

Professional Ethics in Social Science Research

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Introduction

- **Ethics** are moral principles that govern a persons behavior or the conducting of an activity.
- **Professional ethics** encompass the personal and corporate standards of behavior expected by professionals. Professional ethics are regulated by standards, which are often referred to as codes of ethics.
- The code of ethics is very important because it gives us boundaries that we have to stay within in our professional careers.
- As a concept, 'research ethics' refers to a complex set of values, standards and institutional schemes that help constitute and regulate scientific activity. Ultimately, research ethics is a codification of ethics of science in practice. In other words, it is based on general ethics of science, just as general ethics is based on commonsense morality.

Why ethics are important in Research?

- Researchers should focus their research for the good of mankind and for expanding the frontiers of scientific knowledge, while enjoying the freedom of thought and expression, and the freedom to identify methods by which problems are solved, according to recognized ethical principles and practices.
- Academic freedom has its limits, however, and a researcher has considerable responsibility to –
 - 1) the people involved in the research and their rights, safety, well-being and interests (or dignity, integrity, rights, and autonomy)
 - 2) communities that are engaged and involved in the research; and
 - 3) society at large, in terms of the contributions research can make in effecting socially useful and valued development and change, but also in terms of avoiding potential misuse or unintended consequences of research results.

Contd.

- Research participants' rights are anchored in fundamental human rights and the fundamental ethical principles that govern all scientific research.
- Additional central policies and widely accepted declarations that codify principles of research ethics and ethical treatment of research participants include the Nuremberg Code(1947), the Helsinki Declaration(1968), and the Belmont Report(1979). Although these codes originate in the biomedical field, they encompass the central principles that apply to all human research.

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Ethical principles cited in these declarations include -

- respecting human dignity and integrity
- ensuring honesty and transparency towards research subjects
- respecting individual autonomy and obtaining free and informed consent (as well as assent whenever relevant)
- protecting vulnerable individuals
- ensuring privacy and confidentiality
- promoting justice and inclusiveness
- minimising harm and maximising benefit
- sharing the benefits with disadvantaged populations, especially if the research is being carried out in developing countries
- respecting and protecting the environment and future generations.

Ethics principle for research

The ethical principles outlined here take into consideration the general or normative principle of ethics, viz, (1) Non-maleficence, (2) Beneficence, (3) Autonomy, (4) Confidentiality and (5) Justice.

1. Essentiality: Research should be undertaken after giving adequate consideration to the existing knowledge on the subject/issue under the study and alternatives available.

2. Precaution and risk minimisation: Every research carries some amount of risk to the participants and to the society and consumes resources. Taking adequate precautions and minimising risks are therefore essential.

3. Knowledge, ability and commitment to do research: While research is not the monopoly of any group or of only those who are recognised as professionals, every researcher must acquire adequate knowledge and ability, and should have commitment to do research.

4. Respect and protection of autonomy, rights and dignity of participants: Research involving participation of individual(s) must not only respect, but also protect the autonomy, rights and dignity of participants. The participation of the individual(s) must be voluntary and based on informed consent.

Contd.

5. Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality: All information and records provided by participants to researchers or obtained directly or indirectly by researchers on the participants, are confidential. The researchers should not reveal or share any information that could identify participants without the express permission of the participants.

6. Non-exploitation: Research must not consume unnecessary time of participants, make them incur unacceptable loss of resources and income and should not expose them to risks due to participation in the research. The relationship within the research team should also be based on the principle of non-exploitation and the contribution of each member should be properly acknowledged and recognised.

7. Accountability and transparency: The conduct of research must be fair, honest and transparent. The researchers are accountable to the research community and the society. Researchers must be amenable to the appropriate and responsible public scrutiny of their work by appropriate and responsible ethics/social body. In such a scrutiny, researchers should make full disclosure on each aspect of the research, conflicts of interest (if any), complete records of research, etc. It is desirable that researchers take steps, on their own, for the periodic research and social audit of their work by independent committee. The researchers should also make appropriate arrangement for the preservation of research records for a reasonable length of time.

Contd.

8. Maximisation of public interest and of distributive justice: Research is a social activity, carried out for the benefit of society. It should be undertaken with the motive of maximisation of public interest and distributive justice.

9. Public domain: All research being carried out and planned must be brought to the public domain. Researchers must make adequate efforts to make the results of their research public, and to ensure that their reports are peer reviewed and disseminated.

10. Totality of responsibility: The responsibility for due observance of all principles of ethics and guidelines or rules devolves on all those directly or indirectly connected with the research. They include researcher(s), funder(s) and sponsor(s) of research, institution(s) where the research is conducted, and various persons, groups or undertakings who sponsor, use or derive benefit from research, market the product (if any) or prescribe its use. The totality of responsibility means all associated with research, must monitor, constantly review and take corrective measures.

Participation

- **Informed consent**- Most social science research endeavours are such that human participation requires evidence of the voluntary, free, and informed consent of those who contribute their time, insights, effort and data for the use of researchers. Informed consent, whether in writing (as is most usual) or given orally, must be taken.
- **Deception**-Researchers include deception in the design of the study if disclosing its real purpose would lead participants to modify their behaviour, thereby distorting the research objective. Use of deception as part of SSH research has been subject to controversy and debate
- **Covert research**-This type of secret or disguised research is rare and should be the exception rather than the rule. Like deception, covert research requires strong justification and a demonstration of clear benefits of the chosen method over any other approach.

Internet research and social media data in research

A number of issues have been raised in research that is internet-mediated and uses social media data. While using internet we should take care that-

- All data that are available are also public and it is fair to use them in research
- meeting conditions are free and voluntary informed consent is taken in the context of social media research
- Anonymity
- risk of harm through tracing or exposing the social media user's identity and profile

Vulnerable participants

- In general, groups considered vulnerable because of their circumstances may include: children ,refugees ,irregular migrants, sex workers ,people with cognitive impairments ,traumatised people, old aged people, sick etc. In case of underaged children consent should be taken from their parents in other cases either consent can be taken from the respondents or their care takers.
- **Data protection and privacy** -The main risk faced by a Social Science research participant is disclosure of identity and insufficient protection of their private information, associated with discrimination and stigmatisation. Safeguarding privacy and appropriate measures for processing, handling, and storing data are thus central at all stages of research and beyond.

Areas of Academic Misconduct

- Plagiarism-Copying from others work without proper citation
- Fabrication or falsification- creating false data
- Non publication of data
- Poor data storage and retention
- Misleading authorship- authorship should be given to those who contribute in the research

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Thank You

Indian Sociological Thinkers Indological Perspective

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G S Ghurye

The few broad areas that have been identified in Ghurye's writings are;

- Caste.
- Tribe.
- Kinship
- Culture and Civilisation.
- Religion.
- Sociology of Conflict and Integration.
- Family and Marriage.

Contd.

- **The various writings of Ghurye include:**
- Caste and Race in India (1932)
- Indian Sadhus (1953)
- Bharatnatyam and it's costume (1958)
- Family and Kinship in Indo-European culture (1955)
- Social tensions in India (1968)

Features of Caste

Ghurye explains caste in India on the basis of six distinctive characteristics:

- Segmental division of society;
- Hierarchy;
- Civil and religious disabilities and privileges;
- Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation;
- Restriction on food, drinks and social intercourse;
- Endogamy.

Contd.

- Ghurye also wrote about tribes and rural-urbanisation
- Ghurye's sociology romanticised India. Critique says that there was a need for Indian sociology to change its goalpost from book view to Field Approach.

Louis Dumont

- Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* offers several new perspectives of social structure. He has brought the method of structuralism to bear upon his study of the caste system. The chief elements of his methodology are:
 - Ideology and structure
 - Dialectic transformational relationship and comparison
 - Indological and structuralist approach
 - Cognitive historical approach

Writings of Dumont

- Dumont's main areas of interest are social anthropology and Indology. He has written on wide range of subjects such as Hinduism, caste, kinship, and social and political movements in India. His major works are as follows:
- La Tarasque(1951)
- One sous-caste de Inde du sud: Organization sociale et religion des pramalai kallar(1957)
- Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications (1966, 1970)
- Religion, Politics and History in India: Collected Papers in Indian Sociology (1970)
- Homo aequalis (1977)

Homo Hierarchicus

- The Homo Hierarchicus: The caste system and its Implication (1966) is an unusual work of Dumont in its conception, design and execution.
- This is a complete, theoretical work that helps us to access the vast body of available ethnographic data on caste

Contd.

His explanation of caste and culture in India, based on a series of oppositions or dualities

- modern / traditional
- hierarchy / equality,
- purity / pollution,
- status / powers

This is remarkably consistent with the dialectical and structural viewpoints of his European, and especially French, intellectual forbearers.

Theory of Varnas

- Dumont has viewed that India has the traditional hierarchy of Varnas, colours.
- There is the fourfold division of the society, such as Brahmins or priest, Khatriyas or warriors, Vaishyas or the traders/ merchants and the Shudras or the servants.
- He found that there was no categories below this called to be the untouchables.
- Caste and varnas are to be understood with relationship of hierarchy and power.

Contd.

- Dumont discusses, the significant changes in the castes.
- He views that the traditional interdependence of castes has been replaced by "a universe of impenetrable blocks, self-sufficient, essential, identical and in competition in one another".
- Various sources of changes in caste system includes judicial and political changes, socio-religious reforms, westernization, and growth of modern professions, urbanization, spatial mobility and the growth of market economy.
- But, despite all these factors making for change, the most ubiquitous and the general form the change has occurred in contemporary times is one of a 'mixture' or 'combination', of traditional and modern features .

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Indian Sociological Thinkers (Marxian Perspective)

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Introduction

- Marxism aims at providing a scientific study of society from a class angle.
- The Marxist thinkers in India believe that the emergence of Indian society and its unique institutions could be best examined from the Marxian perspective than any other approach since the only reality is that of material phenomenon that determines everything else.

A R Desai

Methodological approach of Desai

- A.R.Desai is one among the Indian Sociologists who have constantly advocated and applied dialectical historical model in his sociological studies. Desai closely studied the works of Marx and Engel's.
- He is regarded as one of the pioneers of the modern Marxist approach to empirical investigations involving bibliographical and field research.
- Desai has consistently applied Marxist methods in his treatment of Indian social structure and its processes.
- He rejects any interpretations of tradition with reference to religion, rituals and festivities

Works & Writings

The main works are:

- The Social Background of Indian Nationalism
- Rural Sociology in India
- Slums and Urbanization in India
- State and Society in India
- Peasant Struggle in India
- Rural India in Transition
- India's Path of development

Contd.

He believed that the transformation of India Society from feudal economy to capitalist economy was the result of the British conquest of India. With the introduction of new economic reforms there was the disruption of the old economic system in India.

- emergence of the Zamindars as the private owner of the lands.
- new class groups also emerged like agricultural labourers, tenants, merchants etc.
- This resulted in the polarization of classes in agrarian areas, poverty in rural areas and exploitation of classes by the land owners
- in urban society, there were capitalist industrial working class, petty traders, professional class of doctors, lawyers, engineers etc.

Contd.

- The introduction of railways, postal services, uniform laws, also brought the qualitative changes in the Indian Society.
- Even though Britishers had the exploitative mechanisms still it resulted in the unification of the Indian Society. Infact all the infrastructural development lead to the development of Indian Nationalism leading to nationalist freedom movement.

D. P. MUKHERJEE

- Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji contributed the perspective of Marxian Sociology in India.
- He was tolerant of Western ideas, concepts and analytical categories. He viewed that there is a need for an indigenous sociology and social anthropology. He preferred to call himself 'Marxologist' rather than 'Marxist'
- He attempted a dialectical interpretation of the encounter between the Indian tradition and modernity which unleashed many forces of cultural contradiction during the colonial era.

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- He focused more on the historical specificity of India's cultural and social transformation which was characterized less by the "Class struggle" and more by value assimilating and cultural synthesis that resulted from the encounter between tradition and modernity
- D.P. Mukherjee in his book "Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study" has revealed British rule as the real turning point for the Indian Society.

Contd.

- Mukherjee ideas on tradition and modernity replicate a dialectical relationship between the two.
- Mukherjee has also perceived the role of Britishers as a crucial factor behind the history of India. He has emphasized on both the positive and negative consequences of British rule.

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Indian Sociological Thinkers (Structural Functional Perspective)

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Introduction

- Structural-Functional approach in the study of society emerged from the writings of early thinkers like August Comte, Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim during the later part of 19th century and became a predominant trend in sociology, social and cultural anthropology and other social sciences during the first half of 20th century.
- M. N. Srinivas and S. C. Dube, Yogendra Singh are considered to be in the forefront of structural-functional approach in the study of Indian society.

M.N. SRINIVAS

- He is mostly known for his work on caste and caste system, social stratification and Sanskritization in southern India.
- He is also famous for his ideas on the concept of "Dominant Caste".

Methodological approach of Srinivas

- According to Srinivas there are basically two ways of understanding our society. Those are: book view and field view.
- Book view is to understand the society from the books and literature available and is otherwise known as Indological approach.
- But Srinivas has emphasized more on field view, where understanding society from field work is considered as important.
- He made an intensive study on the Coorgs of Mysore in South India

The various scholarly writings of Srinivas writings include

- Social change in Modern India (1966)
- Religion and Society among Coorgs of South India(1952)
- Caste in Modern India and Other Essays(1966)
- The Dominant Caste and Other Essays (1987)
- India's Villages (1955)
- India: Social Structure (1980)

Works

His major contribution includes:

- **Social Change**- The basic meaning of Social change is the change in the social structure. The term social change refers to any significant alteration in behavior patterns and cultural values. This type of change may have a lasting effect on a society's culture that has undergone transformation.
- **Sanskritization**- Srinivas coined the term Sanskritization to reflect the social mobility present in Indian Society. According to M.N. Srinivas "Sanskritization is a process by which a "low" Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, a "twice" born caste.

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Dominant Caste

- The term dominant caste as coined by him and was used to refer to a caste which "wields economic or political power and occupies a fairly high position in the hierarchy."
- These castes are accorded high status and position in all the fields of social life. The people of other lower castes look at them as their 'reference group' and try to imitate their behavior, ritual pattern, custom and ideology.
- In this way, the dominant caste of a particular locality plays an important role in the 'process of cultural transmission' in that area.

Contd.

Srinivas has defined the following six major characteristics of Dominant caste.

- Land Ownership
- Numerical Strength
- High place in local hierarchy
- Education
- Job in administration and urban sources of income:
- Political involvement

S C Dube

- S.C. Dube is renowned for his work on Indian villages and for his documentation and analysis of processes of social change.
- Dube mostly focused his writings on India's changing villages.
- Dube always advocated for the interdisciplinary orientation and a promoter of research interest.

Contd.

- Dube's interest in rural studies grew steadily, largely because of the acceptance of the Community Development Programme (CDP) by the Government of India. This brought a shift from 'structure' to 'change' in India's villages.

Writings

The various scholarly writings of Dube include:

- India's Changing Villages (1958)
- Understanding Society (1977)
- Modernization and Development: The search for Alternative Paradigm (1988)
- Contemporary India and its Modernization
- Indian Society (2005)

Contd.

- In his study on *Shamirpet* village at Hyderabad, Dube has basically focused on the functioning of the Villages in India.
- He founded that the economic system of the rural India is mostly caste based.
- There are caste's functional specialization, interdependence and also low occupational mobility. His study derived the three major types of religious services and festivals observed in the village.
- Dube had classified the society based on their standard of living into four categories that are: rich, well-to-do, average and poor. It was based on various aspects of living like household possession, clothing, ornament etc.

Contd.

- In his book *Contemporary India and its Modernization* (1974), Dube has mostly discussed about bureaucracy, leadership, education, planning and secularism to analyze critically the success and failures of modernization. Modern Society is a rational and scientific.

Yogendra Singh

- Yogendra Singh was neither functionalist nor Marxist but he emphasizes theory in relation to context.
- Therefore, he related structural-functional, structuralism, structural-historical, culturalism and Marxist orientation and constructs in the study social stratification.
- He applied **integrated approach** for his analysis of social stratification, modernization and change in Indian society.

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Some of his main works are:

- Modernization of Indian Tradition (1973)
- Essays on Modernization (1977)
- Social Stratification and Social Change in India (1978)
- Image of Man: Ideology and Theory in Indian Sociology (1984)
- Indian Sociology: Social Conditioning and Emerging Concerns (1987)
- Social Change in India: Crisis and Resilience (1993)

contd

In his studies, Singh has concentrated his focus on the following aspects of Indian society:

- Social stratification
- Social change
- Modernization
- Indian sociology
- Culture change

Contd.

Singh (1977) reviewed the trend of sociology of social stratification on India focusing upon some of these specific structural units of stratification.

These are mainly:

- (i) Caste system and social stratification, and
- (ii) Class structures and social stratification.

- **Social Change:** Singh (1973) labels social change as 'ideology'. If the relevance of the concepts of sanskritization and westernization is not as analytical proposition but 'truth asserting concepts' as Singh has aptly characterized them –
- **Sanskritization,**
- **Westernization,**
- **Parochialization,**
- **Universalization,**
- Little and great traditions,
- Rural-urban dichotomy or continuum, etc. enriched the body of sociology of knowledge.

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In his book on Social Change in India: Crisis and Resilience (1993), Singh discusses social change in India on following aspects:

- (1) Contradictions and challenges of social change,
- (2) Social transformation of the Indian society,
- (3) Contemporary social crisis and its dimensions,
- (4) Economic development and changing family system,
- (5) Law and social change,
- (6) Structure, traditions and Indian societal resilience,
- (7) Ethnicity, unity and Indian civilization,
- (8) Social processes and dimensions of Indian nationalism,
- (9) National integration of Indian society,
- (10) Concept of social structure, and
- (11) Social stratification.

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SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVE

SUBALTERN: MEANING AND DEFINITION

Sub Altern Studies began its impressive career in England at the end of the 1970s, when conversations on subaltern themes among a small group of English and Indian historians led to a proposal to launch a new journal in India. But Subaltern Studies began in India, where writing about Subaltern Studies began in book reviews. And by 1986 an accumulation of writing inside and outside the project had established a distinctive school of research whose adherents came to be called as 'subalternists' or simply, 'subalterns.' In the 1990s Subaltern Studies became a hot topic in academic circles on several continents; a weapon, magnet, target, lightning rod, hitching post, icon, gold mine, and fortress for scholars ranging across disciplines from history to political science, anthropology, sociology, literary criticism, and cultural studies.

The Subaltern Studies emerged in 1982 as a critique of two contending schools of the modern Indian history, namely that of the Cambridge and of the nationalist-Marxist historians. Both these schools, from a Subaltern perspective, constructed history of Indian nationalism as a story of achievement of a tiny elite group. Therefore, they "could not explain the contributions made by people on their own, that is, independent of the elite to the making and development of this nationalism". This necessitated the Subaltern Studies to inaugurate an "anti-elitist approach to history" in which "the subaltern groups were viewed as the subjects of history." Therefore, according to Vinay Lal, "Subaltern Studies, viewed as a collective enterprise, represents the most significant achievement of South Asian 'cultural studies'; it has effectively contested what were

until recently the dominant interpretations of Indian history, and more generally it has provided a framework within which to contest the dominant modes of knowledge.”

The word ‘subaltern’ refers to the general attribute of subordination, which is expressed in terms of a caste, class, age, gender etc. It also includes the characteristics of defiance and submission. Literally it conveys the meaning ‘view from below’ or understanding from the bottom of society or the flow of knowledge from below. The subaltern approach tries to make a balance by highlighting the role of politics of the ‘masses’ as against the elite politics. This approach is not only focusing on peasant or tribal insurgents as object of history but also treats them as makers of their own history- endowed with a transformative consciousness of their own.

SHOLARS OF SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVE

The subalternists always claim that they have unfolded the incapacity of nationalist and elitist historiography to incorporate the voices of the weak into the project of history re-writing. They have focused their attention on the circle of elite politics and have emphasized the insurrectionary activities and potential of the ‘subaltern’ classes to make these classes possessed self-conscious and coherent conception of resistance that was directed against rich peasants, urban traders or the colonial revenue administrators. The major scholars of the perspectives in India are David Hardiman, B.R. Ambedkar, Ranjit Guha and others.

B.R. AMBEDKAR

Life Sketch of B.R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar born on 14th April 1891 was the most towering figure among the Dalit leaders. In 1917 he joined the Baroda State Service after returning from his studies in the USA and the United Kingdom, as part of the terms of his scholarship agreement. He worked in the city of Baroda, the place of the ruling family of Gaikwad, which financed his studies abroad. He worked as secretary in the defense office of the Maharaja of Baroda State. Ambedkar worked for the protection of dalit rights and upliftment of the status of the Dalits. In 1924, he started legal practice in Bombay and founded the *Bahishkrit Hitkarni Sabha* (Depressed Class Institute) to uplift the Dalits. Henceforth, he started his movement and took the cause of the Dalits. He roused the dalit consciousness to fight for the eradication of dalit discrimination; to claim equality of treatment, status and opportunity; to equally enjoy all rights including civil, political, social and economic and respect for the dignity of persons. He was considered a crusader for the human rights of the Dalits in India.

Ambedkar was a great supporter of women's liberation. He blamed the verna system, which has not only subjugated Dalits but also women. He questioned *Manu Smriti* (Laws of Manu), the law book (Dharam-Shastra) of Brahminic Hinduism and attributed to Manu, the legendary first man and lawgiver. *Manu Smriti* prescribed the Dharma of each Hindu, stating the obligations attached to his or her social class and stage of life. It was hostile to the interest of lower caste people and women. It prohibited re-marriage of widows. He felt that *Manu Smriti* was solely responsible for the downfall of Hindu women. He encouraged the Dalits to embrace Buddhism to liberate their own selves from Hindu subjugation. Hence he fought for the right to choose ones' faith.

He adopted various means to safeguard dalit rights. Ambedkar launched a movement against dalit discrimination by creating public opinion through his writings in several periodicals such as *Mook Nayak*, *Vahishkrit Bharat*, and *Equality Janta*, which he started for the protection of dalit

rights. He also launched numerous movements. One of the memorable struggles of the Dalits was the Vaikom Satyagraha in Travancore in Maharashtra, which asserted the right of the Dalits to worship in Hindu temples without hindrance. Ambedkar also fought for the rights of workers and peasants. In the late 1920s and especially in the 1930s when he had formed his Independent Labour Party, he took up the cause of tenants (from both the dalit Mahars and the caste Hindu Kunbis) in the Konkan region of Maharashtra. he demand for safeguards and protection of Scheduled Castes (earlier called Depressed Class) has a long history dating to Montague-Chelmsford Reform of 1919 during the British Raj period. Ambedkar had been closely involved in the struggle to give Scheduled Caste people solid statutory safeguard. He was a delegate at the Round Table Conference in London, where he asked for separate electorate for the Dalits. It is not a surprise that subsequently Ambedkar saw to it that the welfare of the Scheduled Caste people were guaranteed in the 1949 Constitution of India in the form of reservation in legislative, employment and educational fields. Ambedkar was a great champion of the dalit cause because he succeeded in turning the depressed class movement into a revolutionary movement throughout India.

Writings of B.R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar has made several major contributions in social sciences. His scholarly writings include:

- i. The untouchables, Who are they?
- ii. Who are the Shudras?
- iii. States and Minorities
- iv. Emancipation of the Untouchables
- v. Annihilation of Caste

Understanding Dalit

In general terms Dalit refers to the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and the Other Backward Classes (OBC). But in political sense, term Dalit refers to the Scheduled Castes. This term was first used by the British in Government of India Act, 1935. They were generally considered as untouchables. So Mahatma Gandhi had replaced the term with 'Harijans' which means the man of God. According to Hindu Code of Conduct untouchables belongs to the lowest rank of hierarchy with different names like shudras, chandals, antyajias etc. Ambedkar's movement had led to the development of the term 'Dalit' which indicates a political and social awareness. Ambedkar had adopted a different approach and philosophy for the emancipation of Scheduled Castes. Ambedkar wanted the liberation of dalits through creating an egalitarian society. But it was not possible in Hindu social structure, which was quite hierarchical in nature and placed the dalits at the bottom. So he asserted that the dalits should come forward and have to fight for themselves, for which Ambedkar provided them with the mantra of- educate, organize and agitate.

Subaltern approach of Ambedkar

The involvement of Ambedkar in the field of politics, created the new dimensions for social reforms. According to him unless and until the downtrodden do not fight for their rights and for themselves then no one could bring them out of their problems. Self-awakening, is the best way to remove the evils in society. Ambedkar in his subaltern approach used to preach that liberty can not be received as a gift rather it has to be fought for. Self-elevation is not achieved by the blessings of others but only by one's own struggle and deed. Ambedkar provided the mission and vision to the people who were lacking the courage within themselves.

According to Ambedkar in Hindu religion the Vedas, smritis and shastras were used as a tool to inflict severe punishment against the dalits or untouchables. So he viewed that these Vedas, smritis and shatras are just a system of rule, which deprived the untouchables from their basic needs and creates the discrimination in the society. So there is nothing wrong in destroying this religion and it is not even irreligious.

Another major aspect of Ambedkar's subaltern approach is the formulation of Indian nationalism. It included the national perception and aspirations of the downtrodden. Ambedkar's alternative form of nationalism, in opposition to the dominant discourse of Hindu nationalism as represented by Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee on the one hand and Communist- secular- socialist nationalism represented by M. N. Ror, R. P. Duta, T. Nagi Reddy and E. M.S. Namboodri on the other, are not only distinct but are also original. Whereas the Hindu nationalism on strengthening the Brahminical supremacy in the post-colonial India, the communist-secular nationalism, inspite of its endeavour to abolish class was myopic to the Dalit's tribulation as its ideologies also belonged to the upper castes like that of Hindu nationalism. Therefore, Ambedkar's 'Dalit-Bahujan- Samaj' formed an anti-hindu and anti-brahminical discourse of Indian nationalism. The main aim of this nationalism was to form a casteless and classless society where there will be no discrimination on the basis of birth and occupation.

Role in politics

B.R. Ambedkar was a representative figure of Indian Politics in the Gandhian era. Gandhi was the unchallenged leader of Indian National Congress; Jinnah represented the separatist Muslim forces and Ambedkar was the main spokesman of Depressed Classes in India. Both Gandhi and

Ambedkar were the champions of the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar had been born in an untouchable family and had suffered from humiliation on that account. By his exertions and perseverance he proved himself the unchallenged leader of the Depressed Classes in India as well as a statesman of national stature. Decades have passed since independence and Ambedkar's death. At the distance of time it is perhaps worthwhile to evaluate his role and personality in proper historical perspective. For most of his life Ambedkar worked outside the mainstream of national politics. He worked for the Depressed Classes' uplift within the political and constitutional framework of the imperialist era. He sincerely felt that being socially treated as an untouchable, he could not get a status of equality and dignity within the Congress politics which was dominated by Caste Hindu politicians. Mahatma Gandhi realized Ambedkar's mental state and said: "He is pronounced as belonging to the Depressed Classes and as being untouchable. Intellectually he is superior to thousands of intelligent and educated caste Hindus. His personal cleanliness was as high as that of any of us. Today he is an eminent lecturer in law. Tomorrow you may find him a Judge of the High Court. In other words there is no position in the Government of this country to which he may not aspire or rise and to which an orthodox Brahmin can rise." Ambedkar pointed out that though the Caste Hindu Congressmen adopted a radical stand in politics, in social matters they were traditionalists and upheld social inequality. Gandhi also felt that many Congressmen supported his anti-untouchability programme only out of political consideration and that they had no hearty support for this programme. Even though Ambedkar kept aloof from the political programme and activities of the National Congress, yet he cannot be branded as protégé of the British imperialism. He fearlessly criticized the failings of the British Government. He pointed out that the British Government supported the cause of Depressed Classes only out of ulterior political motives and gave undue weightage to the Hindu

conservatives. Ambedkar professed and proclaimed that the uplift of the Depressed Classes was the be all and end-all of his life. He did not show any eagerness to earn the reputation of a nationalist leader. This is why he fearlessly and frankly expressed his views for the cause of Depressed Classes and quarrelled with Congress and even Mahatma Gandhi. In September 1932, when Mahatma Gandhi announced his decision to fast unto death, protesting against the provision of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes in the British Prime Minister's Communal Award, and when practically the whole nation backed Gandhi's stand, Ambedkar criticized Gandhi and called his fast " a political stunt". Gandhi took Ambedkar's views seriously and finally agreed to reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes in joint electorates, which was embodied in the Poona Pact. Ambedkar was a social revolutionary. He endeavoured to rouse self-consciousness and self respect among the Depressed Classes. He advised them to be leonine heroes instead of remaining as innocent as goats. He aimed at eradicating social distinctions, based on caste and Varna, and establishing a social order, based on liberty, equality and fraternity. At the fag-end of his life he with his followers embraced Buddhism, as he considered Buddhism, to be a humanitarian religion, based on liberty, equality and fraternity. As Ambedkar worked outside the mainstream of Congress politics and also criticized the Congress, he was suspected by many to be a separatist and pro-British. But all along he remained a patriot. He used to say that patriotism was not the monopoly of Congress and that one could be patriotic without becoming a Congressman. He considered the uplift of the backward sections of the society to be more important than mere political emancipation of the country. Political freedom was meaningless without the elevation of the backward sections of the society. Mahatma Gandhi also held similar views as he thought of the concept of Swaraj in terms of the meanest of the countrymen. Swaraj without extinction of caste had no meaning for Ambedkar. Even though

Ambedkar had quarreled with Congress and Gandhi on certain basic issues, on the eve of independence he accepted the invitation of the Congress to join the Union Government and played his role in the building of the nation. As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution he played the major role in hammering a new constitution. He took all care to enshrine the progressive ideas and ideals of the National Congress in the Constitution. Generally Ambedkar is known as the father of Indian Constitution. Dr. K.V.Rao has described him as the mother of the Constitution as he gave constitutional shape to the ideas of Congress rather than his own. He held the portfolio of Law in Jawaharlal Nehru's first Cabinet. Because of his differences with the Congress and Prime Minister Nehru, he resigned from the Union Government. Ambedkar is generally regarded as the great protagonist of reservation of seats in legislature and posts in Government. But towards the end of his life, when he embraced Buddhism with his followers, he advised the Scheduled Castes to stand on their own legs instead of depending on crutches. Ambedkar is a rare personality in the national life of India. He was an economist, a jurist, a social revolutionary, a constitution-maker, an able parliamentarian, an administrator, and above all a constructive statesman of extraordinary calibre. He had entered public life as a well equipped soldier with Ph.D from the Columbia University, D.Sc from London School of Economics and Bar-at-Law from Gray's Inn. Born as a "social leper" (as the untouchables were being treated in those days) Ambedkar could rise to the stature of a towering personality in the national politics through perseverance as well as a profound sense of self-respect and human justice.

Critical Appraisal

Ambedkar had talked about the exploitation of the untouchables or the dalits but this exploitation is not always the social dimension. There are also the other sources of exploitation like economic exploitation, cultural exploitation also which results in the marginalization of the dalits. While he acknowledged the possibility of diverse religious and moral standpoints that were reasonable he did not see them as equally predisposed towards freedom, equality and fraternity. Reservation for the SCs as a tool to bring equality can never be the only solution for the empowerment of the dalits.

DAVID HARDIMAN

Life Sketch of David Hardiman

David Hardiman was born in Rawalpindi in Pakistan in October 1947. He was brought up in England, studying at Sherborne School in Dorset, the London School of Economics. David Hardiman has studied and written on South Asian History since the late 1960s, and during this period has spent over a decade in all actually working in India. The main focus of his work has been on the on the colonial period in South Asian history, concentrating in particular on the effects of colonial rule on rural society, relationships of power at various levels, the Indian independence movement with a specific focus on the popular bases to Indian nationalism, and environmental and medical history.

In the late 1970s he became involved with a group of historians studying the social history of subordinate groups in South Asia. This led to the publication of a series of volume from 1981 onwards under the title Subaltern Studies. David Hardiman co-edited Volume VIII in this series and he continues to be a member of the editorial group of Subaltern Studies. The Gramscian term 'subaltern' - meaning 'subordinate group' - was chosen to emphasize the

centrality of relationships of domination and subordination in a society in which class divides had not developed as in the industrialized world. The project sought for a sharp break from the predominant colonialist and nationalist paradigms of South Asian historiography, both of which were seen to validate the history of elites - whether colonial rulers or nationalist leaders - over and above the history of subordinate groups. The project has generated an internationally recognized body of writing. Over time, the project has moved forward in many innovative ways.

David Hardiman's main contributions to the project have been in a number of areas. He has carried out a detailed examination of the Indian nationalist movement at the local level in Gujarat, Gandhi's home region - bringing out the disjuncture between the aims and agendas of the Gandhian leadership and local peasant activists. He has examined the power-structures of rural society, carrying out for example a detailed study of the hegemonic controls exercised by usurers and the limits to that hegemony, as seen in particular in revolts. He has also studied a movement of assertion by adivasis (tribal people) against liquor dealers who had been granted a monopoly right of supply by the British and who had enriched themselves at the expense of the adivasis. In this movement, which took place in 1922-23, a goddess was believed to have taken possession of spirit-mediums, who then commanded the people to give up liquor and boycott the dealers. In adjoining areas, the goddess was supposed to have commanded her devotees to put a stop to witchcraft, and in some cases, to give their allegiance to Gandhi. The popular memories, stories and songs that provide a particularly rich source material for South Asian history have informed all of this work. To this end, he has sought consistently to enhance archival material with information collected directly from the areas he has studied. This involved extensive tours and protracted periods living in villages, talking with people, attending their gatherings and

recording their stories and songs. He has utilized anthropological methods and learnt much from debates within the discipline regarding the role of the ethnographer, the limits to our knowledge and the dangers of advancing claims to speak 'for' the people. He has supported the call for a more historical approach within anthropology, providing through his writing one example as to how this may be achieved.

From 1983 to 1989 he worked as a Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Studies, Surat in Gujarat, India. There was a strong emphasis there on the evaluation of government and NGO development projects, and, besides carrying on his historical research and writing, he became involved in a wide range of development-linked research projects. He often accompanied researchers on fieldwork, so as to learn about these many issues at first hand, and in some cases carried out his own independent research. This work made him aware in particular of the critical importance of environmental and health issues for the rural poor of South Asia. As a result of this experience he became involved in researching and writing on the history of the environment and the history of health and healing during the colonial period in India.

Writings of David Hardiman

Among various writings of David Hardiman the most scholarly writings include

1. The Quit India Movement in Gujarat (1980)
2. The Coming of the Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India (1987)
3. Peasant Resistance in India: 1858-1914 (1992)
4. Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranjit Guha (1994)
5. Feeding the Baniya: Peasants and Usurers in Western India (1996)

6. Gandhi in his Time and Ours (2003)

7. Histories for the Subordinated (2006)

Subaltern perspective of Hardiman

The Subaltern mode of narration can be treated as a reinstative mode where muted channels of history are voiced by facilitating the foregrounding of the hitherto unheard and the subordinated. Gaps in the narrative edifice that goes by the name of mainstream History of both the nationalist and the colonial variety are filled in by the mode of countering it by a meticulous interface of oral and archival sources. Hardiman enters his narrative premises with the declaration of being a facilitator rather than being a spokesperson; he does not "...advance any claim to speak for them, this they do for themselves... would like it to be of some value for people who have shown so much resilience in the face of continuing oppression". Hardiman advocates the need to "...emphasize the fact that Subaltern Studies focuses on the relationship between elite and subaltern as a historical process... the bonds between the dominant and subordinate are always strong, and often mirror each other... Their relationship is being ever modified through an ongoing process of mutual dialogue".

The Devi Movement

"The Coming of the Devi" is a study of a popular movement which arose amongst the Adivasis of South Gujarat in the 1920s. Central to the Devi movement was the movement against "liquor, meat and fish" supported by the moralistic and reformist order on both the colonial and nationalistic sides and resistance to the elite and exploitative Parsi liquor barons, while Hardiman's "work on the Devi movement" depicted the evolution of drinking from a traditional and customary practice amongst the subalterns to a regulated and highly taxed commodity, and the unsuccessful campaign by a considerate group of colonial officers to relax liquor laws and its continuous persistence through illegal practices like moonshining to the contemporary times.

Anti – Liquor movements were not only an attempt to reform the adivasis and initiate them into a rightful way of life, but also aimed at hitting at the resource base of the colonial government and dismantle the strong feudal and economic structure of the liquor barons. The Devi movement was a major movement against the colonial taxation policy as well as “on the Parsi liquor and toddy dealers. Parsis were subject to rigorous social boycott which destroyed their prestige. During the course of the movement, an influential element among them forged an alliance with the middle-class Gandhian nationalists of Gujrat...”. However, Hardiman reveals that “contrary to expectations of the Congressmen and other high caste nationalists, prohibition did not bring about a significant decline” in the consumption of liquor and a social divide between the ‘varjelas’ (those who gave up drinking) and ‘sarjelas’ (those who went back to drink). In a movement for cultural revivalism, the adivasis opposed abstinence and championed a going back to the ways of the forefathers. Hardiman reveals that even during the Devi movement “there were many peasants who did not accept the need to change their habits”.

Feeding the Baniya

It mostly reflects on the power exercised by the Usurers on the subaltern classes in rural India. It also has a strong political and cultural influence. It explores the relationship between peasants and Usurers which has been crucial to life in rural India. Hardiman attempts to understand how such a domain of power was forged; how, over the centuries, usurers managed to adapt their practice so effectively within succeeding state formations; and how the classes whom they exploited related to them and also resisted them. The Baniyas always have their own hegemony over the poor people of the village. As being the indebted peasantry feed the Baniya merchants

through their never ending demands for agrarian produce, enriching the usurers and themselves getting trapped in a cycle of poverty.

It also reveals the integration of a small-scale agrarian society with a larger capitalist economy. Hardiman investigated the deep meanings involved in the relationship between the villager and the moneylender. It is quite a puzzle that the villages even prefer to take the help from the usurers than taking the help from bank or any formal institution which provides loan at much cheaper rates and without much difficulty. While answering to this puzzle Hardiman says that moneylender was located in a complex web of domination exercised by the local dominant classes. The moneylender himself might not always be the dominating person, but he definitely was the front for the other dominant sections of local society. In so far that there was a society not sufficiently suffused with capitalist relations and institutions, the money lender provided the small-scale agrarian producer with adequate means to relate to the wider capitalist world. Thus it explores the relationship between the peasants and usurers in rural India in a rounded way, examining how states extended support to usurers, as well as how Baniyas exerted a power that was both economic and ideological.

Critical Appraisal

Though Hardiman has talked about the hegemonic role of the usurers but has not tried to give any solution to this circle of poverty created by them, Ban on alcoholism, meat is not only a task of the adivasis or the tribes rather it should have a wider aspect also.

CONCLUSION

The present chapter has made an attempt for understanding the subaltern approach of understanding Indian Society. It is an approach which basically studies the subalterns or the dalits or the group those who are marginalized in the society. In understanding this two major scholars of this perspective are also been included within the chapter. Both Ambedkar and Hardiman have their own and different contributions for studying the subalterns of the Indian Society.

FURTHER READINGS

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- Nagla, B.K. (2008), *Indian Sociological Thought*, Rawat Publication, Delhi.