible. Can flexibility then be the characteristic of caste? It is impossible. Unless one caste is made ready to come down, the other cannot be pushed up. Can a Lingayat become a Brahmin and a Brahmin a Lingayat just because both have undergone a process of change in their caste properties? Srinivas says the Lingayats of Mysore claim equality with the Brahmins and more orthodox Lingayats do not accept food cooked
or handled by Brahmins. That may be true. But, have the 
Brahmins given up their claim of superiority over the Lingayats 
so far? Have they accepted the second rank of importance in 
the hierarchical scale? Nobody can think that they have done 
so anywhere. Therefore, even if there are changes in the caste 
properties, it is not possible to raise one caste above unless 
the other is brought down. Since it cannot happen both Srinivas 
and D'souza are wrong in their arguments regarding the dis-
location of the fixed places of castes in the hierarchical 
scale. Srinivas need not have taken the instance of Lingayats 
and Brahmins. Even some of the untouchables do not accept 
food from Brahmins since they claim that in the beginning it 
was they who were the highest in the scale of hierarchy and 
all others were below them, no matter however false historically 
their claim. The Mahars of Belgaum city say that they do not 
like the customs and traditions of the Brahmins and that actu-
ally their own customs and traditions are superior to those 
of the Brahmins. For instance the Upanayan (sacred thread) 
ceremony which the Brahmins celebrate when, according to them, 
their child takes its second birth, Mahars say, is a wrong 
tradition. They question: Can a child take the second birth? 
and exclaim, "what foolish things do the Brahmins do." They 
claim that they do not do such superstition things. They 
always do the things that are close to reality and that is 
why it is their traditions which are superior to those of 
Brahmins. But, merely by claiming a superior status through
any means will not change the birth-ascribed status. In actual practice Mahars remain Mahars and Brahmins remain Brahmins. Thus Srinivas's theory of upgrading the lower castes fails utterly to convince. To prove how sanskritization fails to bring about real mobility in the caste hierarchy, we may refer to Srinivas's own experience of goldsmiths. Srinivas (1965: 43) takes the goldsmiths of South India and says that "though they call themselves as Visvakarma Brahmins, wear the sacred thread, and have sanskritized their ritual, still then they are considered to belong to the left hand division of caste and no caste belonging to right hand division including the Holeyas (untouchables) will eat food and drink water touched by them. Not only that even their wedding procession was not allowed to go along the streets in which the righthand castes lived." If the process of sanskritization was helpful to enable a caste to obtain a higher position, why did it fail in the case of goldsmiths? Srinivas (Ibid) fails to find the reason and says "normally sanskritization enables a caste to obtain higher position in the hierarchy. But in the case of smiths it seems to have resulted only in their drawing upon themselves the wrath of all other castes. The reasons for this are not known." But it can easily be made clear. It is not only in the case of Smiths but also in the case of other lower castes the sanskritization process must fail for it is based on the wishful thinking of wise but
impractical social scientist. What Srinivas advocates as helpful in raising in the scale of hierarchy has been effective occasionally but all that has failed to bring about positive results. Most of the Chalavadis in Halasi Village do not eat non-vegetarian food. They are also teetotallers. But still they are looked upon as untouchables. The Chalavadis say that they are part of the Lingayat religion, since they are strict followers of Lingayat religion and its philosophical doctrines. They claim that they too are Lingayats, since they wear Lingam (symbol of Pallus) Vibhutis, (a sacred ash) etc., and do Shivabhajan (singing the prayer songs). But in practice they are not considered as any more than untouchables. Chalavadis have been the followers of Veerasaivism since 12th century A.D. But there is no change in their ascribed status. They have remained as Chalavadis only. Therefore, low castes take resort to the ways of life of higher castes or try out new techniques to rise in the scale of hierarchy, but they would not really succeed. In fact taking to such ways of life may create an antagonistic attitude from the higher castes and may result in a fall in the gradation. In this connection arises one more question which can be posed to Srinivas: If non-vegetarianism and teetotalism were the principle causes of low gradation in the hierarchy why did they not then degrade many Brahmins and other higher castes who have directly taken upon the consumption of intoxicating drinks and all kinds of dishes for many generations? Some
of the Brahmins in Belgaum city said (especially male Brahmins) that they can consume any type of non-vegetarian food including beef and also said that, when they go to non-vegetarian hotel, the hotels always served dishes which contained beef. But they stated that beef was most tasty and must be accepted as food. Now can these Brahmins be said to have ceased to be Brahmins? Do these Brahmins feel inferior to any other non-Brahmin castes which consume only vegetarian items of food?

In fact these Brahmins claim most prestigious position and continue to be Brahmins. Can a Holaya be regarded as a Brahmin just because he has worn a sacred thread? It cannot happen and it is at least not possible in the present day. Thus even if the Holaya wears the sacred thread and imitates the ways of life of other high castes, mobilization in that way would be apparent and not real, because it is not being really valued.

And when it is not being valued it has no meaning.

Unless the utility of Srinivas's process of mobility must be questioned but its limited usefulness cannot be discarded. Thus while utilizing it for mobility, to test its validity, we should ask one more question and answer it. Can a mobilizing caste feel content only with its mobility? It cannot and also it should not. Otherwise its mobility becomes merely apparent. Therefore, while mobilizing itself what the caste does is, it not only takes to the ways of life of a higher caste
but it also claims equality with it and when it claims equality, it means it questions the superiority of the higher caste. But in doing so it generates controversy and once the controversy is generated it cannot go without creating antagonistic attitude towards each other. That is how both the castes become more hostile in their social spirit and more rigid in their confinement. Such kind of change brought about in the caste structure due to the process of mobility makes no difference between the old and the new since it keeps the caste intact. Not only that, it increases the castes' hatred and contempt. Because anti-social spirit is one of the worst features of caste system, in the process of mobility becomes averted. Therefore, change in the mobilised caste's position becomes apparent and not real. This is one side, bad effect of Srinivas's mobility coin. Turning to the other side of the coin the effect is even worse. The mobilising caste not only should claim equality with the superior caste but it should also condemn all other low castes as inferior and subordinate. Therefore, if it has to acquire the superior position over the inferior castes, it has to antagonise the inferior castes as such as possible. The more it hates, the more it acquires superiority over the lower castes. But while hating them, it becomes more antagonistic towards the lower castes and creates a more antisocial environment between itself and other low castes. And that is how the anti-social aspect of caste is
again retained intact in both mobilising castes and lower castes, thus making no change in the old caste system. And that is how mobility becomes apparent and not real. In conclusion, we may say that mobility does more harm to the castes than any good. And, therefore, such mobility should be discarded without regret.

Now turning our attention to McKim Marriott (1967:vii) we find him saying that, "There is a disintegration of social system based on group or corporate relations of status and for that the reasons he gives are: the double process of 'Sanskritisation' and 'Westernization.'" The disintegration of the social system based on corporate relations does not happen in the process of Sanskritisation, because the mobility works, not at the level of the individual, but at the level of the group and so it cannot disintegrate the social system in its solidarity. In fact, it strengthens group solidarity and increases integration. But disintegration may occur through the process of Westernisation, because it leads to the decline in the occupational specialization and changes in the interdependence of castes. But, westernisation being just a garnament of tradition has also seriously failed to bring about disintegration. Owing to westernisation, even if decline in occupational specialisations have occurred and though there are changes in the interdependence of castes, they have in no way helped to disintegrate the social system based on corporate

"We tried to avoid caste, but we found it difficult to ignore caste in the prevailing conditions. In modern times any body can take to any profession. The Brahmin taking to tailoring does not become a tailor by caste. No where is his social status lowered as a Brahmin. A Brahmin may be a seller of boots and shoes and yet his social status is not lowered thereby. Social backwardness is therefore, not today due to the particular profession of a person but due to caste itself."

Thus changes in the occupational specialisation and interdependence of castes does not bring about disintegration in the social system based on corporate relations. Most of the untouchables in Belgaum, Bedkihal and Halashi, the units of this study, though they have done away with their traditional occupations, as far as their hereditary status is concerned, they continue to be considered as no more than untouchables. Can an untouchable with learned qualities, wearing a full suit, highly accomplished and well to do from the point of view of his family background be considered as a man who is equal to any other high caste man? No matter how forward an untouchable is, how cultured his personality, how refined his manners, they will all be irrelevant to the caste Hindus,
if they come to know that that man is an untouchable by caste. An untouchable professor in a Belgaum city reported that he could not get a rented house from other than his own caste, just because he was belonging to an untouchable caste. A Government employee (an untouchable) told confidentially that he could get a house on rent from other castes only because he gave the false information that he was from a high caste. In this connection Havanoor report says (1975:277).

"Even a high court judge of a low caste is subjected to all sorts of insinuation and humiliation, by the higher caste Hindu judges, as his uneducated village brother is subjected to by the higher caste Hindu villagers."

Thus caste is as important in modern society as it was in the traditional society. Caste is like a shadow which walks with a man in every concern of his life. A person must carry it, wherever he goes, whether it is to School, college, politics, administration or any other such profession. Though outwardly people profess to have nothing to do with religion and caste, they have their friendship and marriage in their own community or caste. The members of different organisations, whether it is a political party, trade union, or the club, enter into caste-based conspiracies, suspect hate
and distrust each other. Thus though a man appears free from caste, in practice he does everything in the mode of caste itself. Hence Westernisation cannot help in India. Anil Bhat (1976:1307) writes (The gap between the higher status castes and the lower status castes is greater in urban than in rural areas.) Urban areas, though they have become centres of cultural, educational and social activities, though they operate mass communication channels like cinema, drama, and other industrially established centres, they have also all equally become centres of caste because they all ultimately depend upon caste. Thus changes that have come about due to Westernisation are just apparent and not real. The localities in Belgaum city are so distributed that no mixture of castes can be found in any of the localities and there are certain localities which are exclusively inhabited by untouchables. Thus there is no chance for Westernisation in any way to disintegrate the social system based on corporate relations.

Further, one more question remains unposed by McKim Mariott. Change in the occupational specialisations as advocated by him is all right. But that is not important. What is important is what kind of change in the occupational specialisation has occurred. Can a Hindu who is much impressed by Westernisation and who claims to be more liberal in his thought be ready to take to the occupation such as scavenging,
street-sweeping, shoe-making or *carrying the dead animals? One can be confident that he will not do that. He can only take to such occupations which will not only not harm his caste prestige but also will help him to achieve still greater heights of prestige and position. Therefore, he prefers to do away with his traditional occupation only if his traditional position is kept intact, or elevated. In Belgaum city it was found that there was not a single person belonging to higher castes who has taken to the work of a Bhangee (Wight soil removers). Not only that, no top caste person was found engaged in the act of stone cutting, wood cutting, mud carrying etc, in the construction of roads, buildings, bridges and dams. Therefore, change in the occupational specialisation, when it has not harmed the traditional position, has no meaning. It is a change that is just apparent and not real.

Advancing the same opinion as that of MacKim Marriott, Mr. D. Mandelbaum (1966:1538), opines that, the lowest and the poorest thave got new opportunities, (due to political changes after Independence), to change their self-identification. Mr. Mandelbaum is deeply experienced in India and he has advanced this opinion while reviewing the book written by Mr. R.R. Isaacs "India's Ex-untouchables" (1965). Mr. Isaacs has gone even to the extent of calling the untouchables as 'ex-untouchables'. Can there be any truth in the statement? What
Mandelbaum has advanced? The statement is as untrue as others that we have so far analysed. The statement suffers from a fundamental defect. However willing the low caste is to change its identification, will it get the identification recognised by others? It is true that due to changes in the political conditions some of the untouchables have entered into politics and professions like engineering, law, medicine, and such other public services (no matter what percent they actually form in these fields). Some of them have also given up thatched huts and have started living in the houses of tiled roofs. They have also stopped their children from going to field works as labourers, street sweepers, and scavengers and have pressed them to schools. This is a striking change no doubt. But this is only one side of the picture. On the other, we find the higher castes living in buildings with ultra modern amenities, we find higher castes occupying the highest position in public services, owning big industries and moving in cars and aeroplanes. Thus, it makes no difference between untouchables and caste Hindus if their modern positions and prestiges are the same as to the traditional ones. The difference should be only in degree and not in kind. In the entire Belgaum city only a few political elites like Shankarsandra who was a central minister at the time and Karale who is a Secretary (Cong.I) owned cars and no single home in the untouchable colony possessed the car. Further, even if some of the un-
untouchables have obtained the highest positions their position have proved to be illusory and useless, and Karale, the working Secretary of Congress (I) (Belgaum Unit), the most powerful political party in India, said:

"I do'nt have voice in the party and if I raise my voice in order to protect the interest of my community, I will be debarred from the Party. And some other man who listens to the party will be brought in my place. I am there in the party not to make others listen to my voice but in fact to listen to other's voice."

The same experience is being expressed by the eminent Ambedkarite and political leader, B.P. Maurya from Utter Pradesh, whom M.R. Isaacs (1965:185) himself quoted in his book "India's ex-untouchables." Blaming the system as a whole, B.P. Maurya said:

"This system does the scheduled castes no good because the people in the reserved seats belong to the party in power and are often incapable persons. Although they are educated, they do not speak out against the party in power. They do not represent their people to the party and government but represent the party in power to their people."
Like untouchable politicians, the untouchable administrators too suffer the same fate, because colleagues around them will be of higher Hindu castes. Some of the Government servants belonging to untouchable castes in Belgaum city said, 'the non-cooperation in some of the offices due to untouchability, is so horrible that all other caste men join on one side while filing of complaint against an untouchable Government servant and unitedly see that an untouchable man is made to suffer.' That is the tragedy everywhere. Even Havanoo (1975:276) wrote as follows:

"Adult franchise and spread of education, coupled with discriminatory protective measures in favour of certain castes, have no doubt given scope for lower caste individuals to enter into political fields, democratic institutions and the new professions. It is to be noted here that the lower castes in politics, in democratic institutions and new professions are ineffective and they are looked down upon as low and inferior by their higher caste colleagues."

Therefore, caste operates everywhere. Whether it is in politics, or in administration, or in any other field, we find caste raising its ugly head. It keeps the identification of lower castes intact thus allowing the lower castes to continue as low. An untouchable man seems to have changed in his identi-
fication due to change in his position. But, he cannot change his status. And when he cannot change his status, his change in position has no value. It means the change in his identification will not be recognized by others. And when that is not done such change becomes apparent and not real. Hence Mandelbaum's thought of changing the identification of untouchables fails to bring them the real benefit of change.

Now coming to Lynch, (1969:39 204) he says that caste, by becoming adaptive in nature, is being used to get scarce goods such as power, prestige, wealth and education in the new socio-political environment which it has established after Independence. He also says that the adaptational changes of caste are of two types: the conservative type and the creative type. In its conservative aspect of adaptation caste does not allow itself to disintegrate. It means it keeps itself intact. While keeping itself intact it mobilizes its members to get the scarce goods such as power, prestige, wealth, education etc. These are caste-external. This is to Lynch a creative aspect of caste.

Now to question the utility of his analysis one can ask, whether the conservative aspect of caste is quite a new one. Caste is basically conservative in nature and so this aspect of caste cannot be new at all to it. The conservative aspect of caste was not absent before Independence or before the new
socio-political environment which the caste has got after Independence. So long as the basic characteristics of caste such as endogamy and the ideals behind it continue to function, the conservative nature of caste is also bound to function.

Further, conservative and creative aspects of caste are related. Caste continues its conservative character only because it wants itself to be creative. Thus creative aspect of caste also cannot be a new characteristic of caste. The Indian social system created the caste as a functioning system. And that is why castes are run by occupations. Therefore, both conservative and the creative aspects of caste cannot be new to the institution of caste. Thus, what can be said to be new to caste is the changed form of its conservative and creative character.

It means the caste changes in its form and not in its spirit. The new socio-political environment has brought about altogether new kind of developments, which have forced caste to function in a quite different form without disturbing its basic character.

Why do the castes become adaptive? Lynch would have been more clear in his analysis had he begun with this question. Caste becomes adaptive only because it wants to keep itself intact though in a changed form. The new socio-political environment which Independence has brought about by introducing such things as universal franchise, the adoption of parliamentary system of Government, increased availability of education for all and the abolition of untouchability, has not helped weaken the old
social structure of India, which is based on caste ideals. The ideas which are based on western liberal thought which India imported, have proved to be incompetent to win over the anti-liberal ideas of caste. Whatever the liberal ideas India imports from outside, their success or failure depends upon how the old social structure works while adjusting itself to them. Ultimately, then, it is the people and their values that decide the operation of liberal ideas brought from outside India. Caste is adapting itself, not to do away with its old functions but to give them a new lease of life. And when it gives a new lease of life to its functions the changes that it undergoes while adapting itself to the new socio-political environment seem to be just apparent and not real. This can be realized when we come to know that it is not only the untouchable caste that is adapting but all other castes are also adapting to the changed circumstances. If an untouchable caste functions as an association or as an interest group so as to mobilize its members for its political ends or action, so also all other caste groups mobilize their members for the very same purpose. While castes mobilize to get their ends satisfied, they try to do that at the cost of other castes, which again is the old characteristic of caste, that has taken just a new form, because it involves injustice, exploitation and discrimination which are but basic characteristics of caste system. There is a competition among the castes to get the ends satisfied. And in this competition, it is the higher castes which
use traditional privilege and prestige to win over the lower castes, thus keeping the lower castes in the same low state.

Actually the low caste adapts to the new environment not to get the scarce goods as mentioned above, for itself, but in fact it adapts to help other castes to get them. If at all the low caste is a vote bank, then it is not a bank for voters but for the ends of other castes who exploit its votes for their own political benefits. And though sometimes it might provide such scarce goods in practice, they will be of no use for the untouchables because the present political system is such that it will not allow a low caste to use the power it has acquire for its own benefit. For example, there is reservation for scheduled castes in Belgaum district in the well-known Chikkodi constituency from which Shankaranand gets elected every five years as a member of the Indian Parliament. The concept of reservation is meant to protect the interests of scheduled castes and Shankaranand is supposed to be the representative of the scheduled castes. But it is not happening, because he has also to depend others for his election. He has to serve the interests of other castes, who have more votes than the Scheduled Castes. So actually the power that the Scheduled castes get due to adult franchise has no meaning. Shankaranand, even when he becomes a minister, does nothing for his community, since the political system does not allow
him to do so. In fact he does more for other castes in the hope of getting their votes. Thus, his power and position are apparent from the point of view of scheduled caste benefit and not real. This change in the nature of castes due to adaptation becomes meaningless, and when it becomes meaningless, it means it is a change that is just apparent and not real.

Lastly, Lynch (1969:207) has gone even to the extent of saying that caste by becoming adaptive in nature, has transformed its traditional functions into modern secular institutions. He has come to this conclusion without considering the practical problems that may come in the way of a caste becoming a secular institution. How can a caste become a secular institution when it is used for its own political motivations? P.B. Gajendragadkar (1969:60) writes: "the spirit of toleration is the foundation of the theory of secularism." Is there the spirit of toleration in Indian Caste units? When the entire social system itself is anti-secular how can a little unit like caste become secular? Caste basically stands for contempt and hatred. If at all caste is used to get the scarce goods such as power, prestige wealth and education, it does so not to just mobilize itself in the scale of hierarchy but also in mobilizing itself, it develops hostility towards all other castes. This it does
naturally or it is forced to do so. This is because when a caste mobilizes to share those scarce goods, other castes do not tolerate it, and, when they do not tolerate it, they start hating and become hated in return. No individual can become secular in this country, let alone the caste. Therefore, M.N.Roy (V.K.Sinha 1966 : VIII) held that, "India cannot become a secular state, because the preconditions necessary for it are quite absent". Though some of the untouchables have come up due to modern protective discriminatory policies, other caste persons hate them, because there is a general impression that a scheduled caste person is backward, inefficient, incapable and gets a job only because he belongs to a scheduled caste. Therefore, there is no meaning in his change, a change which he has brought on himself due to his caste's adaptation to a new environment. And when there is no meaning, his change become illusory and not real.

After analysing the opinion of various scholars in the light of the views held by the researcher in this thesis, the following conclusions can be arrived at, in the form of hypothesis which are examined in this study.

1. The changes that have occurred due to the process of sanskritization have rather increased the contempt and hatred between the castes, again keeping caste itself
intact. Further, the mobility within the caste system through the process of sanskritisation cannot prove meaningful unless one caste is brought down and the other caste is raised up. Thus even if mobility occurs through the process of sanskritisation, it cannot raise one caste without bringing the other caste down. Such mobility becomes apparent and not real.

2. There cannot be a disintegration of a social system based on corporate relations merely due to changes in the occupational specialization. This is because a Brahmin by taking to such occupations as shoe-making or tailoring, cannot become a shoe-maker or tailor by caste. Similarly an untouchable by becoming a highly educated administrative officer, cannot become a Brahmin or some other high caste man. The changes in the occupational specialisation keep the ascribed status of Brahmin or an untouchable intact. Thus the change brought by change in the occupational specialization becomes an apparent and not a real change.

3. The changes in self-identification cannot occur as can seen when the interaction between political change and group identity is closely observed. The low caste may be
willing to change its identification, but its new identification will not be recognised by other castes. Thus change in identification due to political change is apparent and not real.

4. Caste by becoming adaptive in nature due to the new socio-political environment cannot change its hereditary status, since it preserves both its conservative and creative aspects intact as in the old social order. Thus, change due to adaptation is apparent and not real.

5. Changes have occurred due to Sanskritization, Westernization, and modernization, in the socio-economic spheres of castes, but when castes are related to each other, these changes prove to be apparent and not real in those spheres.

6. Thus such change in power, prestige and position of untouchables has kept them as untouchables, though in a changed form.

UNDERSTANDING UNTOUCHABLES:

Untouchables being part and parcel of the social system as a whole, it is not possible to understand untouchables,
unless a sort of relationship is established between them and the Hindus of the higher castes. Thus so as to interpret the data collected, in the light of the equalities and inequalities arising out of the newly developed socio-political environment, it is felt necessary to compare the data collected on untouchables with the data collected on the higher caste Hindus. The impact of the newly developed Socio-political environment over the structural patterns of the castes requires to be examined at two levels: its impact over the individual caste structure itself, and secondly its impact over the inter-caste structures. Thus this study reveals the changes at two levels, the change at the level of intra-caste structure and the change at the level of inter-caste structure. This I propose to call.

i) Intra-structure development,

ii) Inter-structural development.

INTRA-STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

Owing to the new socio-political development, caste has got new opportunities to develop its socio-economic position. The democratic form of government as enshrined in our Constitution has opened up new avenues for the caste to get these scarce goods such as power, prestige, wealth, education etc.
as suggested by the social anthropologists O.M.Lynch. As a result the caste people have reduced their attachment towards their traditional occupations, and have taken to other occupations which are outside the pale of caste. For instance, in terms of traditional caste structure, an untouchable was supposed to do such occupations as scavenging, street sweeping, carrying the dead cattle, shoe-making and rope-making. But because the untouchable has got new opportunities and access to all public institutions, he has given up his traditional occupation and has taken to such occupations made available by new development. For example, in Belgaum city, the untouchables like B.Shankaranand, K.B.Karale, B.D.Kemble, P.P. Hegare, the known political untouchable elites have occupied a position of eminence in the political sphere of Belgaum District. So also many untouchables have become administrators, lawyers, doctors, and engineers, thus doing away with their traditional occupations. Likewise the Brahmin, Lingayat, and Maratha caste people, who were supposed to carry on their respective caste occupations, have given up those occupations and have taken to such occupations as the new socio-political environment showered upon them. For example many Brahmins in Haleshi village have given up their traditional occupation and have become government officials. They have also taken to commercial activities which can bring them more income in this growing complex urbanisation. This has certainly brought a
change in the traditional structures of the castes. Most of
the features of the castes have undergone a process of change
due to the interventions of modernisation and westernisation.
This is the development at the intra-structural level of the
caste and thus is termed as Intra-structural development.
Attention was focussed on these developments at the level of
individual castes and the data was analysed with a view to
finding as to what has happened to the caste when its new
changes are compared with those of its old rigidities. Thus
the framework of intra-structural development aims at studying
the changes that have occurred within the individual caste
structure itself.

INTER-STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

The changes that have occurred at the level of inter-caste
structure can become meaningful only when they are inter­
preted in terms of the changes that have occurred at the level
of intra-caste structures. Thus necessarily we have to study
inter-structural development. No doubt, untouchables have got
opportunities due to new socio-political conditions and thus
no doubt they have been trying to exploit the new situation.
The government through its protective discriminatory policy
has given them access to all kinds of public institutions.
Thus, some of them have come up and others are trying hard to
cope with the situation. But the study of this change of untouchables becomes meaningless, unless the attitude of caste Hindus towards this change is understood. Thus, it becomes necessary to know what has happened to this changed position. To know this the concept of inter-structural development is needed. Suppose, for instance, some of the untouchables, in Belgaum, Bedkihal town or Halashi have improved economically and have gone up in their economic position. What is the attitude of caste Hindus towards this changed economic position? Further, there are some of the castes like Brahmin, Lingayat and Maratha who have undergone a process of change in their caste characteristics. But, what has happened to their traditional position, when their changes are considered from the point of view of inter-structural development? For example, if a Brahmin becomes a Doctor in Belgaum city, how does the change from his traditional position with that of an untouchable who becomes a doctor, in the inter-structural development. Thus the notion of inter-structural development helps in studying the changed position of castes from the point of view of traditional position of castes.

**METHODOLOGY:**

One who wants to study the problems raised in this thesis should not only be aware of all the possible techniques but
should also attempt to invent some techniques which could yield accurate data. Sometimes things are easier to pick up by simple observation, if the observer himself is part and parcel of the particular social system which he chooses to study. But there is a danger of subjectivity playing its own secret role while interpreting such data. Thus on the part of the observer there is also a need for a scientific and objectives attitude towards what he wants to observe. The more critical the observation, the more accurate the result. Men observation is not everything; interviewing and participating are equally important. But they are all interlinked methods because you cannot observe or interview without participation in the field and when you participate it means you observe and interview things.

The researcher, before setting out for field work, designed proper tools and techniques which were expected to yield to him enough raw material. But depending upon the type of data required, the tools and techniques of study had to be frequently changed. If there was a necessity for total coverage, then the survey method was inevitably used e.g. If there was the necessity to collect information regarding the distribution of land, labour, money and wealth, and such other items relating to the population of study units, then the survey
method was used. On the other hand, if the total coverage was impossible due to the limited resource and time factors, then sampling procedure was used. For example, to examine the institution of untouchability as experienced by the people in the units of study, be then the experience of each person in the field cannot be obtained. In such a case, the sampling method was used. However, wherever there was a possibility, even such type of information was obtained by more direct means. Further, with sincere and systematic sampling, a scientific and meaningful result would emerge.

To collect details regarding the inter-and-intra-structural relations of the touchables and untouchables, a separate interview schedules was prepared. Opinion regarding religions beliefs and practices, food habits, health conditions and opinion on caste and untouchability, the democratic and liberal principles of modern India, etc were all collected through such schedules. The interview schedules were so comprehensive, and were so projected as to contain all the basic information of the study. For to obtain information through such schedules, certain selected households were chosen, from both touchables and untouchables in the units of study. In each household a respondent was selected who had a thorough knowledge of the problem under investigation. The information thus obtained was further verified through participation and observation.
methods and the validity of the information was tested. It should be noted that the researcher himself is part and parcel of the social system which he has undertaken for study. And this being the case he did not face any difficulty while testing the information he got in the field. But he was sufficiently honest and careful regarding the possibility of deviations from the objectivity while interpreting his observations.

Further any empirical study cannot be carried on in a vacuum. Therefore, apart from the material that was gathered with the help of these techniques, the researcher also relied on the material that was collected through books, journals, and periodicals, which helped him to form the hypothesis of the thesis. The researcher read many books on caste, inequality, development and democracy, to acquire a background for this study. The field-work oriented studies of various anthropologists and sociologists like M.N. Srinivas, Dubey, Betteille, Lynch, Isaac and McKim Marriott helped him to interpret the data in the light of realities that existed in the units of this study.

It is all old that prerequisite to the social behaviour of a person is the socialization he has gone through and this constitutes a knowledge or a blue-print in the mind and serves as a guide for him to "Behave" or "to act" in a particular
situation. It means that what people do is based on what already they know and again these concrete acts will serve as a basis for knowledge to the younger generation. Thus what people say and what people do are interconnected processes in patterning ways of life.

The researcher has in fact felt it necessary to study both these aspects of the people, so as to understand and interpret the problem very truthfully.