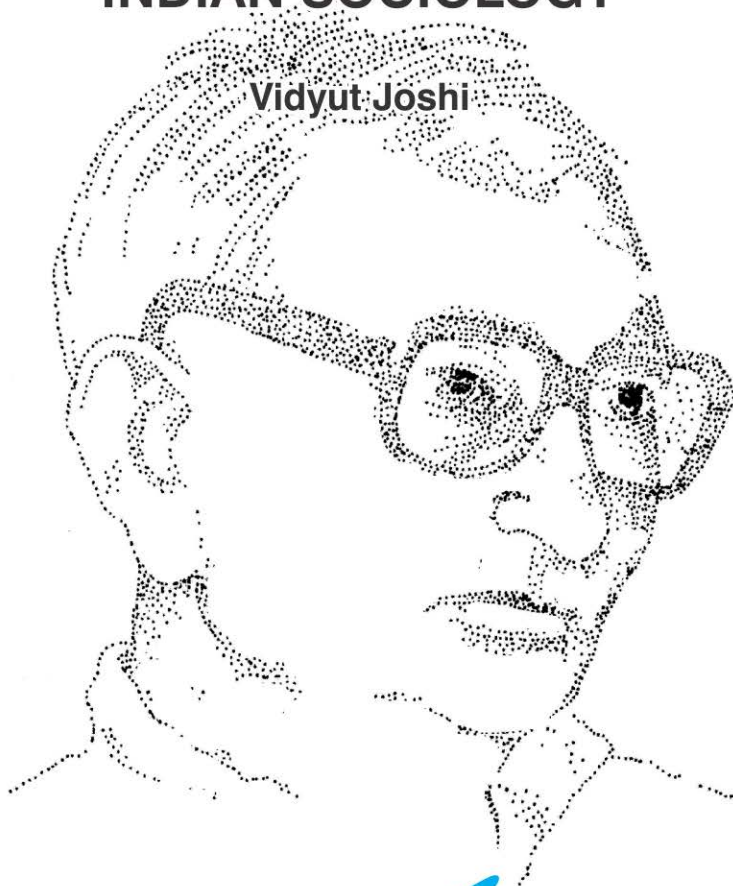


I. P. Desai Memorial Lecture: 29

**I. P. DESAI'S PERSPECTIVE IN
INDIAN SOCIOLOGY**

Vidyut Joshi



CENTRE FOR SOCIAL STUDIES, SURAT

2022

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PREFACE

The 29th I.P. Desai Memorial Lecture was delivered on “I.P. Desai’s Perspective in Indian Sociology” by Prof. Vidyut Joshi. The subject was directly connected to I.P. Desai in whose memory the memorial lecture was instituted some 29 years ago by the Centre for Social Studies (CSS), Surat. I am extremely happy that none other than Prof. Vidyut Joshi has delivered this lecture. He was a student of I.P. Desai and worked closely with him. Besides, Prof. Joshi was also a faculty member and Director of CSS. He has written a book on I.P. Desai in Gujarati titled “I.P. Desai”. Prof. Desai, affectionately known as I.P. to all, had founded this institute way back in 1969, literally out of his savings. Beginning with a small rented house on the west bank of River Tapi and then a slightly larger house in the old city at Nanpura, the CSS was known as the Centre for Regional Development Studies till 1979. In 1980, the institute shifted to the university campus, and I.P. lived in this very campus till 26 January 1985 when he breathed his last. The CSS, started by him, is now more than five decades old and is a reputed social science research institute in the country. Having studied in a school in Surat and finished his Ph.D. from the University of Bombay under Prof. G.S. Ghurrie. I.P. taught at Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, in the University of Pune and later at M.S. University of Baroda from where he had taken voluntary retirement to give shape to the CSS. I.P. debated, discussed and held dialogues with anyone keen to do so. A bachelor all through his life, he indeed had a large and well-spread family of students, teachers, administrators, bureaucrats and activists. A pursuant listener to all voices, he heard people patiently and yet did not himself get swayed or overwhelmed, though he was never hesitant to reconsider his position. IP was a persistent question raiser. He was a firm believer that methodology is a training of mind. IP did not subscribe to value-free sociology or social science. He empathetically believed that the task of social scientists is to take their knowledge to the people for building the “desired typed of society”. In his presidential address at the 14th All India Sociological Conference in 1978, he said: “It is the task and duty of the social scientists to make the common people conscious of what is going

wrong and how it can be corrected. The least that they can do is to take knowledge to the people in the form and language they understand. If someone actively participates in the movement, so much the better. He does not cease to be an academican. The chances are that he might become a more integrated person instead of the split one that he is today". We are proud to share with you that CSS and its faculty have tried their best to fulfill IP's dream. Our quarterly journal 'Arthat' in Gujarati is the answer to what IP had envisaged. I.P. wrote eight books, innumerable number of essays and reports and also guided doctoral students. Among his noteworthy works are Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva, Tribal Demand for Autonomous State, Vedchhi Movement, Untouchability in Rural Gujarat, Caste Violence and the Social Structure, Divisions and Hierarchies and Caste as a Basis of Backwardness. Prof. Vidyut Joshi has eloquently and lucidly analysed IP's perspectives in Indian sociology. He concluded his lecture by saying "I would say that we have studied IP's contribution to sociology, but we have not studied the perspective with which he conducted his studies and the one that he advocated as more appropriate in the Indian situation. As far as studies in India are concerned, IP said that we need studies on change. To do so, we need diachronic studies that would tell us about the change that has occurred in different stages. We will have to use stage theory to study change. For IP, meaning of change was transformation of the system and not change within the system". This lecture will surely be useful to social science students, academicians and those who are interested in understanding society from various perspectives. I am once again thankful to Vidyutbhai for accepting our invitation and delivering the lecture. CSS is immensely grateful to Indian Council of Social Science Research, (ICSSR) New Delhi, for providing financial help to this event. I am indeed grateful to Dr. Sadan Jha for his support in publishing this lecture.

September, 2022

Satyakam Joshi

I. P. Desai's Perspective in Indian Sociology

Vidyut Joshi

1. Introduction

It is indeed a matter of pleasure for me to deliver the 29th I. P. Desai (henceforth IP) memorial lecture. As IP's student and one who has spent more than 10 years in his proximity, this is a special occasion for me to pay my tribute to my mentor. I am humbled while delivering this lecture because I stand just behind stalwarts like Ramkrishna Mukherjee, AR Desai, MS Gore, YB Damle, Brijraj Chauhan, Yogendra Singh, AM Shah, Rajani Kothari, Jan Breman, Suma Chitnis, NR Sheth, DN Dhanagare and Upendra Baxi, who have made original contributions to Indian sociology. It is not my aim to speak on IP's contribution to Indian sociology. His writings are available in his books and articles. I have written a book in Gujarati on his contribution. Good research on IP's contribution by Ragini Shah is also available in book form. Many textbooks also mention IP's contributions. Those who are interested in his contribution can refer to his works and also work by others. This write-up is not in the style of a research paper. That style is needed and I have followed it in my other works. But this specific write up is in form of a note of my lecture. The style is more like a lecture, than that of a paper. I would be precise and specific (IP's terms) while speaking on his perspective in Indian sociology. There was a time when perspectives and directions of Indian sociology were often discussed. These days, such discourses have become rare. It seems we are at a loss of perspective in the midst of lots of data and information. In fact, in this phase of neo liberalization, Indian sociology requires discussion on perspective more than in the earlier phases. IP never claimed that he has given a definite perspective. Most of the time, he raised questions to established perspectives. But he had an eclectic perspective in favour of Indian studies and that comes out clearly in his different works.

2. IP – the Academic Personality and Works

If one is not well versed with IP's thinking process, one would take him to be a bundle of contradictions. IP never asked us (colleagues and students) to follow his line. On the contrary, he asked us to criticize his views. He asked me to give my response to his article by saying that if a junior scientist would not criticize his seniors, science may not develop. Apparently, this sounds

curious and also contradictory. A teacher would want affection and respect from his students. IP did expect that, but that respect and love were to be shown in personal behaviour, not in intellectual discourse. He would ask me to cut his hair or bring tiffin from home, if Manka (maid servant) was on leave. He would ask Chaturvedi to purchase Punjabi style 'lungi' for him from Delhi and also would want anybody to bring 'Chunilal ni Barafi' (a special Surati sweet from his favourite shop) for him. Yet, he would sharply criticize if he found that someone was trying to toe his line without understanding it. He had many such apparent behavioural contradictions. He played cricket and tennis even being dhoti clad. He would talk of concern for the poor while travelling in his chauffeur-driven ambassador car. He never chaired a public function nor delivered a public lecture. He never thanked anybody nor said sorry. Once, I asked him, "why don't you chair a session or speak at a public function?" He told me that his mind constantly thought about some or the other topic of sociology. Formal functions and formal relations had no meaning for him, as they were a digression to the thinking process. Though he possessed a pleasant personality, he never bothered about any nicety in his conversation. He would pay salary to the staff from his personal P. F. account. As Ragini Shah mentions in her book that IP donated his life time saving to the erstwhile CRDS (Centre for Regional Development Studies, the old name for CSS). Mahuva study was actually designed to be an interdisciplinary middle town study, as that was the fashion in the US those days. But almost the entire data were washed away in the Tapi flood in 1969. The old man stayed on the roof of his house at Antia bungalow for almost three days. But he never expressed his woes to anybody. He collected the remaining data and wrote 'Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva.'

IP completed primary education in his own village; Parujan (now in newly formed Navasari district and just 19 km away from Surat). In order to study further in high school, he stayed at Dayalji Ashram, a caste boarding at Surat. This was a time of influence of the Russian revolution and Marxism on young minds. Obviously, IP was not an exception to this. He too participated in the civil disobedience movement led by Gandhi, along with his friend and a distinguished communist leader Dinker Mehta. Being actively associated with the movement, he could not complete his graduation at M.T.B. College, Surat. Later on, he joined a college in Bombay (now Mumbai) and got his degree from Bombay University in 1934. After that, he joined Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology for his post-graduation studies and got his M.A. degree with four papers in sociology and four

papers in economics. In between, he also worked in a pharmaceutical factory. There were two teachers in sociology department at that time, both were from the first generation of sociology teachers in India, G.S. Ghurye and N.A. Thoothi. Ghurye was trained at Cambridge and Thoothi was trained at Oxford. The other sociologists in other places were Aiyappan, AR Wadia, DN Majmudar and DP Majmudar. Ghurye was more an Indologist with well-known work on caste. He was more interested in ethnographic studies and believed that sociology can cultivate enlightened public opinions on issues. Thoothi was more known for his work on 'Vaishnavas of Gujarat'. He was more interested in development of theory and its influence on the happenings in society. Thoothi believed that one has to analyse problems and provide suggestions to them. IP could understand these differences in his younger days. After MA degree, IP worked for some time as Ghurye's research assistant and learned collection of data along with participant observation. He also completed his Ph.D. on 'Social Basis of Crime', under Ghurye's guidance. He followed the library method for his Ph.D. study. Most of the first-generation sociologists used to resort to secondary data from books, and of course, observation. Methodology was not a special course those days and sociology was not recognized as a science in the empirical sense of the term. Of course, sociology was concerned with practical life and it also had a bearing on the future.

After Ph.D., IP worked at higher education institutions in Bhavnagar and Pune and then joined MS University of Baroda in 1952 as a colleague of MN Srinivas. MS University had a climate of mini enlightenment between 1950 and 1965. Bhikhu Parekh, Rajani Kothari, DL Sheth, Prakash Desai, Ghanshyam Shah, Makarand Mehta and many known social scientists are products of this mini enlightenment. There were four pillars of this mini enlightenment. Ravajibhai Patel alias Mota was an intellectual, Suresh Joshi was a doyen of creative literature, IP was a sharp-minded academician, and Magan Desai was a left activist. There was a climate that facilitated intellectual discourse in and around the university. IP's penchant for asking sharp questions rose to its peak during his Vadodara days. The department was a seat of heated debates between two friends – Srinivas and IP. IP was not good at regular lectures, but he was very good at conversation, particularly the question-answer part. He raised sharp questions to his social science friends and students. Some of his sharp conversations are still remembered by them. Once AR Desai said, "You know IP, the entire Gujarat tribal belt is burning!" IP retorted, "Akshu, how many talukas are there in the

tribal belt?" At MS University, during one of the departmental discussions, MN Srinivas said, "If you want to study village, you have to stay there for twenty years." IP added, "A donkey also stays in a village for twenty years. But he does not become a sociologist. You need to raise right type of research questions." Once, Prof. Singhi added a sentence in his letter to IP, "Convey my regards to Mrs. Desai". IP answered, "Please convey my regards also, if you find one." He was a master conversationist and a sharp shooter of questions. "So what?" had become his pet question, almost his patent. As IP was more inclined towards research than teaching and as he had his own vision of research, he took early retirement at the age of 55 and started Centre for Regional Development Studies (CRDS) at Surat. Later this centre was renamed as Centre for Social Studies in 1974, when it was recognized by Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR). The centre also became a seat of social science debate in India. The rest is the history.

As such, it is not the aim of this lecture to speak on IP's writings and works. But a cursory look at his works will facilitate our understanding of his perspective. IP was not interested in studying Indian society and its structure for the sake of academic study, as is the way with some such studies. In each case, he had a problem in need of solution. IP started his research work with the sociological formulation problem in need of a solution. His Ph.D. thesis was on 'Social Basis of Crime,' that has remained unpublished. IP was a pioneer in empirical research in the field of sociology of education in India. His first work in education was 'High School Students in Poona' (1953). He saw education system in relationship with non-education variables and established that education is a system (rather a sub-system) that is more influenced by the larger social system. In this book, he established the relationship of students' education with caste or caste system. His second book was 'Patterns of Migration in a South Gujarat Village (1964). This was not an ethnographic study of a village. IP saw that upper caste people migrate from villages, whereas lower caste people remain there. This observation established a particular migration pattern. His third book, a famous one was 'Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva' (1964). This study was supposed to be part of a multi-disciplinary middle town study sponsored by The Rockefeller Foundation. However, IP could write only one report. (Another study published in this series was 'Earning One's Livelihood in Mahuva' by Dhiruben Pandit.) Again, IP was not interested in studying family structure for academic purpose only. He wanted to show that joint-ness is

functional, where decisions are made by head of a family, even if the residences are separate. Even if a family is structurally nuclear, it could be functionally joint and there are degrees of functional joint-ness. His fourth book (as editor) was with Gore and Chitnis, was on 'Papers in Sociology of Education' (1967). This book clearly establishes education's relationship with other systems. He also edited one more volume with Gore and Chitnis on 'Field Studies in Sociology of Education.' This book was an all-India report based on field work conducted in eight states. His lesser-known book, 'Glimpses of Surat', (1972), is part of census papers published on the basis of the 1971 census. His next two books were on 'Water Facilities for Untouchables in Rural Gujarat' (1973) and 'Untouchability in Rural Gujarat' (1976). IP describes old and new forms of untouchability in these books. The various forms of untouchability he mentions are related to water facility, entry to temple, shop and house, occupational services on caste basis, livelihood, access to public roads, village panchayat, primary school and public services like post, transport etc. His famous work was on 'Vedachhi Movement' in a book 'History of Rural Development in India' that he jointly edited with Banavarilal Chaudhary (1977). The Vedachhi Movement is also published as an independent book in Gujarati (1983), by CSS. His last book 'Craft of Sociology in India' (1981) is a collection of his articles. The main article is on 'Craft of Sociology - An Autobiographical Perspective.' One more of his books, in Gujarati, is 'The Slogan of Tribal Autonomous State in Gujarat' ('Gajaratma Adivasi Svayatt rajynu Sutra'). This is a case study of Dangas district.

He has written many articles in English as well as Gujarati, in journals as well as in edited books. I could count 22 articles. There may be more. Moreover, there are at least nine unpublished reports. I would request CSS to compile a list.

3. Perspectives of the Second-generation Sociologists (1950-1975)

IP belonged to the second generation of sociologists. Other well-known sociologists of this generation were MS Gore, YB Damle, SC Dube, Vilas Sangave, BR Chauhan, MN Srinivas, AR Desai, RK Mukherjee, Yogendra Singh and Taraben Patel. The first generation was a part of the pre-independence period, whereas the second generation belonged to the post-independence period. All these sociologists, along with other social scientists, were in one or the other way, involved in some sort of post-independent era development process, by way of teaching, research and/or

application of knowledge in formulation or evaluation of policies. No specific perspective emerged during the first-generation period, as first-the generation sociologists were more or less ethnographers. During the second phase, three clear perspectives emerged in teaching and research in sociology. The dominant perspective was homogeneity or the liberal perspective, which was further divided into two types: evolutionary and structural-functional approaches. The third was conflict or Marxist perspective. Though Gandhi's influence was partly found on the second generation, as some of them had participated in the freedom movement and some were sympathetic to it, no Gandhian perspective has emerged in Indian sociology till today. Sociologists like IP and BR Chauhan had issues with all the three perspectives. IP held an eclectic approach and he had friendly relationship with scholars of all the three perspectives.

Sociologists like MN Srinivas were trained in the evolutionary perspective of social anthropology in Britain. They depended more on qualitative research and on participant observation as method for research. They studied the structure of Indian society from this perspective. This group did not distinguish between sociology and social anthropology. This evolutionary perspective explained the change part as evolution. This group depended more on participant observation and secondary qualitative material for their studies. They did not collect primary quantitative survey data with the help of questionnaire and interview schedule. On the contrary, Srinivas has criticized the use of questionnaire and statistics. They carried out descriptive studies and did not collect data to test hypotheses. Of course, their observations were qualitatively rich. But maintaining quality in observation may not be possible by every sociologist. Srinivas was also critical of the first generation as he believed that what was going in India during the first generation was not sociology, but was social philosophy (Ghurye-Thoothi) and social work (Wadia). Srinivas said that this is not science. If sociology has to become a science, it has to become value free. Srinivas also did not believe in predictive power of sociology. This group believed in synchronic studies and not in diachronic studies. A good example of such studies is 'India's Villages', edited by Srinivas (1953). Other such works were by Dube and BR Chauhan. IP criticized this perspective by saying that if you rely on your observation only, how can you be objective? IP has expressed his views in his book 'Craft of Sociology' that "what Srinivas's doing or preaching was against everything that I was doing or thinking and all that I had learnt and taught." Srinivas was influenced by Redcliff-Brown and Evans-Pritchard,

whereas IP was more under the influence of Pocock. IP had also discussed this issue with Pocock when he was in Gujarat for field work. Once during the discussion, he also asked me to read Pocock. Pocock had different views than Redcliff-Brown.

Sociologists like Gore and Damle were trained in the US and followed structural-functional approach. Sociology and anthropology were two separate disciplines for them. This group depended more on empirical data collected through questionnaires and interview schedules. This group did not believe in participant observation and spending days together in village setting. Once, Gore sent one of his papers on change to IP, IP wrote that reading Gore's paper and understanding Merton's approach was a tight rope walking for him. The American structural-functional approach by Merton, Parsons, Shills and Indian sociologists trained in the US, was easily accepted in Indian studies and also in teaching in Indian universities. This was structural-functional perspective with an empirical survey research approach that required training in research methods and statistics. Many Indian universities introduced the research methods course and use of questionnaire, sampling, field work and collection of quantitative survey data started in Indian research. DP Mukherjee and Srinivas criticized this approach, but that did not work. IP was also critical of the empirical data collection approach without understanding theory or linking theory with the problem.

The third trend, the Marxist trend, was a minor one in sociology, but was more powerful in history. This history writing from the Marxist point of view influenced sociologists like AR Desai and Ramkrishna Mukherjee. Ramakrishna Mukherjee studied 'Agrarian and Social Structure in Bengal' and 'Rise and Fall of East India Company'. AR Desai studied 'Social Background of Indian Nationalism' and later on also studied 'Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism.' These works were essentially influenced by Marxist thought and they had a dialectic approach. IP was sympathetic to the cause, as he himself was influenced by Marxist thought in his early years. But he was against them as they were more or less 'dogmatic'. They did not believe in field work and empirical research. Of course, this Marxist school still influences some sociologists.

4. IP's Perspective

As such, it is difficult to pin point specifics of IP's perspective. Some people also accuse that IP did not work meticulously either on theory or

methodology front and relied more on his intuition. But this is not true. IP himself has mentioned in his book 'Craft of Sociology' about his dilemma. He mentions all the books of all the three prevailing perspectives that he had read between 1930 and 1955. It was in this period that he developed his own perspective, which was eclectic perspective. One can go through the book 'Craft of Sociology' to clear doubts. The issue with IP was his style of writing. Like lectures, he had a lackadaisical approach to his writings also. He was thinking of all the three approaches and trying to apply the particular aspect of a particular approach to the Indian situation. He had grounding in all the three approaches. He had read Marxist history in early years. His grounding was in the evolutionary approach. He was impressed by empiricism brought to India by his friends Gore and Damle. But at the same time, he had issues with all the three approaches. This made his thinking process clumsy and also his writing was affected by this sort of thinking. I cannot resist one of our conversations at CSS way back in 1980. He gave me a particular article of Laxman Shastri Joshi's in Marathi which he had translated to Gujarati and he wished to publish it in Arthat – the CSS's journal in Gujarati. He asked me in Gujarati "Baman, jara joi de, maru Gujarati etalu saru nathi." (O Brahmin, just have a look at this. My Gujarati is not that good.) I immediately told him, "If your Gujarati is not good, then your English also would be clumsy" He thought for a while and said, "Yes. Why it could be so?" I said, "I have read somewhere that writing style is reflection of your thought process. If you try to comprehend different logics at one time, your thought becomes complex, consequently your writing style would be clumsy." He agreed. As such, he rarely used to agree with somebody in a debate. He said, "Yes, I think of many interpretations on a subject and try to develop my own interpretation." So, this was the situation. This indicates that IP's thought process was complex. He was thinking about many approaches on an issue and trying to find the best in every approach. He wanted a synthesis of these three approaches and evolves an approach from that would suit Indian conditions. This means that he was eclectic in his approach.

4.1 Broader approach to Change: IP's training was in British evolutionary theory. But he was skeptical and had the habit of raising questions to established knowledge. As far as change is concerned, he liked modernization approach more. As such, this approach was also a variant of evolutionary approach, but slightly different in the sense that British evolutionary approach was a result of British cultural hegemony, where they believed that the Europe is an evolved civilization, whereas rest of the world

is composed of simple societies. On the other hand, the modernization approach was a contribution of German and French philosophers of the enlightenment period. When IP was studying at Bombay University, he had read most of the works of British social anthropologists and German and French sociologists. The details are available in his book 'The Craft of Sociology.' It was in the beginning of his tenure at MS University when MS Gore sent him one of his articles, that he started reading Merton, Parsons and Shills. All these people had the modernization approach. Moreover, IP's early love for Marxism had left some sensitivity in him to do something for the poor. He also agrees that he had inherited the study of history from the evolutionists. His ideas were also influenced by Marxist writers. He also believed that American and British scholars accuse Marxists of being dogmatic, but these people are equally dogmatic. In this line, IP's larger thesis was that there is continuity between past, present and future. Sociologists need to find this out when they study.

Under the influence of evolutionary and modernization approaches, IP believed that India, a relatively closed society, is gradually becoming an open society. Caste was a closed stratification system. It will transform itself into open stratification-class system. This will happen in the process of modernization. This openness will also influence caste-based occupations and the occupational structure will change into individual merit-based occupations. If you read 'Field Studies in Education' report carefully, you find that you find this sort of change is more among SCs than among STs. There are more openings for SCs as they are in the midst of the main stream, whereas STs stay away from it. Foreign-trained sociologists could not grasp this complexity of Indian society. IP is critical of those who went to the UK and US and were cut-off from their cultural moorings. He mentions that "of those who went to foreign universities, some were uprooted from their Indian experience of sociology and were transformed, some were neither uprooted nor transformed but were half baked. Some others came back as they went. But all these persons formed a category and did influence sociological tradition in India." IP seems to be critical of this foreign returned lot. What was wrong with them? The wrong was that they studied single (Indian) society as part of the whole under the influence of culture and civilization concepts. They conducted synchronic studies to find out similarities rather than differences. Now, the Indian society is changing, changing from an old to a new, from closed to an open society. Second, in a complex society, differences also matter in analysis. You need to find out differences rather

than similarities. You need to find out what was there in the old and what would be there in the new.

4.2 Stages of Development or Change

Theory for IP was not just an academic exercise in theorizing about society. The issue is theorizing for what? Theory for IP had wider implications. For him, theory is there to show how society changes from one stage to another. IP asked what was the use of one-time study of a society or of an institution? A research problem is there in need of solution. The need is to show how and in what way, a society or an institution, changes from one point of time to a different point of time. Here, IP also believed that among all systems, economy and polity are more powerful than other systems of society. You may say that this was the Marxist influence on him. He believed that whenever there is change in wider contexts of economy and/or polity, other institutions will change. Remember, the reverse is not true. This means that according to IP, education system was not the prime mover, as believed by many liberals. This was his main thesis in education also. An educational institution changes when there are changes in economy and polity. My dissertation for Ph.D. degree was on the 'Role of Ashram schools in Tribal Education', under his supervision. I had done my post-graduation under Prof. Taraben Patel, So it was a mixed bag of influence of British and American sociology on me. When I formulated my problem on the lines of 'Structure and Functions' (of ashram school), IP asked me, "Are the functions the same over years? What happens to ashram school when every village has day school? This sharp question compelled me to reformulate my research problem. I compared the structure of ashram school in different stages and saw the differences over a period of time. When I was doing my field work, I realized that structure and functions of ashram schools were experiencing a change when there was a change in larger political contexts. But the reverse was not true. Now, political contexts did not change in an incremental manner. The change occurred in stages. I was compelled to refer to the theory of developmental stages by Jean Piaget. IP only asked me questions. He did not tell me that institutions change in stages. I had to find out myself. Then, everything fell in line.

IP has used stage theory in his research work. He described the three stages of Indian education as (1) education in pre-British age, (2) education in the British age, and (3) education in post-independence era. He said that the change in education is because of the change in political contexts. He

believed that what data you want and what you do with them depends on the questions you ask about what you are studying. This means that how one collects data and what one does with them depend on the problem one formulates. That is why it is said that if a research problem is rightly formulated, half the research is done. If you have a synchronic study, you may not get this change data. Under such circumstances, you should have diachronic study design. IP himself was concerned, in his Mahuva study, with knowing prevalence of family joint-ness and how it was changing, and if it was changing, what was the direction of that change. IP carried out survey at Mahuva. When he saw forms, he felt that these data are useful to explain structure of the institution and its functions in contemporary situation. But to see changes over a period of time, these one-time data are not useful. This was a good observation. If you want to study impact of A on B or if you want to study change, you need to depend on qualitative data and time series data.

IP's use of stage theory is very well seen in his book 'Vedachhi Movement' also. There, he analysed that whenever there was change in the larger political context, there was change in Vedachhi ashram and its activities. Thus, IP was interested in change, but to analyse change, he did not use Marxist analysis. He used stage theory and took a bit of class analysis in the sense that he accepted Marxist theory of base and superstructure. He said that economic and political structures are the base and other structures are superstructures.

4.3 IP's Perspective on Education

IP was a pioneer in the field of sociology of education. His study on 'High Schools Students in Poona' is recorded as the first such study that deals with education as part of the social system. It was after this study that a trend to see education as part of the larger social system started. After this study, BV Shah studied 'College Students and Social Change'. JP Naik started Indian Institute of Education at Pune, to study education in relation to other systems of society. Not that, ICSSR itself started a special project on education of SCs and STs, where IP was fully involved. IP was a joint editor of two important publications in this field, with Gore and Chitnis. He himself undertook certain projects on this aspect. A list is available in my book and also in Ragini Shah's book. The main trend was that education was seen in isolation and whenever there was a discussion to improve education; changes were made or suggested either in the course structure or teachers'

training or management of educational institution or examination system. This happened because education was not seen as part of the wider society. IP's had 3 specific contributions to the perspective on education: (A) Education is a part of the wider social system and cannot be seen in isolation. (B) Educational institution develops in stages and in an incremental manner. So, whenever there are changes in the wider politico-economic context, education changes as a response to such changes. And, (C) education has relative autonomy, and not absolute autonomy.

(A) IP's first interest was in who gets education and who does not. He undertook a study of high school students in Poona and established that education is part of the wider social system. In this line, he empirically examined relation of education with the stratification system and also examined the role of education in social mobility. He clearly established the relationship of education with stratification system and said that quality of education is also influenced by the stratum of society that patronizes educational institution. IP took a system approach where he mentioned that any social system consists of many parts and education is one such part of the larger social system. Now, parts of the system are inter-related and each part performs functions in relation to the larger system. The wider social system is viewed as an integrated whole. This being so, change in one part leads to change in other parts. Looking at wider society as a system and many other sub-systems as parts of a larger system in this specific context of education is IP's contribution. Of course, this is taken from the system approach that had started in the US during the postwar period. This system approach to education given by IP was not only followed by sociologists, but by other disciplines too in their research.

(B) In order to analyse change in/of education sub-system, IP used his favourite stage theory. His penchant to use stage theory to analyse change is mentioned earlier. IP clearly says that the education system was different in (1) pre-British, (2) British and (3) independence periods. The reason is obvious. It is the state that shapes, regulates and gives direction to education. In many cases, the state also provides grants. Under such circumstances, the type of state will shape the type of education. Thus, one who wants to study the history of education of India in modern times is supposed to divide the period into three phases. This is also IP's original contribution. IP also used stage theory in his study of the Vedachhi Movement. As such, the Vedachhi movement is a social reform movement.

But the larger chunk of Vedachhi ashram was education, so, I have not given it an independent treatment and included it under education. The four periods that IP devises are (1) Before 1922, (2) Between 1922 and 1936, (3) Between 1937 and 1947 and (4) Between 1947 and 1967. It is obvious that as far as Vedachhi is concerned, second, third and fourth stages are important. The political contexts were different in all the three stages. As I have mentioned in the stage theory section, my thesis also uses stage theory to show that whenever there was a change in the political context, there was a change in ashram school.

(C) Perspective on autonomy of education: Debates have been raised on the issue of autonomy of education since time immemorial. These days, the debate has taken a different turn. State governments and the central government have started giving permission under the Private University Act to self-finance higher educational institutions. Primary and secondary schools on self-finance basis are also outnumbering grant-in-aid institutions. UGC has started schemes for providing autonomy to some grant-in-aid institutions. This is a good sign. Now, managements of such autonomous institutions will have freedom to run their institutions with minimum regulation by the state. But the moot question is can education system have complete autonomy? IP opines that education system is part of larger system and whenever there is change in the wider economic-political context, there will be change in the education system. We have to remember that the reverse is not true. Change in education may not necessarily lead to change in economy and polity. Among all the systems of society, economy and polity are more powerful, whereas other sub-systems are not that powerful. IP's analysis is influenced by Marxist approach of base and superstructure. Of course, IP does not use these terms and he also collects empirical data to corroborate his thesis. But he obviously disagrees with the liberal idea of education being the prime mover among all the sub-systems of society.

4.4 Perspective on Family Institution

IP was critical of the way the institution of family was being studied in India. Indian sociology during first and second generations was dominated by village, caste and family studies. We will see his perspective on family. Family studies in India were conducted from structural point of view. Most of the studies showed that the Indian family was a joint family and the transformation was from joint to nuclear family. Some of them were also not happy because this type of joint-ness was 'breaking'. Now, IP had an issue

with the concept of joint-ness itself. Joint family was defined by Indian sociologists, from a structural point of view, on the basis of joint residence, namely size and generations staying together in one residence. IP carried out a well-known study 'Some Aspects of Joint Family in Mahuva.' IP believed that even if a family has separate residence, it may not necessarily become a nuclear family, but may remain joint in some sense. A son and wife staying in city and father-mother staying in village should not be considered as nuclear family, if decision making is joint. Moreover, while classifying family, you should not have only two classes of joint and nuclear. This sort of either/or classification does not give a correct picture of joint-ness. In fact, there are degrees of joint-ness in a family. Based on this type of thinking, he gave gradation of family in the following manner in his book.

Structural Joint-ness

- Type I A : Only husband and wife.
- Type I B : One-member family.
- Type II A : Husband-wife, unmarried boys. Others unmarried children.
- Type II B : As above, but more relatives, if generation change is not there.
- Type III : Three generations staying together.
- Type IV : Four or more generations staying together

According to IP, parts I A to II B can be considered as nuclear family, whereas parts III and IV are cases of joint family. Apart from this, IP said that joint-ness has the following four elements: (A) Joint residence, (B) Joint property, (C) Fulfillment or recognition of mutual obligation, and (D) kinship relationship. Now, IP said that even if there is no joint residence, there could be joint-ness in terms of other elements. This is functional joint-ness. From this point of view, he classified functional joint-ness into the following five types:

Functional Joint-ness

- I : Zero degree of joint-ness (nuclear). Single member household.
- II : Low degree of joint-ness (Mutual obligations only).
- III : High degree of joint-ness (Joint-ness in terms of property).
- IV : Higher degree of joint-ness (Structurally marginally joint).
- V : Highest degree of joint-ness (Traditionally joint family).

This typology indicates that what matters more is, first, not to accept the given category of joint or nuclear family and think and evolve categories based on ground-level realities. Second, your collection of data will depend on the way you formulate your research problem. Let me add here that Vidyut Joshi and Anil Vaghela carried out a restudy of the family in Mahuva and they found that even though structurally joint-ness has reduced considerably, the functional joint-ness has reduced only marginally.

4.5 Perspective on Caste

Like his thoughts on family, IP had his own thoughts on some issues of caste system. This section has three sub-points. (A) Change in the caste system, (B) Issue of untouchability and (C) Indicators for measurement of backwardness. First, let us see the way IP views change in the caste system.

A. Change in the Caste System

IP first published his article on caste with YB Damle in the Ghurye Felicitation volume in 1954. This article was revised and republished in IP's book, 'The Craft of Sociology'. Everybody knows that according to Ghurye, caste system is a closed stratification system. Ghurye has ably described its six elements, which are as follows: 1. Segmental division of society, 2. Hierarchy, 3. Restriction on feeding and social intercourse, 4. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, 5. Lack of choice of occupations and 6. Restrictions on marriage. After independence, some sociologists including Ghurye started saying that these features are disappearing. IP raises two questions in this regard. (I) How far had these features really disappeared? and (II) what was its effect on the caste system as a whole? IP argued that even if, in cities, disappearance of caste system differs according to strata of population, irrespective of the degree of changes in the features, the caste system was not weakening. IP said that caste system as a traditional psychological possession is different from the modern or western influences. Now, IP said this in 1953. It is up to sociologists to formulate the problems and evolve indicators to say whether caste system has changed or not. IP has also written on caste and politics. There is a general view that caste affects politics. In a book edited by Rajani Kothari, he distinguished caste solidarity and interest group solidarity. IP raises the following questions: (1) Do members of same caste vote en bloc or prefer a candidate of their own caste? What will happen if all parties file candidates of the same caste? Will not caste votes be divided? (2) Do

people consider caste interest always or do they consider other interest also?

B. Issue of Untouchability

Untouchability is considered to be a grave social problem as well as a problem of human rights. Sociologists have been studying this issue. The problem has been seen in the framework of caste system. IP for the first time raised the issue of untouchability in public domain. IP has written two books on this issue (1) Untouchability in Rural Gujarat and (2) Water Facility for Untouchables in Rural Gujarat. Rather than formulating a problem in religious parlance, IP formulates the issue in the public sphere, because he wanted policy makers to help abolition of untouchability. He defines behavioural aspects of untouchability. He identifies the following ten fields of behaviour and collects data on them from rural Gujarat. These fields are: (1) Water facility, (2) temple entry, (3) shop entry, (4) house entry, (5) occupational services by other castes, (6) public roads, (7) livelihood, (8) village panchayat, (9) primary school and (10) Public services (transportation, post, etc.). We are not interested in the survey data collected by IP on these indicators. Our interest is in his formulation of the problem.

C. Indicators for Measurement of Backwardness

Our constitution is wedded to welfare of the weaker sections. The Constitution provides three types of reservations: job reservation, reservation in admission in educational institutions and reservation of seats (only for SCs and STs) in elections. Now, three sections get reservation, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). At the time of framing of the Constitution, there was a big debate whether caste can be an indicator of backwardness. Sociologists were of the opinion that caste is a measurable indicator and caste cannot be changed. In the Indian society, a person's life chances are affected by the caste status. So, caste can be easily accepted as basis for reservation. The Constitution clearly mentions certain SC and ST groups as backward. So, that is not an issue. But as far as other backwardness is concerned, the Constitution says that if state or central governments find that there are other backward groups, they can be provided reservation in education and employment. Now, the issue was how to decide which are 'other backward classes'? Various state governments and also the central government have set up commissions to decide such backwardness. This backwardness was defined as those of 'Socially and Educationally Backward Classes. (SEBCs). IP

conducted survey for the first SEBC commission of Gujarat, popularly known as Baxi Panch (Baxi commission, as justice Baxi was the chairman of the commission). Baxi Panch gave reservation status to some eighty caste groups. The issue emerged when Gujarat government appointed a second SEBC commission, popularly known as Rane panch. IP was a member of this commission. We have no knowledge about Rane commission report, because the Government of Gujarat had not accepted Rane commission's recommendations, and hence, it was not made public. But around 1982, IP wrote an article in EPW on basis of reservation. This article generated an all-India debate on the issue. Till now, caste was unanimously accepted as basis for reservation, since caste was recognizable and an easily measurable indicator. Caste was also considered as indicator of backwardness. IP raised a question that, by now, as a result of development process itself, every caste group is stratified and there are classes within caste. Under such circumstances, if you provide reservation on the basis of caste, the upper stratum of a caste would avail benefits of the policy, whereas those who really deserve, will be left out. IP gave an example of the barber caste. He said that a barber in the midst of jajmani system in a village is definitely backward. But when a barber migrates to a city and establishes a saloon, he is not as backward as his caste brother in village. But when reservation is availed on the basis of caste, the urban saloon owner barber will get benefit of this provision, whereas the rural barber will be left out. Moreover, caste has weakened in urban areas and backwardness is seen in urban areas also. Now, various studies on post matric scholarship have shown that such scholarships are availed by those students among backward castes groups, who are relatively better off. Moreover, on the other hand, as a result of development, new occupations have emerged where there is no caste base. Now, there are backward groups in the new jobs also. Various groups of urban unorganized labour can be identified as backward groups. In the same way, those from backward castes, who have migrated to urban areas, can be identified easily and they can be removed from getting benefits of reservation. In such cases, by considering an entire caste as backward, we are defeating the very purpose of giving reservation. After rejecting caste as basis for backwardness, IP asks the question 'what is social and educational backwardness'? It is easy to identify groups having educational backwardness. A survey would indicate that. Social backwardness is relational backwardness. In rural jajmani setting, a lower caste person, dependent on farmer castes, would get support from them for livelihood. When such groups migrate to urban or semi urban areas, the

jajmani support system stands withdrawn. Under such circumstances, caste does not remain the basis for backwardness. So, non-land owner groups in village, unorganized labour groups in urban and semi-urban areas, and traditional occupational groupism can be identified for the benefits of reservation.

This sort of rethinking on caste as basis for reservation by IP created a lot of debate at all-India level. However, the government accepted only the stratification part and declared that the creamy layer (upper class among backward caste groups) will be removed from getting benefits of reservation. IP knew that this sort of caste-based reservation is going to create problems, when caste structure is going to weaken and class groups among caste groups are going to emerge as a result of the development process itself. We know that exactly thirty years after this article, in 1982, we have witnessed reservation demands on the basis of economic backwardness. This indicates that we will have to adopt a 'clast' (class+caste) approach in future, as basis of reservation.

4.6 Perspective on Tribal Problem

The tribal issue arises from what the state wants to do with the tribals. At the time of independence, there were three approaches to tribal problems: (1) Isolation approach of Varrier Elwin, (2) assimilation approach of Ghurye and (3) integration approach known in the name of Jawaharlal Nehru. Many anthropologists and social anthropologists wanted them to be in isolation. Some sociologists wanted them to be a part of the Hindu society. IP was in favour of integration. He was of the opinion that ours is a welfare state, wedded to development of backward groups. Tribals or Scheduled Tribes are a special section of Indian people, who stay mainly in forests and hills. IP makes it clear that there was no common term for all the Indians living in forests and hills. They were known by their specific names. At the most, they were known as 'forest dwellers' (Rani Paraj) or some such colloquial names. The term 'tribe' is given by British anthropologists under the influence of evolutionary theory. This theory tries to establish that like organisms, societies have also evolved from simple to complex society. Simple societies are those which consist of pre-literate, pre-church, pre-state, dialect speaking and territorially bound people. When British travellers went to Africa, America and Australia, they found simple societies. They termed them as primitive societies and people as primitive tribes. They said that Europe is an evolved civilization, with evolved institutions, while rest of the

world is primitive with primitive tribes living there. So, the term 'tribe' is a contribution of British evolutionary anthropology. If Europeans were a developed civilization and rest of the native people of the world were primitive tribes, all the people of India can also be considered as tribes. IP sarcastically wrote in EPW around 1955 that he was a semi-tribal. Here was a king bigger than the king of Britain, so, India was not a pre-state society. In the same way, we had Pathshalas and single teacher schools, so, India was also not a pre-school society. We had business relations with other countries, so, we were also not territorially bound people. We had developed languages, so we were also not dialect-speaking people. Nonetheless, we had some sections, who were away from developed institutions. It became difficult for the British to identify tribals. So, finally, an administrative solution was reached that the President would decide about the list of tribes to be included in the schedule. That is how they were listed as scheduled tribe people.

Whatever the case may be, now the situation is that there are some groups living in forests and hills, who are backward and the state has to do something for them. He wrote an article in EPW (13/08/1955), titled, 'Tribals-Particular Case of General Problem. This article was a reply to Shankho Chaudhary, who wrote earlier that we (state) are alienating these (tribal) people from the core of their culture. We must decide what we want these people to be. Chaudhary (and also others like him) suggested that we should prevent them from becoming labourers in factories and mines. We should also save them from the glamour of the city life. Chaudhary also suggests that we should open small craft centers in their areas (the famous Varrier Elwin approach of isolation). Criticizing these sentiments, IP says that tribal problem is a particular case of the larger Indian population problem of removing poverty and introducing modernization. IP was of the opinion that the tribals are as Indian as we are. We are not British (evolved civilization). If they are tribals, many of us are semi-tribals. The difference is only this that their living and working conditions are different. They are living in hills and forests, whereas we (non-tribals) live in plains. The misery of the tribals arises from the difficulty of the new (post-independence) relations between humans and between humans and their environment in the city. That creates the normlessness or anomie which we all decry. In city life, such anomie is observable in many groups of people, tribals or non-tribals, on account of sudden change in their settings. Tribals and rural people who come to cities feel a change in their environment and they feel miserable. Not that they

were happy in their old environment, but they had an acceptable coping style. Now, the problem is same for most of those who come to industrial life of the modern city. So, why should we have a separate programme for tribals? This is not possible, because as a nation we have not accepted that small-scale society and small-scale industry. Let us not ask those things for tribals, which we ourselves are not doing for our society. This is basically an issue of model of development. IP opines that an intellectual has to decide what type of society he wants for tribals and what type of society he wants for himself. Tribals are part of this society. You can have different programmes only to the extent that their situation is different.

4.7 Stratification Perspective

As against the synchronic studies and the homogeneity model of sociologists and social anthropologists and also against class analysis by Marxists, IP felt that a stratification approach to analyse Indian problems is necessary. This was specially developed in line with the diachronic model that IP wanted to use to study change. Those western and Indian sociologists and anthropologists who studied 'Indian village' saw a village as one homogenous unit. As against this, IP says that when, in vacation he used to go to his village, he saw houses of upper caste locked, as many upper caste people had migrated to cities, whereas houses of lower caste people who were mostly small farmers and agricultural labourers, were open. This led him to study differences between those who migrate and who do not. This clearly indicates, that there was even a sense of belonging to one village, and the socio-economic conditions of different castes people were different. Now, if you want to study the patterns of migration, you are supposed to consider these differences and not the homogeneity. So, if you want to analyse a problem, you have to study the differences. This was further corroborated by Vimal Shah's book, 'Who Goes to College'. The data of this book were part of All India Study of SCs and STs, sponsored by ICSSR. The study indicated that Dhodias form 3% of Gujarat's population and they cover 33% of post-matric scholarship. When you ask a question as to why Dhodias cover 33% of scholarships, and relate the variable with their socio-economic condition, you realize that Dhodias are better off than many other STs. When I was studying ashram schools in tribal villages, I used to ask a question about who gets benefits of a particular scheme and who does not, I came to know that relatively well-off people get such benefits easily. Thus, on one side, differences influence development decisions. And on the other side, the development itself facilitates differences creating stratification. This happens

to reservations also. When IP gave example of a barber from a jajmani village and a saloon owner barber in the city, he said that both belong to the same caste, but they differ in terms of stratification.

IP further clarified difference between old caste-based or ascriptive status-based stratification and new class-based or achieved status-based stratification. The first stratification is the example of an old society, where membership is by birth. The second form is based on an individual achievement in form of education, income, occupation or lifestyle. Now, you are supposed to analyse whether society transforms from old society-based stratification to a new society-based stratification or not. IP in his article in EPW on reservation argued that reservation is based on caste or ascriptive status, but society is transforming itself to a new form of stratification. A series of CSS studies shows that all tribals who faced submergence are not same or homogeneous. There were old-ethnic as well as new-achievement-based differences among project-affected tribals and their rehabilitation-related decisions were influenced by these differences. There were ethnic as well as class difference among them. This point was well taken by Indian sociology around 1980 and I vividly remember that CSS decided to have stratification as its research agenda.

IP's article on the new elite is part of his thinking on stratification. Originally, this article was published in EPW (July 1959). This was the time in India, when several studies were made on 'Elites and Social Change'. The main thinking was that the new elites have undergone western education. They are equipped with new knowledge and new ethos, very much needed for India's development. IP critically looked at the role of the new elite in this article. Let me make it clear that this was an issue of hot debate in MS University circles those days. IP opines that there are two types of elites, one is the Indian Pundits and the other are the western-educated elites. With the introduction of western education, Indian pundits are not held in high esteem, as their knowledge is not useful in contemporary economy, education or even governance. The new or western-educated elites are held in high esteem as their knowledge is considered to be useful in various walks of life. Now, this new or western knowledge has two parts: formal and substantive. The looking at the world with scientific temper or attitude is a formal aspect, whereas the substantive aspect is made up of beliefs, values, views and ideas on technology, economy, governance and society. The formal elites were few and western-oriented, while the substantive were more and

oriented in Indian traditions. However, as a class, this new elite became powerful and it was also believed that they were agents of western-oriented change in the Indian society. This needs a check. But in reality, only the formal elites possessed a scientific bent of mind. Most of the substantive elites had their roots in traditions. They were not westernized in the true sense of westernization. Therefore, their claim to be progressive is also questionable. This is because what appears to be westernization is not westernization, but only technology change. Dress, manners, food, and living style alone cannot be considered as westernization. Edward Shills calls this fake westernization or xenophobia. This is more harmful than of use to us as Indians. Such people are western in their overt behaviour, but their views, beliefs and values do not indicate western scientific temper. Now, many such elites are taking to science and technology and holding high positions in government and industry. The real disadvantage of such xenophobia is that they act according to their hierarchy in Indian society and they do not have faith nor concern for their own brothers who are placed lower in hierarchy.

The class of such western-oriented elites was not homogenous. There are also ideological variations among them. But one thing is certain from IP's words, "What we have is a western influenced Indian-oriented ideology and a large mass of the new intellectuals probably belong to category." Ideologically, we do not have genuine westernization. This being so, the efficacy of the new intellectuals as agent of westernization cannot be taken for granted. A section of this class is close to policy makers or they are in policy-making positions. Since their westernization is fake, what they can do at the most is to imitate the western world in apparent aspects. IP says that this section is more dangerous than the revivalists or Pundits.

What had not emerged at the time IP wrote this piece and what has emerged now after the onset of liberalization, privatization and globalization (popularly known as LPG) in India is the situation that each such elite has four-five traditional identity cards in his pocket. When he feels that he has a competition with some other elite having different cards, he will play his trump card of caste, sect, language or native to win individual competition with the other elite. The entire competition is personal, but through traditional cards, he makes this a group battle. As a Brahmin, I am losing my personal promotion chance against a Bania, I would raise a slogan "injustice to Brahmin, all Brahmins unite to fight for justice." In reality, I know that this is

not a battle between Brahmin and Bania groups, but a battle between two persons. This being so, these elites are politically more dangerous.

4.8 Perspective on 'Type of Society'

IP was the president of Indian Sociological Society and he delivered the presidential address at the annual conference hosted by the Department of Sociology of Jabalpur University in 1978. This is an almost 44-year-old story. However, the issue is more relevant today than it was in those days. From mixed economy and democratic socialism, we have shifted to LPG in 1991, but we have not changed the basic direction provided by our Constitution. This is also known as neo liberalism. I would like to mention a story before I begin with IP's concept of the desired type of society. Joseph Stiglitz, the advisor to the US government, advised his government to adopt globalization and give a major role to the market. US did that and the rest is history. Stiglitz received the Nobel Prize in Economics for this new idea of globalization. After 24 years of this advice, Stiglitz wrote a book 'The Roaring Nineties.' He almost apologized before the world community for wrongly advising the US government. He said that market at the most can solve production problems; it in any case cannot solve the issue of distribution. He emphatically said that you do require ethics with economics. You need active roles by state and civil society along with the market. (Gandhi had said exactly this before 113 years.) Those of you who are interested in this issue should listen to Stiglitz's lecture on 'Ethics and Globalization' on YouTube.

Ramkrishna Mukherjee, in his book 'Sociology of Indian Sociology', raises five questions that a sociologist should ask. They are (1) What it is? (the phenomenon)? (2) How is it so? (the process), (3) Why is it so? (the cause), (4) What will it be? and (5) What it should be? The fourth question is about prediction in normal circumstances, while the fifth question is normative. Many sociologists say that sociology is a science, it does not opine on what it should be. Here is the catch. As a person, you would definitely want the 'what should be' question to be answered by knowledgeable people. But as a scientist, you deny the normative part. This is what has happened with sociology, the world over. IP as a concerned sociologist wanted us to think on the issue of what it should be. The desired type of society address is an exercise in the direction of answering this question.

IP delivered the presidential address in his own characteristic style. The title of the address was 'The Concept of Desired Type of Society and the

Problems of Social Change.' The term 'desired type of society' was new for all those who attended the conference, as this term was not used in sociology. IP himself begins with the fact that the concept of the desired type of society is neglected in our studies. IP's discussion on this subject is in light of certain provisions, on the type of society, in our Constitution. Our Constitution was framed by our representatives and passed by them. The features of the desired type of society mentioned in our Constitution are as follows: democratic, secular (in non-sectarian sense of the term), egalitarian (good for all), casteless and classless. Now, we have to discuss whether we the people want this type of society or not? IP feels that Indian sociologists have not paid attention to this issue. On the other hand, IP also feels that a desired society with the characteristics was accepted in the early years of independence. But as of today (1978), this type of society is not accepted even by ruling elites, except when they speak for public consumption.

Under such circumstances, the concept of the desired type of society is becoming more pertinent. Two developments in sociology, particularly after independence, have taken place. One, we have now become more equipped in techniques and methods of observing and analysing the society. We have accurate data and also tools to process data. As a result, our knowledge about our society has increased. We have also expanded the fields of inquiry. Not only caste, family and village studies, as it used to happen in the past; now we also have studies on political participation, elections, land relations, agrarian classes, labourers, trade unions, cooperatives and urbanization. Not only the areas of studies have expanded, they have also become intensive. We emphasize on more precision. We are now speaking and writing more to the point and pointedly. The second question is how this development in methods and techniques helps us in theory and practice. Do we have any relation with what happens in society? Here comes the aspect of working on the concept of the desired type of society. Many of us say that this is a normative concept and hence not useful in our analysis. They would also say that sociology is science, and hence, it is objective. Questions like these have no place in sociology. They say that we study social change and also make a statement that India is in transition from bullock cart to jet plane phase. They would also say that a traditional society is becoming a modern society. These are very nice expressions. But now what? What is the nature of this modernization? What is the future? If you say appropriate technology is the future, IP would say which society? Obviously, it must be appropriate

with the society that we have desired in our Constitution. Instead of facing such questions, we evade them.

Desired society is a future image of workable utopia. IP's position on this issue is that we search for knowledge, not for knowledge's sake, but for guiding our actions. This means that knowledge should help us solve the short-term and long-term problems of our society. Some of us are involved with studies of problems and provide solutions. Such efforts help administration and management. They also suggest how to improve efficiency of management. But the suggestions they provide help change 'in' the system. They are mostly concerned with alternatives within a given system or sub-system. But when it is time for the whole system or sub-system to change, they stop.

By change of the system, and not in the system, IP means transformation of a system or sub-system. When we understand that the change is really a transformation, the question of transformation from what type of society to what type arises. There arises the question of transformation to the future or desirable type of society. The sense of direction gives meaning and significance to our research. IP gives the example of two worlds. The first world is the capitalist world. The second world is called socialist world. Countries, including India, which got independence after the Second World War are known as third world. What is desirable type for India and other such countries of the third world? Will it be capitalism? Or will it be socialism? Or will it be 'Ramrajya' or a state where few people dominate the rest? Or do we have any other type in mind? Our knowledge will have to guide our actions on deciding actions and institutions. Only deciding on the type of desirable society will not end our problems. We will have to decide details of structure and institutions. One more thing, we need consensus on the details. Consensus is needed to establish the greatest good of the greatest number of people (Sarv jan hitaya, sarv jan sukhaya).

4.9 Perspective on Methodology

IP's perspective on methodology can be explained in four parts. (A) What to do versus How to do, (B) Participant observation versus Survey, (C) Synchronic study vs. Diachronic study, and (D) Deduction vs. Induction. Let me make it clear again that so far as methodology was concerned, IP was eclectic. We will explain these points one by one.

(A) What to do versus How to do: First and second generations of sociologists had not studied courses in research methodology. What they knew was that sociology has to be studied by scientific methods. It was also believed that the study should be objective and fact based. For the whole second generation, what they were doing and why they were doing so was more important than how they were doing. (If a problem is rightly formulated, half the research is done.) If you know what you want to do, how to do it will follow from it. This means that the theory part has to be clear. If theory is clear, the method will follow. But if you are not clear what you want to do and why you want to do so, you end up in doing a mere survey, and not research. IP said that this is true, but you do need definite training in research methodology. The method does not spring automatically from your theory.

(B) Participant Observation versus Survey: The second generation knew that the first generation studied through scriptures. So far as second generation was concerned, those like Srinivas, who were trained in Britain using the evolution model, depended more on participant observation method. Such sociologists were studying structures (family, caste, village) through the synchronic model. IP was critical of the synchronic model on basis of three points: (A) It did not study the issue of change, which was important for India. (B) It over depended on participant observation and did not collect data through use of questionnaire. (C) You have to differentiate between ethics and aesthetics on one side and science on the other side. Science is supposed to be rational, dependent on facts and figures.

IP used survey data in many studies, however, he was not much aware about statistical methods. At that juncture of time, Gore sent him an article that was full of data. Srinivas was critical of surveys. But it was here to stay. Gore and Damle used survey data more, whereas Srinivas and his camp depended more on participant observation. In fact, Srinivas criticized the survey method. Survey wala as well as participant observation wala, both analysed structures, relate variables, check facts and declare whether there is relationship or not. IP was eclectic in terms of methods. He felt that you need observation to have qualitative facts, but you also need quantitative objective facts. He felt that a combination of both should work. Mere observation is highly personal, while only survey data constitutes craft and not science.

(C) Synchronic versus Diachronic Study: The other critical point IP raised was the need for type of research in independent India. He felt that the issues in independent India are different. Our problems are different from the problems of Europe and America. We have to use western knowledge to solve our own problems. We need more studies of change and fewer studies of structures. This meant that we need diachronic study design that studies various stages in history that indicate change. Why should we study structure at one point of time or why should we have a synchronic study? India cannot afford the luxury of mere academic study or study for sake of study.

(D) Deduction versus Induction: Logically, all methods can be divided into two parts. When you go from general axiom to a particular observation, you are using deductive method. But if you collect data first and try to deduce theory from your observation, you are using induction. This is a perpetual dilemma in research, which is not yet solved. But evolutionists use theory first and then observe a phenomenon. Thus, they can be considered as using deductive method. Whereas in empiricism or in induction, you collect data first and then arrive at a theory from that. IP was critical of both the camps. He believed in combining deductive techniques with inductive techniques. But he was critical of the training in research methods that has a big chunk of statistical methods and techniques, but no theory. Mere knowledge of measurement is not enough. You should know what you want to measure and why you want to measure and what you want to prove by measuring a particular phenomenon. Even in order to measure, you have to evolve category first. Evolving category requires abstract thinking or deduction. So, mere empiricism will not make fruitful research. This means that you should learn methodology and not only methods. Once Ashish Nandi came to Surat and IP and Nandi were discussing this issue. Punalekar and I were listening to them. IP had said that training in research methodology is a training of mind on how to think scientifically, whereas mere training in statistical methods is training in craft and not training in science. You can measure without knowing why you measure and what you want to do with this measurement. There has to be a relationship between theory and research. You have to first know what you want to know. If you are clear on this issue, you can find out how and with what method and technique you want to do this. I am happy to note that the training programmes in research methodology conducted by CSS has both the aspects – deduction and induction.

Sociology is concerned with measurement. There are measurement techniques, including scaling techniques. Overemphasis on measurement techniques has an impact on choice of topics of research. We do not select such topics which are not measurable. Many sensitive issues are left out and trivial topics that have no bearing on development of sociology are in vogue. If you select only measurable topics, you will have equations, formulae and models as it happens in economics. This is necessary, but these are tools and not goals. They have to be used to reach our goals. It may happen in future that anyone who is not using such techniques will not be considered as a sociologist. This position is not acceptable to IP.

5. Summing up

While summing up this talk, I would say that we have studied IP's contribution to sociology, but we have not studied the perspective with which he conducted his studies and the one that he advocated as more appropriate in Indian situation. So far as studies in India are concerned, IP said that we need studies on change. In order to do so, we need diachronic studies that would tell us about change in different stages. We will have to use the stage theory to study change. For IP, the meaning of change was transformation of the system and not change within the system. While analysing change, economy and polity were considered as prime movers of change for IP, and not education as some liberals used to believe. Being a pioneer in studies on sociology of education, IP set the trend of viewing education as a system as part of the larger social system and one that performs functions for the larger system. According to IP, education has less autonomy than economy and polity. So far as family is concerned, you have to see joint-ness as degrees of joint-ness and not as joint versus nuclear family. He also said that family joint-ness is functional joint-ness and not of structural joint-ness. In the same way, IP said that caste is changing and not being eradicated. He opined that you have to consider caste and class criteria – both as basis of reservation. He also cautioned that substantive elite is not an agent of change, as it was popularly believed. For tribal problems, he was in favour of the integration approach. He also said that the transformation of society is from an old, ascription-based to an open, achievement-based society. So, you have to study transformation from old to new form of stratification. Not only that you have to study the transformation of society from the point of view of a desired type of society. So far as methodology of such studies is concerned, you should have diachronic study design and a combination of deduction and induction methods.

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Centre for Social Studies, Surat (CSS) is an autonomous social science research institute. With a focus on understanding processes of development, CSS is dedicated to the study of Indian society with a firm belief that this can contribute to the social transformation.

Founded by late Professor I.P. Desai in 1969 as the Centre for Regional Development Studies, CSS receives financial support from the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR, Government of India) and the Department of Higher and Technical Education, Government of Gujarat. A multi-disciplinary institute, CSS formulates ideas, undertakes empirical studies, theorizes and disseminates knowledge through training and publications in vernacular and English languages.

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Renowned Sociologist Prof. Vidyut Joshi earned his bachelor and master degrees from Gujarat University, Ahmedabad and completed his Ph.D. under the supervision of late Prof. I.P. Desai from Veer Narmad South Gujarat University, Surat in 1980. He taught Sociology in many colleges, institutes, and universities across the state of Gujarat. Prof. Joshi was the Vice Chancellor of Bhavnagar University, from 1995 to 1998. Thereafter, he became Director of the Centre for Social Studies, Surat. He also worked as Emeritus Professor at Gujarat Vidyapith, and Nirma University, Ahmedabad, and Visiting Professor at SPISER, Ahmedabad. Prof. Vidyut Joshi has conferred a lifetime achievement award for his profound and exceptional contribution in the field of sociology by the Indian Sociological Society in 2020. Prof. Joshi has been associated with many social institutions/societies, like Narmada Abhiyan, Indian Sociological Society, Gujarat Sociological Society, Institute of Social Action and Research, Gujarat Samajik Sewa Mandal, and Centre for Rural Care in various capacities, including life member, founder trustee, and President. He also worked as a consultant to ILO, UNESCO, the World Bank, and many more national and international organizations. In 1992, he was invited by the World Bank to present a paper on the "Tribal People and Rehabilitation Programme" at an international seminar at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. He also received a Senior Shastri Scholarship from Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute to visit and study the Haida Tribe of Queen Charlotte Island in British Columbia, the province of Canada in 1992. Prof. Joshi is a prolific writer in both Gujarati and English. So far, he has published 35 books: 15 in English and 20 in Gujarati. His major books include *Migrant Labour and Related Issues* (Oxford and IBH), *Submerging Villages- problems and Prospects* (Ajanta Books), *Organising Unorganised Labour* (Oxford and IBH), *Tribal Situation in India* (Rawat), *Gandhian Humanism in Praxis* (Rawat) and *Social Movements* (Rawat). Prof. Joshi has also published around 138 research articles in reputed journals of social sciences and around 2500 newspaper articles in *Jansatta*, *Financial Express*, *The Times of India*, *Divya Bhaskar*, *Sandesh*, and *Gujarat Mitra*. At present, he is working as honorary director of the Institute for Equity and Development, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.