

Contributors

J.P. Singh
D.V. Kumar
Bibhuti Bhushan Malik
Nirakar Mallick
Shweta Prasad
Mala Kapur Shankardass
Anand Kumar
Madhu Nagla
Pragya Sharma
B.K. Nagla
Richard Pais
Sinyutin Mikhail Vladimirovich
Karapetyan Ruben Vartanovich
Veselov Yuri Vitalievich
Gurpreet Bal
Sanjay Kumar Mishra
Prabhleen Kaur Pabla
Sanjay K. Roy
Kameshwar Choudhary

 **Rawat Publications**
www.rawatbooks.com

Head Office: Satyam Apartments, Sector 3,
Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur 302 004 India
Tel: 0141-265 1748 / 7006 e-mail: info@rawatbooks.com

Delhi Office: 4858/24, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi 110 002 Tel: 011-23263290

Also at **Bengaluru, Guwahati and Kolkata**

₹ 1595

ISBN 978-81-316-1364-1



9 788131 613641

Choudhary
Nagla

MODERNITY, GLOBALIZATION, AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION



MODERNITY, GLOBALIZATION, AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Editors

Kameshwar Choudhary
B.K. Nagla

Modernity, Globalization, and Social Stratification



Modernity, Globalization, and Social Stratification

Editors

Kameshwar Choudhary

B.K. Nagla



RAWAT PUBLICATIONS

Jaipur • New Delhi • Bengaluru • Guwahati • Kolkata

ISBN 978-81-316-1364-1

© Editors, 2024

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Published by

Prem Rawat for **Rawat Publications**

Satyam Apts, Sector 3, Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur 302 004 (India)

Phones: 0141 265 1748 / 265 7006

E-mail: info@rawatbooks.com

Website: www.rawatbooks.com

New Delhi Office

4858/24, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110 002

Phone: 011-23263290

Also at Bengaluru, Guwahati and Kolkata

Typeset by Rawat Computers, Jaipur

Printed and bound in India

*Dedicated as a humble tribute
in respectful memory of*
Professor Yogendra Singh

Contents

	<i>Preface</i>	ix
	Modernity, Globalization, and Social Stratification: An Introduction <i>Kameshwar Choudhary and B.K. Nagla</i>	1
	Part I: Theoretical Dimension	
1	Theories of Modernism and Postmodernism: An Appraisal <i>J.P. Singh</i>	41
2	Problematizing the Idea of Modernity <i>D.V. Kumar</i>	69
	Part II: Some Aspects of Modernity and Globalization	
3	Environment and Development: Ethical and Empirical Paradox <i>Bibhuti Bhushan Malik and Nirakar Mallick</i>	85
4	Role of Women in Adaptation to Climate Change <i>Shweta Prasad</i>	97
5	Indian Diaspora: Families and Ageing Issues <i>Mala Kapur Shankardass</i>	117
6	Making Sense of the Impact of COVID-19 in India <i>Anand Kumar</i>	130
7	Emerging Societal Trends in the Time of COVID-19: Tracing Some Postmodernity Features <i>Madhu Nagla</i>	136

8	Belief Pattern Regarding Disease among Sansis Community: An Anthroposociological Study <i>Pragya Sharma</i>	148
9	Science, Technology, and Society: Responses, Reflections and Responsibilities <i>B.K. Nagla</i>	158

Part III: Social Stratification and Mobility

10	Social Stratification and Mobility in Indian Society: A Case Study of Scheduled Castes <i>Richard Pais</i>	175
11	Craft of Untouchables at the Capitalist Racing: A Social Study of Shoemakers in India <i>Sinyutin Mikhail Vladimirovich, Karapetyan Ruben Vartanovich and Veselov Yuri Vitalievich</i>	194
12	Becoming Entrepreneurs: An Artisan Caste of Punjab <i>Gurpreet Bal</i>	212
13	Sanitation and the Transformation of Macro-Social Structure and Micro-Social Structure <i>Sanjay Kumar Mishra and Prabhleen Kaur Pabla</i>	230
14	Social Democracy: An Unfinished Project in India <i>Sanjay K. Roy</i>	257
	<i>Editors and Contributors</i>	285
	<i>Index</i>	287

Preface

The present book is dedicated to Professor Yogendra Singh (1932–2020), an eminent sociologist of post-Independence India. It relates to modernization, globalization, and social stratification, which were the major areas of his scholarly expertise and interest. His pioneering sociological work titled *Modernization of Indian Tradition*, in which he provides a comprehensive integrated framework to study social change, established him as a noted theoretician of modernization in India. His studies on social stratification and change in India remain essential readings for all those teaching and researching in this field. His reflections on globalization and its impact on India were very insightful and enlightening.

In fact, there is a huge body of works on modernity, globalization, and social stratification. Also, there are multiplicity of perspectives on what each of these signifies. We understand that no single volume would be able to cover these areas of study in detail. Obviously, this book has a limited scope. Introduction chapter makes an attempt to have a broad understanding of the volume. It briefly delves upon the conceptual dimension of the book, i.e. the concepts of modernity, globalization, and social stratification as well as their interconnections. Then, it gives a glimpse of the Indian scenario in this context and a snapshot of the gist of the papers included in the volume with some concluding remarks. In addition to this, the book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with theoretical side of modernity and postmodernity which is regarded by some scholars as the cultural logic of globalization. It includes two chapters. Part II comprises seven chapters which delve on some substantive issues related to modernity and globalization, viz. environment, climate change, Indian diaspora, Sansis tribal community, COVID-19, and science, technology and society. Part III has five

chapters which relate to some aspects of caste stratification and social mobility, particularly of SCs, in modern India.

It may be stated that India has experienced modernity which began under the British colonial rule and became a major force after Independence under the state-directed change in political, economic, technological, social and cultural domains. Modern processes like democratization, industrialization, urbanization, land reforms and agricultural green revolution along with political mobilizations of the lower castes have brought about significant changes in society. Lately since 1991, the country has adopted the LPG model of development, i.e. the path of capitalist globalization, which is also considered by many scholars as late/liquid/global modernity signifying early nation-bound Western modernity going global in scope, institutional features and operations.

Like the previous phase of modernization, India is impacted as well by the regime of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). But changes that have occurred so far after Independence due to increasing social mobility of lower castes along with decline of upper caste dominance, emergence of somewhat new heterogeneous (in caste composition) social classes and elite structure, and fast rising intra-caste group/caste-based economic and educational differentiation/inequality in India do not show transformation of caste stratification into class stratification in a linear way. All castes/caste groups are becoming more and more heterogeneous in class (economic) terms. Broadly speaking, modernity led to change in the traditional caste stratification from (earlier) congruence of statuses (social, economic and political) to incongruity of statuses of major caste groups in society, more so in their political status than in economic status. But this trend seems to weaken in recent decades in economic terms, not in political sphere, because the regime of capitalist globalization has benefitted the upper castes more and reduced opportunities for the OBCs and the SCs (also STs) due to the policies of downsizing of the government, and liberalization and privatization making the policy of reservation less efficacious.

On the whole, it emerges from the discussions in the book that India does not conform to the universalist hypothesis of Western modernity implying India would become just like the modern West. Externally, many features of modernity/globalization are becoming more and more common in the country. But internal ethos, ethics and principles of Western modernity/global modernity are yet to penetrate deeper in the thinking, attitude and behaviour of people in the country, and it is not clear that will happen fully in near or ever in future as culture and historicity of countries affect their path of change. Thus, India emerges today as one of the versions of multiple modernities. Moreover, the country is currently confronted like the whole world with the serious problems of environmental destruction/degradation, climate change, fast rising socio-economic inequalities and pandemics like

COVID-19 in the age of capitalist globalization, which require a radical shift in the LPG paradigm of development reigning today to avert these global risks and attain a just and sustainable future for all.

Now, just a few words about Professor Yogendra Singh to whom this book is dedicated. Born in 1932 the period of freedom struggle in the country, Professor Yogendra Singh had a solid grasp of historical developmental trajectory that India followed from the colonial phase till the recent period of capitalist globalization. He also had a very wide exposure in the country and abroad in his lifespan of about nine decades. Born in a modest rural family of Basti district in eastern Uttar Pradesh and educated at Lucknow University in 1950s, Singh emerged as one of the noted sociologists of post-Independence India. He remained a teacher throughout his notable professional journey. He taught at universities in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi for four decades. Out of this he was at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi for 27 years. The Department of Sociology at Jaipur and the CSSS at JNU were known as 'Yogendra Singh's departments'. Professor Singh was one of those rare, visionary sociologists who set up the Centre for the Study of Social Systems (Sociology) at JNU. While teaching at Rajasthan University, Jaipur (1961-71), he was also visiting faculty at McGill University, Canada and at Stanford University, United States. On his retirement in 1997, he became Professor Emeritus at the JNU.

As a leading academic figure, Professor Yogendra Singh held several professional positions, like President, Indian Sociological Society; Member, Research Advisory Committee, Planning Commission and of ICSSR; President, Indian Academy for Social Sciences; Member, Planning Committee of the International Sociological Association; and Expert member, Mandal Commission, Government of India. Moreover, he was member on several Governing Boards and Councils, such as National Institute of Science, Technology and Development, Delhi; National Labour Institute, Delhi; National Institute of Family Welfare and Public Health, New Delhi; A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna; and Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. Being a member of Board of Studies and Academic Councils at several universities, he contributed immensely to enhancing the standard of teaching and research at universities and institutes in the country.

According to K.L. Sharma, who was his student and fellow sociologist, and also his other students like us, Professor Singh was an extraordinary person. He was both a scholar and a fine human being. He was an outstanding speaker and communicator of knowledge. Besides students of sociology who benefitted directly from his scholarship, several scholars of other disciplines also used to attend his lectures at JNU. He had sound knowledge and grasp of classics and of original texts. He moved between theories and theoreticians with equal felicity. His authoritative and insightful writings cover a wide array of themes which include theory and method, social stratification and mobility, tradition

and modernization, professions, Indian Sociology as a discipline, culture, society and change. His celebrated book, *Modernization of Indian Tradition*, provides a path-breaking paradigm shift in the understanding of social change and development in India, in particular, and in the ex-colonial countries in general. Unlike contemporary intellectual surrounding of classically trained British anthropologists, Professor Singh, a rare homegrown sociologist, played a vital role in the shaping of a profound, non-elitist sociological imagination. Even his many books were published by non-elite Indian publishers (Sharma, K.L., *An Apostle of Sociological Theory*, Yogendra Singh, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 May 2020, Vol. LV, No. 21, pp. 28–29).

Both of us were students of Professor Yogendra Singh at JNU. He inspired us during our postgraduate study and research work and also all through our academic lives. His ever smiling face and caring and humane attitude will remain in our memory for ever. Reminiscences about him always invigorate us. We decided to invite papers from scholars and bring out the same in a few volumes in his memory as our humble tribute. This book, besides others, is an outcome of that endeavour. We are grateful to all the contributing authors of this volume. We are highly thankful to our friends and colleagues Professor Madhu Nagla and Professor Archana Srivastava for their kind support. Last but not the least, we appreciate the patience and support of the Rawat Publications, particularly Kailash Rawat and his sons Pranit Rawat and Sachin Rawat, in bringing out this volume. We thank them all.

Kameshwar Choudhary
B.K. Nagla

Modernity, Globalization, and Social Stratification

An Introduction

Kameshwar Choudhary and B.K. Nagla

First, we briefly delve upon the conceptual dimension of the book, i.e. the concepts of modernity, globalization and social stratification. Then, we give a glimpse of the Indian scenario in this context. Finally, we provide a snapshot of the gist of the papers included in the volume and end with some concluding remarks.

Conceptual frame

There is a huge corpus of works on the concepts of modernity, globalization and social stratification. Also, there are multiplicity of perspectives on what each of these signifies. Without going into the details, we would attempt here to have only a broad understanding of these concepts with a limited purpose of situating and connecting with all the chapters in the present volume.

Modernity and modernization have been two very popular terms prevalent in academia as well as common parlance after the Second World War. Also, the concepts of postmodernity and globalization have become popular particularly since the 1980s. All these terms have been viewed differently by different scholars. Literally speaking, modernity would mean being modern. But the question is – modern in what respect? In temporal sense, it is said to mark a break with the past in multiple sense. Hall et al. (1992) opine that the emergence of modern societies began in Europe from the 15th century. Its emergence as an attitude to differentiate between the present from the past occurred in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries (Dirlik, 2016). Modernity in the sense of the distinct idea of ‘the modern’ could develop in the discourses of the Enlightenment in the 18th century Europe. It grew in the 19th

century with industrialism and associated social, economic and cultural changes in Europe (Hall et al., 1992). Thereafter, it gradually spread to non-European societies. European colonialism provided the initial push towards modernization in many countries of the world. Contemporary globalization envelops the whole world. Both modernity and globalization have impacted social structures and cultural traditions across the world. According to Giddens (1990: 1), 'modernity refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence'. This view of modernity, he says, denotes its time period and an initial geographical location but ignores its main features.

Peter Osborne finds the terms modernity used in many different senses – modernity as a category of historical periodization, a quality of social experience, an incomplete project. Also, scholars are seen drawing problematic conclusions regarding the nature and status of the concept itself (referred in Hegde, 2009: 69). Alex Callinicos has identified broadly three important ways in which scholars have viewed modernity, i.e. as a philosophical idea, as a form of society, and as an experience (Callinicos, 1999, referred in Kumar, 2008: 241). First, as a philosophical idea, modernity represents science, progress, advancement, development, liberation, certainty, optimism and universality. Enlightenment ideals of equality, justice and freedom carries universal appeal. Reason forms its form of discourse. Reason is held as the ultimate criteria of truth. Scientific instrumental rationality is celebrated. Secondly, as a type of society, it signifies a distinctive form of society – economically (dependence mainly on inanimate source of energy, mechanization, industrialization, urbanization, mobility), politically (democratization) and socio-culturally (valuational shift along universalism, achievement, functional specificity and self-orientation as stated by Parsons). Modernity arrived with promise of a just and materially rich future. Thirdly, in terms of an experience, modernity reveals its contradictions, as on the one hand it pledges progress, prosperity, eradication of ignorance but on the other hand creates uncertainty, instability and risks (cf. Kumar, 2008). In contrast, a traditional society is predominantly characterized by predominance of faiths and beliefs (rather than reason), agrarian/forest-based economy, use of animate source of energy, local/feudal/monarchic polity, social stability, rigid social stratification, certainty, etc.

By modernity, Alex Callinicos means only capitalist modernity meaning thereby that the capitalist nature of modern societies and states lend them their distinctive character (see Held, 1992: 32). In the opinion of Francis Fukuyama, modernity signifies shaping of the world as per principles of liberalism (ibid.). But some scholars emphasise on multidimensional nature of modernity. For example, Hall et al. (1992: 2) observe modernity having a long and complex historical evolution which

grew along with 'different historical processes working together in unique historical circumstances'. These processes include developments in the political (the rise of secular state and polity), the economic (the capitalist economy), the social (formation of new classes and advanced division of labour) and the cultural (the transition from a religious to a secular culture) domains. The sum total of these forces and processes made modernity, not any one of these alone.

Anthony Giddens (1990: 56) considers capitalist societies as 'one distinct subtype of modern societies in general'. He takes a multidimensional view of modernity. He distils from classical sociologists three important institutional features of modernity. He sees Marx's version of modernity as capitalism, of Durkheim as industrialism and of Weber as rationalization manifested in technology and in the organization of human activities through bureaucratization. On this basis, he holds that modernity is '*multidimensional on the level of institutions*, and each of the elements specified by these various traditions plays some part' (emphasis in original) (see pp. 11–12). Further, he lists out four institutional dimensions of modernity, viz. capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and military power (ibid.: 55–59). In his view, capitalism is characterized by private ownership of capital and capital accumulation in the context of competitive wage labour and product markets. Industrialism effects transformation of nature as reflected in development of the 'created environment'. Surveillance denotes control of information and social supervision. And military power refers to control of the means of violence in the context of the industrialization of war.

Giddens finds modernity showing marked discontinuities with pre-modern/traditional social orders (1990: 6). Modernity differed from tradition in terms of its pace of change being very fast than the latter. Another discontinuity showed in its scope of change being very extensive covering vast territories rather than limited as in the latter. Moreover, the intrinsic nature of modern institutions is unique as being non-existent in traditional societies, such as the political system of the nation-state, dependence on inanimate sources of energy and large scale commodification of wage labour in particular. Moreover, Giddens (ibid.: 16–44) identifies three sources of dynamism of modernity – (a) separation of time and space facilitating precise temporal and spatial zoning (use of mechanical clock), (b) disembedding of social systems reflected in 'lifting out' of social relations from their 'situatedness' in particular locales, and (c) reflexive appropriation of knowledge as an integral part of system reproduction away from fixedness of tradition (ibid.: 53). So, it may be said that modern and traditional societies are seen largely as polar opposites in terms of social structure, material life and cultural/value orientations.

Along similar lines, a noted Indian theorist of modernity, Yogendra Singh opines that modernity may be regarded as a state of existence of society characterized/governed by modernist features/principles/

orientations, viz. equality, individualism, historicity and this-worldly rationalism (cf. Singh, 1986: viii). That is, a modern society must have these features to be called so. These features need to be reflected in its structures and functioning. In contrast with a modern society, a traditional society reflects in its structure and functioning the characteristics of (rigid) hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence, as in case of traditional India (ibid). So, the valuational orientations of modernity and tradition stand in contrast with each other.

Singh (1986: 227, fn. 7) mentions different elements of 'tradition' and 'modernity'. For instance, modernity involves industrialization and associated social and political changes, occupational shift from agriculture to industry, urban concentration of the population, and use of inanimate source of energy. Social change involves loosening of rigid social hierarchy with increasing social mobility. Democratization of political institution occur along the way to modernity. Modern science and technology form the basis of industrialization with ever increasing complexity and sophistication with more and more discoveries and innovations. 'Reason' forms the core orientation embedding all structural and institutional transformations.

Pathak (1998) sees with modernity the emergence of the secular state and polity, the capitalist system, the advanced form of social and sexual division of labour, and the change from a religious to a secular culture (p. 17). Modernity also signified reliance on secular reasoning which frees humans from traditional prejudices and dogmas. Science formed its integral part, which helped increasing use of natural resources for perpetual material well-being. It meant increasing bureaucratization of social organization, the hegemony of materialist, rationalist and individualist cultural values. It signified the notion of citizenship or democratic freedom (p. 18).

Moving further, Gupta (2007/2000: 2) differentiates between the external and internal characteristics of modernity. He considers modernity 'a specific form of social relations that people enter into in everyday life. These relations are informed at the most fundamental level by the quality of inter-subjectivity'. He does not equate modernity with its morphological features like industrialization, urbanization, technological mastery, etc. To him, these external features do not determine modernity but 'the social reality within which they are set'. He affirms that just because something is contemporary and is happening now, does not qualify it to be modern. Like, the current phenomena of fundamentalism or casteism cannot be called part of modernity. In his view, modernity is basically about 'attitudes, especially those that come into play in social relations' (p. 12). According to him, a modern society must reflect certain minimum features, viz.: (a) dignity of the individual, (b) adherence to universalistic norms, (c) privileging of individual achievement over birth-based privileges/disprivileges, (d) accountability in public life, and (e) trust in modern institutions run on universalistic

norms rather than personal trust in functionaries working with institutions (pp. 12, 222).

An important conceptual variant of modernity is the idea of 'multiple modernities' formulated by Eisenstadt (2000), which deviates from the classical view of universalization of the cultural programme and institutional constellations of European modernity all over the world. Eisenstadt accepts that modernity originated in the West and has spread all over the world. But he disagrees with the convergence thesis of modernity which holds that following the Western path the non-Western societies will also finally become like the modern West. He observes that the responses and patterns of interaction of the non-Western societies with the cultural and institutional forces of Western modernity have engendered a wide variety of modern or modernizing societies. These societies have many common features like rule of law, market economy, freedom of thought and expression, etc. But they also show great differences among themselves that have occurred due to a 'selective incorporation' of elements of Western modernity influenced by their distinct structural and cultural traditions (ibid.). It is held that varied historical trajectories and socio-cultural settings give rise to distinct/different forms of modernity in different areas of the world. In fact, in Europe also modernity reflects cultural and institutional diversity. The nature of welfare state differed, for instance, in United Kingdom and Scandinavian countries. There are varieties of modernity outside the West; there are different modernities also within Europe (Wittrock, 2000). Eisenstadt (2000) avers, 'Western patterns of modernity are not the only "authentic" modernities, though they enjoy historical precedence and continue to be a basic reference point for others' (p. 3). He adds, 'The actual developments in modernizing societies have refuted the homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions of this Western program of modernity'. However, he acknowledges that 'While a general trend toward structural differentiation developed across a wide range of institutions in most of these societies – in family life, economic and political structures, urbanization, modern education, mass communication, and individualistic orientations – the ways in which these arenas were defined and organized varied greatly, in different periods of their development, giving rise to multiple institutional and ideological patterns' (ibid.: 1–2).

Dirlik (2016: 76) also affirms that the actual developments of modernization in the postcolonial societies differed from the homogenizing and hegemonic programme of Western modernity, although a general trend of structural differentiation occurred at institutional level in most countries. Multiple institutional and ideological patterns of modernization occurred in the post-colonial societies, which were highly influenced by their specific cultural premises, traditions and historical experiences (ibid.). However, the reference point for them remained, though with ambivalence, the Western project of modernity.

Dirlik states, '... the idea of multiple modernities seeks to contain challenges to modernity by conceding the possibility of culturally different ways of being modern' (ibid.: 81).

Similarly, Goran Therborn does not talk of a singular modernization but of modernizations or of a 'plurality of routes to and through modernity' (referred in Featherstone and Lash, 1997: 11). Singh (1978: 11–12) also does not subscribe to the universalistic view of modernization which hypothesize that progressive modernization would result in emergence of a universalist uniform cultural pattern obliterating the specific history or tradition of societies undergoing this process. Rather, he emphasizes on historicity of modernization that holds that history and initial conditions of a society influence its path of modernization making it particular rather than universal.

Singh (1986: 61–62) also implicitly shares the idea of multiple modernity. He avers that all modernized societies or cultures will not be the same in all substantive details. This occurs because 'the existential adaptations to modernization in every society... take a historical and distinctive form'. So, the substantive modernization needs to be differentiated from modernization per se. The former occurs in practice but the latter being an ideal type 'in all likelihood, not for a long time to come (perhaps never), anywhere in the world shall we have "a fully modern" society' (ibid.: 62). He affirms, 'Modernization like science is an open-ended process, it is evolutionary in nature, that is self-modifying and self-transcending. Hence no society can claim for itself the status of full modernity; there only exist degrees of modernization, that is too defined on the basis of criteria which are always partial in nature' (ibid.: 227, fn. 7).

Further, Singh (1978: 1) considers modernization as a composite concept which has in social sciences kinship with concepts like 'development', 'growth', 'evolution' and 'progress'. Bandopadhyay (2017: 35) notes that the terms modernity and development have been frequently used for decades. Generally, development is considered as the path to modernity, which is regarded as 'inevitably desirable' for all societies. Singh considers modernity an ideological concept which indicates two contradistinct models of modernization, viz. capitalist model guided by liberalism and socialist model by Marxism. And there are also models falling between these two major types of modernization. Writing in 1976, he observed, 'Marxism and Capitalism are two dominant ideologies of our time which outline two ends of a continuum on which a multitude of variations on ideological themes of modernization have been formulated' (ibid.). In analysis of modernization, Marxist paradigm mainly uses structural variables (social structure) whereas capitalist paradigm depends on cultural or normative variables. In this way, modernization is viewed as a structural or a cultural process. Here, the crux of the matter in these two models is their distinctive formulation of

social structure or culture as concepts to understand modernization (ibid.: 2).

Further, associated with modernity are the concepts of post/late/liquid modernity/global capitalism. The concept and theory of postmodernity became popular since 1980s. Postmodernity has been viewed differently by different scholars, such as a critique of modernism, as a literary style, as a theory of knowledge, as a 'condition' of contemporary existence, and as the latest phase of capitalism. Temporally speaking, postmodernity denotes a condition which comes after modernity. Viewing from an evolutionary angle, some scholars see temporal transitions occurring from traditional/pre-modernity to modernity and then to postmodernity. In this sense, postmodernity is considered the latest phase of historical development. In another way, the three stages indicated a shift from agrarian society (traditional) to industrial manufacturing society (modern) and then to post-industrial and information society of global capitalism.

As a critique, postmodernism stands for questioning the basic precepts and metanarratives of European modernity, such as science enabling knowledge of absolute truth, unending progress, social transformation, justice, emancipation of all. In fact, the contemporary condition of existence showed that modernist promises did not materialize, rather modernity created several serious problems posing threat to humanity in the shape of ecological destruction, rising pile of nuclear weapons, uncertainties and social processes influencing scientific practices (Lyotard, 1984). Also, rise of postmodernism correlated closely with the emergence of contemporary multinational consumer capitalism manifest in the phenomenon of mass commodification, shift in location and conditions of global production (worldwide expansion of capitalist markets and profitability), and new industries, particularly information technology (Jameson, 1991/1984).

In this context, Giddens (1990: 1–2) notes that many scholars thought we were entering a new era in the late 20th century which went beyond modernity. Some used terms signifying this transition marking the emergence of a new type of social system, e.g. the 'information society', the 'consumer society'. Many thought that modernity was nearing its end and a new type of society was coming into existence which they described as 'postmodernity', 'post-industrial society', 'post-capitalism'. In institutional terms, it meant 'moving away from a system based upon the manufacture of material goods to one concerned more centrally with information' (p. 2). In addition, postmodernity referred to epistemological shift signifying rejection of 'grand narratives' and 'a plurality of heterogeneous claims to knowledge, in which science does not have a privileged place' (p. 2). Some of the features of postmodernity noted by Giddens (1990: 46) include – a sense of living through a phase different from modernity, rejection of modernist idea of progress, impossibility of possibility of knowing truth through science,

advent of a new social and political agenda with ecological concern and new social movements. However, he does not accept all of these ideas. Giddens holds, 'Rather than entering a period of postmodernity, we are moving into one in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalised and universalised than before' (p. 3). He sees 'beyond modernity' 'the contours of a new and different order ... [which is] quite distinct from what is at the moment called by many postmodernity' (p. 3). He affirms, 'We have not moved beyond modernity but are living precisely through a phase of its radicalisation' (Giddens, 1990: 51). He sees the decline in Western global hegemony being accompanied with 'the increasing expansion of modern institutions worldwide...' (ibid.). He states, 'We do not yet live in post-modern social universe, but we can still see more than a few glimpses of the emergence of ways of life and forms of social organisation which diverge from those fostered by modern institutions' (p. 52).

In contrast, scholars like Lyotard (1984) and Harvey (1990) opined that the era of modernity has ended and we now have entered a new postmodern world. Modernity is identified with industrialism which is said to have now been superseded by post-industrialism. But postmodernism differs from post-industrialism as the latter is viewed as an outgrowth of industrial society and the former signifies an exhaustion of modernism (Kivisto, 2014: 94). Modernity represents optimism whereas postmodernity indicates a 'shift from optimism to pessimism' (ibid.).

In his Desai Memorial Lecture delivered in 1999, Singh also notes radical changes signified by postmodern society – phase of modernity identified with industrial capitalism whereas postmodern society by post-industrial consumer society in which individuals come centre stage as consumer rather than citizen. Postmodernity also indicated the breakdown of community values and structures as a result of rapid social and psychological mobility, radical changes in the gender relationships, rise of new family norms about marriage, decline in the participatory behaviour of individuals in social and community life, new mass media, hyperconsumerism (see Singh, 2004: 34–35).

Observing the contrasting views in this connection, Kivisto rightly talks of two versions of postmodernity. In its radical version postmodernism declares a radical rupture between past and present. But in a more nuanced version, scholars like Giddens, Bauman and Beck see postmodernity 'as a new phase of modernity rather than constituting a radical rupture' (Kivisto, 2014: 107). Bauman, for instance, preferred to use the term 'liquid modernity' in place of postmodernity to describe the current phase of modernity. He agreed that the grandnarratives of modernity are no more acceptable as the present age is an 'age of uncertainty'. He stated, 'If the preceding stage of modernity can be characterised as "solid", the current stage is "liquid" insofar as patterned social conduct and the social structures essential to making such forms

of everyday social relations durable no longer exist' (Bauman cited in Kivisto, 2014: 107). Further, rather than postmodernity, Giddens opts for alternative terms like 'high modernity' or the 'late modern age' to describe the contemporary state of society, which has many novel features, however it is very much embedded in the early/first phase of modernity.

Let us now come to the concept of globalization which differs from modernization. In spatial terms, modernity has 'national frame' of reference (Duara, 2015: 116). But the frame of reference in case of globalization is the whole globe. In fact, there is seen diverse opinions expressed by scholars in viewing globalization. For instance, it has been regarded as: a process of rapidly increasing interconnections between countries and peoples in the world, the latest phase of capitalism called global capitalism/transnational capitalism, a neoliberal political prescription, emergence of a network society/information society/global society, which signifies colossal compression of space and time facilitated by the new information and communication technology (see Choudhary, 2014: 209).

Hall et al. (1992: 4) view globalization as a process 'reaching back to the earliest stages of modernity [which] continues to shape and reshape politics, economics and culture, at an accelerated pace and scale'. Globalization to them shows extension and intensification of early modernity which is operating through different institutional dimensions – technological, economic, organisational, political, administrative, cultural and legal – and 'creates new forms and limits within "modernity" as a distinctive form of life'.

Giddens (1990) also considers contemporary modernity as a state of globalization. In fact, he considers modernity as 'inherently globalizing', which gets manifested in some of the main characteristics of modern institutions (ibid.). He talks of four institutional dimensions of globalization – world capitalist economy, international division of labour, nation-state system and world military order (ibid., see figure at p. 71). Given the contemporary scenario, he suggests replacing the conventional sociological conceptualization of 'society' as a bounded system because time-space distancing has now been highly 'stretched' and interactions between local and distant social forms and events correspondingly widened. To him, globalization basically signifies the 'stretching process' manifest in interconnected networks between different societies and regions across the world. He states, 'Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens, 1990: 64). So, globalization is a 'dialectical process' where local and distant forces/situations affect each other. Prosperity in one region/country may cause impoverishment in another region/country. Increasing wealth of one social stratum may result into economic

downward slide for other social stratum. Also, acceleration of globalization may see assertion of cultural identity and local autonomy.

Like modernization, Singh (2004: 206) regards globalization as a composite process resulting from the convergence of a series of qualitatively new developments in society, like revolution in information and communication technology, fast flow of finance, capital and market, rapid social mobility, migration of personnel and the emergence of a global diaspora. Writing in 2000, he notes that the process of globalization had only begun in India (Singh, 2002: 69). Moreover, he differentiates between modernization and globalization. He sees a close link between globalization and postmodernity. He holds that globalization plays an important role in the rise of 'new society', variously called a postmodern society or information society which signifies a basic structural transformation of economy, polity and culture indicating potential of a new social order (Singh, 2004: 207). Similarly, Pieterse does not regard globalization as a condition of modernization. Rather, he considers globalization an historical epoch, starting from the 1960s and contemporaneous with postmodernity (referred in Featherstone and Lash, 1997: 3).

Dirlik (2016) opines that the term globalization has replaced the earlier concept of modernization, but it has some similarities and differences with the latter. There is teleological commonality between them as the former involves 'global transformation through the universalization of the norms and practices of advanced capitalist society'. Their differences lay in the spatial over the temporal and marginalizing the nation-state as the basic organizational unit of society. Dirlik states, 'Globalization differs from modernization by relinquishing a Eurocentric teleology to accommodate the possibility of different historical trajectories in the unfolding of modernity' (ibid.: 80). In the discursive space, there is seen proliferation of claims on modernity. The former colonial subjects are asserting their own projects of modernity in the post-colonial world. And the more successful ones have now become important partners in the world of global capital and 'demand recognition of their cultural subjectivities, invented or not, in the making of a global modernity' (ibid.: 84).

Moreover, there are both ardent advocates and critics of globalization. The supporters claim globalization would bring the deliverance of humanity from numerous problems it faces, but the critics see it as source of these problems. Dirlik (2016) believes that globalization has 'already happened' and we are living in the world of 'global modernity'. It has generated both problems and opportunities where ways could be found to escape from its negative consequences.

Dirlik (2016) says, 'Global modernity refers to a condition when modernity has gone global' universalizing the material and ideological practices of modernity and also the contradictions of modernity (pp. 7, 162). It has occurred due to the collapse of the Soviet socialist

alternative, which provided the space for capitalist modernity to spread to all societies, i.e. capitalist globalization making meaningless the tripartite division of the world as in the Cold War era. Hence, global modernity is 'a period term' which distinguishes the contemporary situation of capitalist globalization from the preceding phase of Eurocentric modernity (ibid.). And under contemporary capitalist globalization driven by the agenda of liberalization and privatization, the 'lead role of the state in promoting human well-being has been replaced by the market as a catalyst of economic growth and a harbinger of development and modernity' (Bandopadhyay, 2017: 34).

Considering its colossal negative consequences, contemporary global modernity is regarded as having created a 'risk society', rather a 'global risk society' today wherein the survival of humans and other beings are at stake (Beck, 1992, 1999). These serious risks are manifold – nuclear, environmental, biological, socio-economic, etc. Nuclear stock-piles available today may annihilate the world several times. There are ample stocks of chemical and biological means of mass destruction. Income inequalities within and between countries have reached highest proportion under the globalization regime, which has all the potential of aggravating social tensions and conflicts, besides the recent rise of religious, ethnic and other such conflicts all over the world. Increasing chemicalization of food chain, and pollution of water and air have serious health consequences causing various diseases (Reddy, 2023). The recent world level havoc of COVID-19 pandemic has shown the rising risk of globalization of diseases. Fast spread of industrial development globally and consumerist lifestyle driven by hunger for profit maximization even in the global south is adding to rising environmental destruction and degradation that threaten to overtake the carrying capacity of the earth putting a question mark on the very survival of humans. The new sunshine industry also creates huge electronic waste which is not easily disposable. Environmental risks are already manifested in the form of global warming and climate change. Climate change due to rising greenhouse emission has several serious consequences for the humanity. Being a developing country and given its low levels of per capita greenhouse gas emissions and need for further growth, India wants to go slow on shut-down of coal-fired power plants to meet energy needs, emission cuts in agriculture sector for food security, etc. (Sinha, 2023a). Annual COP (Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change) meet is held annually where heads of states participate to find ways and means to deal with the problem of climate change and its consequences. But the emission of greenhouse gases is still rising in the world. Around \$215 billion/year is required to fund adaptation projects in developing countries, but barely about \$21 billion/year are made available currently. About \$100 billion/year is needed to assist countries hit by climate disasters but no money is made available for this (Sinha, 2023b). Required efforts and commitments on the part of the

world leaders are not visible to ensure temperature rise remains below 1.5 degrees Celsius, more progress happens towards a clean energy transition, nature is protected and restored and required climate finance is provided (see Ellis, 2023). The concerning part here is that climate change is affecting more the poor people/countries than the rich people/countries differently, like in terms of death of the poor due to rising temperature and floods, whereas the rich people/countries are mainly responsible for increasing emission of greenhouse gases resulting from their luxurious and consumerist lifestyles. Globally, the richest (10% of the total population) people are responsible for 50 per cent of total emission, the middle class (40% of total population) for 43 per cent emission and the poor (50% of the total population) for just 8 per cent emission (Jagaran Research, 2023).

Duara notes that advent of modernity promised a just and materially rich future. However, it has caused various material and practical inequities along with uncontrolled exploitation of nature (Duara, 2015: 118). Global modernity also made the promise of progress, but at the same time it holds the costs and burden of unsustainable future (ibid.: 115). Giddens (1990: 10) draws attention to the 'double-edged character of modernity'. Besides its positives, he sees dark side of modernity not only in the threat of nuclear confrontation but also the actuality of military conflicts in the 20th century which he calls 'the century of war' involving substantial loss of life higher than in either of the preceding two centuries. The assumption that modernity would make society happier and more secure than earlier proved wrong, which led to rejection of metanarratives science and progress (ibid.).

Pathak recognizes the dazzling developments under modernity and also at the same time its various pathologies and discontents. Many critics see modernity as an invasion and domination over the non-Western societies initially linked with colonialism. Pathak (1998: 10, 12, 18) finds its instrumental rationality, engineering mentality and excessive materialism causing spiritual crisis. He affirms that modernity has snapped the harmonious relationship between humans and nature. It has shown close relationship with violence (p. 10). With victory of capitalism over socialist precept, the hegemony of market and fierce competition in search of profit maximization has led to rising inequality, alienation and one-dimensionality of life. Modernity shows betrayal of its promises of emancipation from exploitation and domination (ibid.: 11).

Having covered modernization and globalization, let us delve upon a bit on the concept of social stratification. According to Sorokin, social stratification refers to 'differentiation of a given population into hierarchically super-imposed classes' which is manifested in the form of upper and lower layers. 'Its basis and very essence consists in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges ... social power and influences among the members of a society' (cited in Gupta, 1992: 7). Gupta (1992) says, '...

social stratification is the ordering of social differences with the help of a set of criteria or just a single criterion ... which ties the differentiated strata into a system'. So, social stratification mainly signifies division of a society into different social strata/layers which are/considered unequal and placed in a hierarchical order with certain disabilities and privileges reflected in structural and cultural terms. Social stratification is of both rigid/closed and flexible/open type in terms of scope of social mobility (upward/downward) across social strata; the rigid/closed type provides very limited/no scope for social mobility but the flexible/open type is conducive to social mobility.

Social stratification seems to be universal in the post-primitive human society. Indian traditional system of caste-based stratification is regarded as an example of rigid/closed type stratification as it is based on one's birth and has scriptural sanction. In contrast, the social stratification prevailing in the modern West is considered open/flexible in nature. However, it needs to be noted that traditional/medieval Europe also manifested rigid type of stratification, though not scripturally sanctioned. With modernization happening in the Western societies, traditional estate-based rigidly stratified traditional Western society underwent a radical change which manifested in emergence of new social classes by replacing the old ones and social mobility across social strata. Modernization has impacted traditional pattern of social stratification in India as well.

The criteria of social stratification often used by sociologists in case of Indian society include caste, class and power, which do co-exist with occupational stratification, sexual stratification, linguistic stratification, etc. Though different forms of stratification are analytically separate and separable, they are often seen empirically overlapping (Gupta, 1992: 4). Caste system of stratification, based on one's birth, is considered an extreme form of rigid type stratification typical of the traditional Indian society. Traditionally, its features included segmental division of society, hierarchy, restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and restrictions on marriage (Ghurye, 1969). Dumont (1980) viewed the caste system as the system of ideas and values based on purity and pollution, hereditary division of labour based on religious qualities, regulation on marriage on the basis of endogamy, restrictions on interdining between different caste groups. These features reflected in the scripturally sanctioned four-fold varna order of society, i.e. Brahmana (traditionally, priest and scholar), Kshatriya (ruler and soldier), Vaishya (merchant) and Shudra (peasant, labourer and servant). The first three varnas were called 'twice-born' whose men are entitled to don the sacred thread while the fourth one is not. The ex-untouchables, who are today popularly known as Scheduled Castes/Dalits, were placed outside the varna order of society. Each of the four varnas as well as the Dalits comprise various castes and each caste

consists of different sub-castes, all forming part of the varna/caste hierarchy. Caste system manifest both structural and cultural features. Its structural aspects, for instance, show in inequality in economic and political terms, and cultural aspects in norms of purity-pollution ritual hierarchy, connubiality/endogamy and commensality. Changes have been occurring in India in both structural and cultural dimensions of caste along with rising social mobility and emergence of new social classes due to the impact of modernization and lately globalization as well. Let it be mentioned here that the focus in the book is on change in caste stratification in India and social mobility, particularly the SCs, due to the impact of modernization and globalization.

Indian Scenario

The process of modernization began in India with the Western contact under the British colonial rule. This phase is known as the phase of colonial modernity. Further, in the post-Independence period, two broad phases of development are seen, first, 1950s–1970s and second, 1990s onwards, i.e. post-Independence modernization and globalization respectively (see Singh, 2012: 157). It may be noted that for the period of globalization also, Yogendra Singh often uses the term modernization in his later writings.

In his celebrated work on India, which established him as a noted Indian theorist of modernization, Singh sees modernization as a process of social change of traditional society into a modern society, which involves changes in the domains of both social structure (micro structure and macro structure) and of cultural structure (little tradition and great tradition) caused due to both heterogenetic (exogenous) and orthogenetic (endogenous) sources (Singh, 1986: 25). He views it as a process of transition from tradition to modernity. In case of Indian society, in his view, it meant a ‘psycho-normative challenge to break away from hierarchy to “equality”, from holism to “individualism”, from continuity to “historicity” and from transcendence to “this-worldly rationalism” and “secularism”’ (p. viii).

Singh (1986) discusses two stages of modernization in India – the colonial phase and the post-Independence phase. He notes that historically the Indian society remained ‘impervious to major elements of modernity’ but change set in with Western contact through colonization (p. 192). Under colonialism, modernity grew as a ‘sub-structure and sub-culture without pervasive expansion in all sectors of life’ (p. 208). Eisenstadt also observed no serious breakdown in initial phase of modernization in India due to the peculiar structural features of the Indian society (referred by Singh, 1986: 208). Traditionally, cultural system in India had fair degree of autonomy from political system. All pervasive caste system also exercised its autonomy from political system as each caste had its own caste panchayat besides the village panchayat. Regional autonomy also existed. So, the prevailing ‘inter-structural

autonomy' helped assimilation of elements of colonial modernity without causing major breakdown (1986: 208)¹.

Singh (2012: 157) also notes two phases of development after Independence, first, 1950s–1970s and second, 1990s onwards, i.e. modernization and globalization, respectively. During the first phase of modernization in 1950s–1970s, the state was the main mover of reforms and investments for promoting development. The measures covered various areas of socio-economic development, like agriculture, industry, education, health, etc. Land reforms and 'green revolution' were the most important interventions in rural areas. Establishment of heavy industries and its ancillaries aided urbanization. Introduction of universal adult franchise-based democratic system of governance marked a radical step in political modernization. These bold steps taken by the state created a basic infrastructure and functional resources in the first state of modernization. Moreover, substantial changes started happening in the society. The traditional monopoly on power held by upper castes and landed gentry got weakened. The economic condition of middle caste peasants improved, which also manifested in their rising political power at different levels, more so in South India than in North India. The policy of reservation started benefitting the people belonging to SC and ST communities, providing scope for social mobility and political influence.

In fact, colonial modernization did not pose serious structural challenges. It was more segmental in nature. But after Independence, there is observed 'totalization' of the modernization process (Singh, 1986: 209). Introduction of transformative economic and political reforms, as indicated, started making significant impact on both the traditional macro-and-micro structures of society. New legislations aimed at abolishing traditional social inequalities and exploitations. Democratic rights were guaranteed to all citizens and affirmative policies and programmes introduced for protecting and uplifting the conditions of the traditionally marginalized sections of society. These measures made Sanskritization path less attractive besides promoting emergence of new identities and associations of castes, tribes and regional groups. These processes got accelerated by the modernist macro processes of politicization, industrialization and urbanization. Modern secular objectives of acquiring political power, wealth, status and mobility activated mobilizations of the traditional structures and loyalties. Singh (1986: 209) observes, 'As [colonial] segmental nature of modernization becomes encompassing, relevance of [traditional] structural autonomy ceases to operate as a shock-absorber' after Independence.

Further, towards the end of 1970s onwards a crisis started building up with the state-controlled model of development. Green revolution could benefit only a minority of farmers belonging to middle castes. Large part of SCs/STs did not benefit because of being alienated from the fruits of development. The situation of upper caste started getting

negatively impacted by fragmentation of family land holdings due to partition of families. Backward castes mobilization increased demanding their share in political and economic spheres. Rate of economic growth remained low. Finally, the country faced the crisis of foreign exchange and balance of payment leading to the introduction of the regime of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) 1991 onwards.

The 1991 LPG reforms began the process of liberalizing the economy by gradually removing restrictions on both the external private capital and internal private capital by creating a favourable environment to them for investment. With rising private investment, particularly the IT sector and consumer industries grew fast. Gradual privatization of public sector enterprises created more space for the growth of private sector. Urbanization started entering medium and smaller towns. New information and communication technology using features like computer, internet, cell phone, aided in this process. Cell phone is being used now even in rural areas for social, commercial and other purposes. Besides urban, the penetration of internet is growing in villages and tribal areas. Online purchase of items and their delivery is found in rural areas as well. New ICT is being used by the state also for governance purposes. Singh (2012: 159) sees all these aiding the process of modernization and as harbingers of significant changes. For instance, the growth rate of the economy has picked up substantially, over two-times of the rate under the state-centred regime. Rapid expansion of education, particularly professional education in the private sector, has provided the required manpower for the fast-growing private sector-led economy.

Under globalization, the size of the new middle class has expanded substantially creating a big market attracting companies from both abroad and within and rising consumerism. The new urban middle class is largely composed of the upper castes, though some from the lower castes are part of it. With rapidly increasing privatization in economic and service sectors, there is substantial growth of unorganized sector and contractual/informal labour whose wages are very low and service conditions precarious. Even large companies, foreign as well as Indian, try to minimize the size of their regular employees and rely significantly on informal arrangements for meeting their needs, thus accelerating informalization of the economy. Informal labour is largely drawn from the SCs, STs and OBCs, though ill-educated and poorer upper caste people are also there in this category. So, urban middle class and lower class are predominantly composed of upper castes and lower castes respectively, but there is increasing heterogeneity in caste composition of both classes. There is rise in entrepreneurial energy and aspiration, particularly of OBCs and SCs for greater upward social and political mobility. Social mobility of different castes is increasing in class terms, but the extent of social reproduction of caste stratification is still high.

Singh notes the trend of change in the elite structure in the country. He observes that the colonial elite structure was homogeneous as they

were mostly drawn from similar limited (upper) caste-class stratum and had broadly similar exposure to Western education and socialization with similar aspirations. But after Independence, the elite structure has become increasingly heterogeneous with widening social base of recruitment from varied castes-classes and ideologically more oriented towards traditional cultural symbolisms (Singh, 1986).

Further, Singh (2012) observes that now the traditional structures and functions of social institutions have changed. Micro-structures of caste and village community along with occupational profiles have witnessed 'basic changes not only in cities but also in villages across India'. Except the norms of endogamy, most traditional features of caste have been lost both in urban and rural areas. Jajmani-based integrative relationship of patronage and reciprocity has broken down in village communities. Association between caste and occupation has become highly flexible. Traditional values and norms guiding caste relations are on their decline. The norms of purity and pollution have weakened. The regulation of marriage has slightly reduced. But most people still willingly prefer to marry within their own caste. Religious and life-cycle rituals continue to be mostly performed by Brahmins.

With the mobilization of caste identity in politics, caste has assumed competitive character for gaining share in power positions which goes against traditional asymmetrical distribution of power along caste lines. With emergence of centrifugal interlinkages, village communities have turned into political communities. The Constitutional amendment providing for one-third reservation of seats for women, SC, ST and OBC communities under the three-tier panchayati raj system has made 'the traditional notions of caste and community in villages almost redundant' (Singh, 2012: 159).

Some longitudinal studies give glimpse of the pattern of structural change in rural India where about two-third of population still reside. The studies show a clear trend of diminishing dominance of the upper caste landholders in villages. For instance, in Palakuruchi village of Nagapattinam district of Tamil Nadu the dominant Naidu community owned 86.5 per cent of the land in the village in 1983, which declined to 30.2 per cent in 2019. In contrast, the share of middle caste Vanniyar community in ownership of land increased from just 4.1 per cent land in 1983 to 27.4 per cent in 2019. And the share of Dalit ownership of the village land increased from mere 0.4 per cent to 33.7 per cent between 1983 and 2019. Similarly, in Palanpur village of Moradabad district in Uttar Pradesh the dominant upper caste Thakurs have seen their supremacy challenged by the Maurya caste of OBC community who have over time improved their status by accumulating land and intensive cultivation. The Dalits also have made some improvement, though not as much by acquiring land but through non-farm employment (see Damodaran, 2023).

Moreover, upper strata of the OBCs have improved their economic and political status considerably in the country. But many OBCs still continue to remain economically, educationally and politically weak. A small section of middle class has emerged among the SCs mainly as a result of the benefits of affirmative government policies accruing to them, but large mass of the SCs continue to remain at the bottom socially, educationally, economically and politically. Traditionally advantaged upper castes are faced with declining economic position in rural areas due to factors like family partition and division of landholdings. This has turned many of them into small and marginal farmers; they are unable to afford quality education for their children who now remain unemployed or migrate to town and cities to join the informal sector. But well-off section of the upper castes has substantially benefitted from new opportunities created in the processes of modernization and globalization in the country. Many of them have migrated to urban areas and some have gone abroad for betterment of their life. Mostly they form the highly educated well-off upper caste-new middle class in urban setting today. A small number of people belonging to OBCs and SCs have also migrated to greener pastures in foreign countries. The benefit of social mobility has accrued more at individual and family levels than at caste level. On the whole, it may be said that inter-caste and intra-caste educational, economic and political differentiation and inequality has increased with modernization and more so under globalization in the country.

Further, it is through the process of social mobility, upward and downward, which mainly began as a result of modernization that change in caste stratification has been occurring in India, along with emergence of new classes. In fact, studies report instances of some social mobility even in traditional India. Historically speaking the caste-based social stratification was not completely closed. Some scope of mobility was there through channels like migration to distant regions, royal proclamations upgrading a particular caste status, accumulation of power and wealth by some castes which helped raising their caste status. But such instances were very limited and rare (see Singh, 2009: 36). Moreover, there have been cases of social mobility through the process of Sanskritization by which the lower caste people sought to imitate the beliefs, rituals, cultural practices and ideologies of upper castes and giving up some of their old style of living and cultural practices to claim a higher status in the caste hierarchy, though such attempts faced resistance from the upper caste people (Srinivas, 1966). This process reflected the urge for social mobility among some lower caste people and also latent tension and conflict in the caste system.

Colonial modernity created institutional avenues for social mobility of lower castes through opening up modern education and occupations to them. This process got significantly widened after Independence with

introduction of several economic, educational and political measures by the state. Upward social mobility of SCs and OBCs got enhanced by their increasing socio-political awakening, mobilization and solidarity, first in the southern states and later in the northern states in the country. SCs also followed religious conversion as an avenue for social mobility to escape from their social exclusion and discrimination in the Hindu social order. However, commenting in the early 1970s, Singh (2009: 55) observed that 'On net balance, social mobility among the Scheduled castes is far from satisfactory... their social and economic status has improved, but relative to other castes and groups it still lags far behind'. They lag behind despite the affirmative policies and programmes launched for their upliftment by the government. This is so also because they lack on social and cultural capital in their family, neighbourhood and peer groups.

In their study of Dalit households belonging to two districts of Uttar Pradesh in the period of globalization, Kapur et al. (2010) note several changes. They found changes in the grooming, eating, and ceremonial consumption patterns of Dalits showing higher social status in terms of consumption. There was also rapid decline in discriminatory process which stigmatized Dalits. There was significant shift in the pattern of economic life both within the villages and outside. Dalits had migrated to cities and taken up new occupations as tailoring, masonry and driving plus small business activities as grocers and paan shop owners. Moreover, caste markers, behaviours and practices also had changed considerably. But these changes did not indicate end to caste as a social construct as it was alive and working in a different form in the market (ibid.).

In their study conducted in 2007 in Pune city on intergenerational occupational mobility across four generations, Deshpande and Palshikar (2008) found the extent of mobility different among different castes. The Marathas-Kunbis and Dalits emerged as the greatest beneficiaries of upward mobility. But OBCs lagged behind these two and some among them showed even stagnation regarding mobility.

In his study of Dalit entrepreneurs drawn from 13 districts across six states in India, Prakash (2015: 1048) found them facing hindrances created by upper caste people in the market in different ways, such as preventing Dalits from registering a prospective business, renting a work space, getting access to labour and credit, harder to get supply orders. Lack of social networks, which are based on trust, also results in differential outcomes for lower castes, especially Dalits. Due to their adverse inclusion people placed at the lower rungs of the social order in terms of caste, gender, religion, etc. get lower profits on their capital investment in the market compared with their privileged counterparts irrespective of the quality and prices of the goods and services they provide (ibid.: 1047). So, there is adverse inclusion of the Dalits in the market economy. Interactions are affected often by caste in new and

unanticipated forms and often interact with or orchestrate other processes which exclude or include people in the modern time. No doubt, social discrimination against Dalits continues. But the policy of reservation followed after Independence has benefited SCs to some extent in obtaining education, government jobs and political positions. As a result, there has emerged among them a small section of middle class, popularly called Dalit elites/capitalists. But with downsizing of the government and increasing privatization of economic and educational sectors under the globalization regime, the benefit of reservation accruing to SCs, as well as STs and OBCs, has been on the decline. The large mass of SCs still remain marginalized socially, educationally, economically, and politically. Most of their children study in poor quality government educational institutions which only enable them to get into informal sector having highly exploitative working conditions without any protection.

In fact, social mobility under the caste structure may occur at three levels, i.e. upward or downward mobility of a family, of an individual and of a caste group. Generally, social mobility is found to happen more at individual and family levels, not of an entire caste or sub-caste, though one talks more often of caste mobility which may occur if a significant proportion of families belonging to a caste attain mobility socially, economically or politically. Sharma (2014: 231) holds that 'no uniform pattern of mobility is evident among different castes, families, and individuals, and it is not in congruence with the traditional caste hierarchy or with the notion of pure and impure'. However, referring to his 1974 study, he affirms that upward mobility of the traditionally disadvantaged families and castes and downward mobility of some families and groups of the upper castes are clearly seen in the present system of social stratification (*ibid.*).

Despite social mobility happening for decades, caste-based inequalities remain, though reduced. Based on analysis of NSS data pertaining to 2004–05, Thorat and Sadana (2009) found prevalence of high level of inequality between different caste groups in ownership of private enterprises both in rural and urban areas. They report share of higher castes, OBCs, SCs and STs in ownership of private enterprises in rural areas as about 45 per cent, 41 per cent, 10 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively. Their respective share in ownership of private enterprises in urban areas was about 57 per cent, 34 per cent, 7 per cent and 2 per cent only (see Sharma, 2014: 229, Table 4.2).

In their study covering over 40,000 households in 2005, Desai and Dubey (2011) report continued persistence of caste-based inequalities in terms of education, income level and social networks, which related to caste hierarchy. They found that caste influenced availability of opportunity and outcomes for a large section of people in society. Caste hierarchy also reflected in pattern of landownership, educational status, education, healthcare and expenditure on nutritional food.

In fact, economic inequalities among individuals, families and communities are on the rise under the current regime of globalization. Intra-caste educational, economic and political differentiation and inequality has increased with modernization and more so under globalization in the country.

However, keeping in view the gradual incremental changes that have occurred in the caste system of stratification, it may be said that caste-based inequalities and discrimination has reduced over time as a result of the forces unleashed by the macro processes of modernization and subsequently globalization in India. In this context, we may concur with Sharma (2014: 206) who observes, 'The [caste] system has become considerably weak; it is hardly in existence as it used to be in the beginning of the twentieth century or even up to India's independence in 1947'. Moreover, Sharma adds, 'Caste as a phenomenon and as a notion of reckoning can be observed in political mobilization, atrocities, violence, exploitation, etc. In a nutshell, the journey is through several centuries old, transformation of its systemic character into a discrete phenomenon is particularly a twentieth century incarnation, and that too, mainly after India's independence in 1947' (ibid.: 7). 'On the whole, intergenerational and caste/class mobility shows more of continuity than change' (ibid.: 250). Despite the emergence of tiny new middle class among SCs, the system largely facilitates their social reproduction at the lower rungs of modern/globalizing economy and society as under the traditional semi-feudal agrarian system.

Now, taking an overall view, it may be stated that India's path of modernization and globalization has not been unilinear story of success. Rather, it has been replete with inconsistencies and contradictions both in structural and cultural terms. Writing in 2000, Gupta saw in India 'a definite move from tradition', but the situation around reflect that the Indian society is 'not yet modern', it is rather 'still unmodern' (Gupta, 2007: 13). He sees this manifest in the prevailing phenomena of sexual harassment, dowry deaths, violence in public places, flaunting of family connection, wealth, political power, muscle power, numerous uncivilized forms of behaviour, etc. All these show persistence of traditional attitude. Privileging of birth over individual achievements signifies tradition. Modern universalistic norm requires respecting all as equal citizens and respecting human dignity irrespective of unequal social, economic and political positions. Indulgence in consumerist display of commodities and Western styles and at the same time showing social superiority, arrogance and even revulsion towards the rest do not reflect modernity but rather 'westoxication' of the advantaged ones (ibid.: 21–22). However, considering the processual dimension, Gupta observes, 'It must also be remembered that modernity is never a finished product. It is a continuous engagement, an unending project' (ibid.: 26).

Singh indicates inconsistencies and contradictions in both cultural and structural domains in the post-colonial phase (see Singh, 1986).

Micro-structure of caste showed lot of flexibility to adapt with modern institutions of democratic participation, formation of political parties and even trade unionism. Joint family loyalties and particularistic norms continue to exist. Structural inconsistencies also emerged at the level of macro-structures, like the elite structure, political system, bureaucracy, industry and economy. For instance, Lambert's study which showed that the particularistic elements of Indian tradition were present in the organization of the internal structure of the factories in terms of mobility of personnel, allocation of work, rational distribution of reward and facilities and role of particularistic factors in recruitment, salaries and wages and even in union movements (cited in *ibid.*: 156). Some of the major structural inconsistencies and contradictions in India the 1970s identified by Singh (1986) include democratization without spread of civic culture/education, bureaucratization without commitment to universalistic norms, increase in media participation (communication) and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justice, verbalization of welfare ideology without its diffusion in social structure and implementation as a social policy, over urbanization without industrialization, and modernization without meaningful changes in the stratification system (pp. 210, 213). Much of this still holds true under globalization.

Again in 2012, Singh (2012: 160) lists out several contradictions of contemporary modernization/globalization in India. Indian democracy showed a paradox in adoring civic principles on the one side but getting embedded increasingly into primordial affiliations like caste, religion and ethnicity. Serious structural contradictions reflected in high growth mainly benefitting the highly educated and professional sections but bypassing the illiterate and less educated people. There is reduction in rate of poverty, but large number of people are yet poor. This is reflected in over two-third of the total population of the country has to be provided food items at nominal prices/free through the PDS. Unequal access to the benefits of high growth has parallel in conflicts and violent movements in many areas, especially by the tribal and forest dwelling peoples. Crisis in agrarian sector is seen in inadequate investment in agricultural technology, access to market and new production and management practices though still the majority of population relies on agriculture for their livelihoods. Rising rural unemployment remains a big problem. No doubt, national growth has occurred after Independence, but socio-economic inequalities got increased, more so under the current regime of globalization. In contemporary India, Pathak (1998: 2) also sees egalitarian potential of modernity being denied as the large majority of people remain deprived of the benefits of economic liberalization and market capitalism. However, there are voices of assertion and protests for claiming justice and equality particularly by the Dalits, the indigenous people and feminists. There is seen presently in India 'the complex interplay of tradition, modernity and emancipation' (p. 12).

It is noted that traditions, thinking and institutional practices did not prove to be an obstacle in the path India's modernization/globalization. They adapted to get in tune with the demands of modernization (Singh, 2012: 154). Traditional value system did not prevent consumption of material goods and commodities. It was generally no more possible to know one's caste by occupation. Joint family norms of togetherness and cooperation proved favourable to the Marwaris in establishing several modern business enterprises based on corporate ownership and management. Formation of caste associations reflected elements of both tradition and modernity. They showed 'mixed features both of ascriptive and voluntary groups' as their membership was based on birth in a particular caste but it was not mandatory for all members of a particular caste. This 'has a modernizing impact without overtly replacing the traditional institution of caste' (Singh, 1986: 168). Also, according to Yadav (2023), the current ruling establishment believe that 'the modern is rooted in the ancient'. It emphasised that 'New India has ... been a resurgent India, adopting technology with traditions'. Also, very recently Pathak (2023) reported message of Hindutva-plus in the prime minister address at Ayodhya on 30 December 2023 in which he stated that the temple town of Ayodhya will see a convergence of *virasat* (tradition) and *vikas* (development) with growth of various modern infrastructure.

So, it is said that 'Modernity has entered into Indian character and society but it has done so through assimilation, not replacement' (Singh, 1986)². Singh notes that there has been 'continual tensions and contradictions, [but] chances of institutional breakdown are minimal; democratic values have fairly institutionalized in the political system; cultural gap which has recently widened between various levels of the elite does not go far enough to introduce major conflict about the ideology of modernization' (ibid.: 213). For instance, traditionally caste represented an institutionalized form of extreme inequality and inegalitarian ideology, but under democracy assumed associational form for mobilizing and fighting against caste-based inequality and inegalitarianism. Similarly, cultural traditions also started slowly adapting. For instance, increasing entry of women even in higher and professional education indicated attitudinal change. Large-scale adoption of new technology and modern inputs in agriculture generated prospect of positive progress in rural areas. Such a scenario did not show sign of any social breakdown under modernization (ibid.). Writing in 2012, Singh (2012: 152) observes a semblance of modernization at both structural and cultural levels in India. He affirms, 'Resilience has been a strong hallmark of the dynamics of Indian society. Both categorical and instrumental values have coexisted in the long history of Indian society and civilization'.

About the book

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I deals with theoretical side of modernity, and postmodernity which is regarded by some scholars as the cultural logic of globalization. Part II delves on some substantive issues related to modernity and globalization. Part III covers some aspects of social stratification and social mobility, particularly of SCs, in modern India, which has experienced both modernization and globalization.

Theoretical aspects

There are two papers in Part 1 of the book. In his paper titled, 'Theories of Modernism and Postmodernism: An Appraisal', J.P. Singh makes an appraisal of the theories of modernism and postmodernism. He takes note of the commonly traced origin of Western modernity in the Enlightenment and of postmodernity in the changing conditions after the Second World War which made it prominent since late 1960s. He brings out the main philosophical and sociological features of modernism by comparing it with postmodernism and also with pre-modernism. The paper clearly specifies the characteristics of modern and postmodern societies. Modernity signified social transformation accompanied by the development of modern industrial societies, whereas contemporary globalization and new media technology indicated rise of the postmodernity society. The paper briefly analyses the main ideas of the key postmodernist exponents. It is also indicated that some scholars prefer the idea of 'late modernity' rather than postmodernity. In their view, postmodernity does not hold as there is, in reality, further continuation of modernity which has now entered its 'late' (second) phase with intensification of its key features, rather than end of modernity which postmodernity implies. It is observed that many of the things accepted by modernist thinkers were rejected by post-modernists. Post-modernism challenged the entire modernist culture of realism, representationism, humanism, empiricism, grand theories and meta-narratives. Postmodernists argued that postmodern society is different from modern society, so much so that it requires new methods of study and new theoretical frameworks. However, it is affirmed that theories relating to postmodernism mark the dead-end of western scholarship in the field of humanities and social sciences. Finally, agreeing with Habermas, the author thinks that modernity is still an 'incomplete project'. Modernization is yet to reach a dead end in most parts of the world. It is held that given the current scenario, modernism is going to exist for a long time to come together with globalization.

D.V. Kumar, in his paper, focuses on 'Problematizing the Idea of Modernity'. It is true that modernity has dominated social science literature for quite some time. Still, it eludes clear conceptualization. Efforts

have been made and continue to be made to make sense of what modernity really stands for. This paper seeks to engage with two central issues. One, how to look at modernity. Here, it reflects on three ways of viewing modernity, i.e. philosophical, institutional and (individual) experiential ways to view it. Secondly, it deals with the approach to engage with modernity. In this context also, it identifies and discusses three ways of engagement with modernity, i.e. celebratory, rejectionist, and critical and creative at the same time. In the process of grappling with these two issues, the author endeavours to throw some light on the meaning and multiple origins of modernity. He holds that searching for an authentic origin of modernity is a needless one. The contribution of the non-Western civilizations to the emergence of the idea of modernity in the West cannot be ignored. So, there is a need to pay heed to the multiple origins of modernity.

Substantive issues of modernity and globalization

Modernity promised human progress and development driven by the forces of modern rational science and technology which have always tried to gain ever increasing control over nature. With the growth of modern processes of industrialization, urbanization and modern education, traditional societies have been transformed to varying degrees. Modernity has got further expanded and covered now the whole world with globalization. There is now increasing interactions among people across the globe in different domains of life. Pace of inter-country/continent mobility has accelerated giving rise to diasporic communities in many countries. There are various positive benefits which have accrued to humanity as a result of modernization and globalization. But there also some serious negative implications of these processes which people have had to confront. In this context, Part II of the volume covers some substantive issues pertaining to modernity and globalization. It comprises seven papers dealing with the issues of globalization and environment, climate change, Indian diaspora, Sansis tribal community, social aspects of COVID-19, and science, technology and society.

Bibhuti Bhushan Malik and Nirakar Mallick deal with the issue of 'Environment and Development: Ethical and Empirical Paradox' reflecting on environment and development under modernity and globalization. They observe that the human-centric modernist model of development is guided by the logic of hegemony over nature where uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources for development has led to immense environmental destruction and degradation and also badly harming life and livelihoods particularly of people living in the ecologically fragile regions. Increasing consumerism under contemporary capitalist globalization has further accentuated the environmental problems with rise in global warming and its negative consequences. In this light, the paper begins with briefly delineating different approaches

to understand the intricacies of environment and development. Then, it reflects on the problem of environmental crisis which has got aggravated due to enhanced global search for profit maximization, capital accumulation and rising consumerism under the regime of liberalization, privatization and globalization. This is followed by a reflection on the ethical question related to environment. It is noted here that the modernist thrust on unending human progress lay in its philosophy of domination over nature that separates human society from nature and ignores the rights of all other beings. However, given the huge damage already caused to the environment, there is seen some concern for environmental protection as reflected in preference for natural products, formation of environmental organizations, and support to these organizations concerned with conservation and protection of nature. In this connection, the paper discusses the concern for environment shown at global level as well which have been seen at global meet like the Rio Conference and Johannesburg World Summit. It is held that the current empirical scenario reflects continued environmental degradation and destruction which is likely to go on until the developed countries do not come up with some alternatives to sustain capitalistic development and consumerist lifestyles. Obviously, we are confronted with serious ethical and empirical paradox with regard to environment and development. Finally, the paper makes some suggestions to deal with this paradox, which emphasise the need of change from ego-centric attitude to a sympathetic and empathetic approach towards nature, adoption of an inclusive ethic, and participatory eco-friendly grassroots approach for a green and clean environment with use of simple technology.

'Role of Women in Adaptation to Climate Change' is discussed by Shweta Prasad in her paper. She deliberates upon the role of women in adaptation to climate change which is amongst the most pressing survival issues facing the humanity today in the age of globalization. It is observed that efforts are being made to limit the rise of global temperature and its associated fallout through several steps. Though no one is immune to the impact of climate change, it is expected to impact vulnerable sections of society, particularly women, more than the others. In fact, climate change was initially regarded as a scientific and technological issue. Its socio-cultural and gender dimensions were ignored. In the wider climate change discourse, gender considerations came much later due to the incessant efforts of the women and gender constituency to recognize the role of women in climate actions. Responses to deal with the problem of climate change involve both mitigation and adaptation measures. In this context, the paper focuses on the women's role in adaptation to climate change, underlining the fact that their role in society as providers of water and energy to their households, as agricultural workers and as custodian of biodiversity equip them with indigenous knowledge relevant to complement and supplement modern scientific measures to tackle climate change. Moreover, it notes the

constraints related to women's role, like gender-based power asymmetry, in their role in adaptation to climate change. The adaptation measures initiated and milestones achieved under the UNFCCC to meet with the challenges of climate change are also discussed. Finally, the paper makes certain relevant suggestions to tackle climate change, including need of capacity building of women so that they can effectively play their role in transition to climate resilient future.

Mala Kapur Shankardass deliberates upon 'Indian Diaspora: Families and Ageing Issues'. She notes that the Indian diaspora is considered to be the largest in the world. India has experienced the largest increase of diasporic migration in the recent decades, though the diasporic population has increased for nearly all countries in the world in the era of globalization. This brings to the fore the family and ageing issues on which the author has focused in her paper, with an emphasis on India. She takes note of the high degree of plurality among the Indian diaspora in terms of being scattered all over the world, in various geographical locations, carrying varied cultural characteristics, temporal frames and yet having the same basic family forms which have been affected by prevailing circumstances. Here, she analyses the relationship between the Indian diaspora, their families, the older people in their family and their ageing experience in the midst of wider socio-economic, demographic, and epidemiological transitions happening in the country of origin and in their resident nations. She discusses the changes in the family dynamics of Indian diaspora with ageing of the populations both in terms of positive and negative impacts. It is observed that family relationships undergo a change with substantial effect on the socio-economic circumstances, support mechanisms and many parameters related to quality of life issues. Some people who migrate abroad take their elderly family members along but others leave them behind. Some siblings maintain contacts with their native families through periodic or occasional visits, some disconnect after their migration. Many elderly family members left behind in home country benefit from remittances they receive. But others do not. Also, Western-inspired formal arrangements have emerged in the form of old age homes, senior residence complex and even organizations offering surrogate sons or daughters 'for hire' for care of elderly parents residing in India, which may or may not be sponsored by the diasporic siblings. Such changes affect the traditional nature of family ties in India where elderly parents and other members stayed together having family-based care in old age. The author explores the relationship of Indian diaspora, families and the older people in all its complexity and taking a sociological perspective also reviews the challenges and responses seen in society.

Reflections of Anand Kumar in his paper are on 'Making Sense of the Impact of COVID-19 in India' focusing on a period of 18 weeks between 13 March 2020 to 27 July 2020. The paper is organized in three sections: (a) The Indian response, (b) Four dimensions of the

COVID-19 crisis, and (c) Lessons of the COVID-19 crisis. He observes that COVID-19 as a pandemic was perceived in India as the dark side of globalization. People were overwhelmed by fear due to its deadly universality and baffling novelty. The country responded to the pandemic as if it was facing a disastrous war. Overnight a country-wide lockdown was declared by the union government. All public facilities, except hospitals and police stations, were closed. Moreover, the government took some steps to face the challenge, such as expansion of health care facilities for treatment of Covid patients, ration for the needy, giving financial package and modification in FDI rules to help Indian companies. However, all was not well. In fact, the author observes four-fold crisis which the country witnessed during this period. First, India confronted the pandemic with health care system highly stressed. The majority of people experienced great hardships due to the poor public health care facilities and highly commercialized private health services in cities. Second, a kind of political crisis manifested in the scenario of thrust for centralization in a federal system of governance, combined with increasing restrictions on the rights of the people. Third, there was a deepening of the economic crisis as lockdown caused a sudden collapse of the livelihood system in urban areas. The crisis magnified due to stopping of transport of people and commodities. Fourth, there was seen a socio-cultural crisis because the family system and community network got over-stressed as a result of huge number of hapless urban migrant labour forced to suddenly return to their rural homes. The low-wage earning urban Indian became 'economic refugees' oscillating between their urban sites of livelihood and rural spaces of family and kinship. Given this scenario, the author holds that the COVID-19 pandemic not only exposed the peripheral nature of market-mediated economic globalization but also the mechanical character of the Indian state. Finally, some important suggestions are made for constructive interventions to remedy the existing social, economic, and political system to prepare to face such pandemic without much difficulties.

In her paper, Madhu Nagla deliberates upon 'Emerging Societal Trends in the Time of COVID-19: Tracing Some Postmodernity Features'. She uses the postmodernist lens to examine on the new societal trends that emerged during the time of COVID-19 pandemic. First, she takes note of the global spread of the Corona pandemic as was the case in earlier pandemics in the world. Countries that were super-powers were also affected with the same gravity as the underdeveloped or developing countries. Increased international travels and mobility of people under globalization made it a global phenomenon. Then, the paper discusses postmodernism that rejects and questions the features of modernity, like science, 'objective' truth, uniformity, certainty, predictability, standardization, etc. In contrast, it is affirmed that postmodernity stands for diversity, uncertainty, identity, non-standardization, etc. The paper also delves on postmodernist

exposition of linkage between discourse/knowledge and power. Thereafter, it tries to discover the responses to deal with the Corona pandemic. This is followed by probing the changing dynamics of social relationships in the Corona times. The discussion in the paper tries to show that the time of Corona pandemic reflected the postmodern conditions in society. Given the highly unpredictable nature of the pandemic, people responded in diverse ways. They opted for different types of preventive and curative ways, like using allopathy, ayurveda, naturopathy, and some even opposing any treatment or masking as in some European countries and the US. Also, given the severity of the effects of the pandemic, there was a shift from the earlier predominantly face-to-face based social interactions at individual and institutional levels to the online 'virtual' world as the 'new reality'. Similarly, imposition of lockdown and other restrictions on movements and surveillance forced people to get confined to their home and family which got strengthened in place of formal institutions being predominant under modernity. The pandemic resulted into new forms of sociability or even returning to the old forms of sociability. So, many precepts of modernity failed to operate during the pandemic.

The paper by Pragma Sharma is titled 'Belief Pattern Regarding Disease among Sansis Community: An Anthroposociological Study'. The paper examines whether modernity has reached the Sansis. This is done with focus on cultural belief and practices of the Sansis in respect of diseases and health. It is noted that the Sansis have no traditional place of settlement. They are scattered in small groups in various parts of the north-western regions of India. However, efforts have been made both by the government and by social service organizations to settle them in some parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat. For the purpose of present study three remote villages of Bassi and Dausa tehsils of Rajasthan were chosen as representative settlement areas of this tribe. Mixed methods approach was adopted to collect data for the study. As per the findings of the study, it emerged that the concept of health, illness and disease among the Sansi tribal people remains very traditional. They judge health status of person by his/her capacity to work. They considered a person healthy if his/her hearing, memory, eyesight and movements are found satisfactory. Any deviation from this indicated illness. Moreover, they believed that a disease occurs due to the wrath of deities, evil spirits or evil eyes, or some sin committed in the present or past birth. For them, symptoms of disease include eating too much, laughing excessively for long hours, suffering from fever and cold, etc. They showed strong faith in treatment of the local 'ojha' and 'baba'. They thought visiting a modern doctor worsen the condition of illness. Leprosy is considered to occur as a result of committing many sins in the present birth and also in previous birth. Taking a bath in the holy Ganges is regarded as its most effective treatment. In case many of them suffer from malaria, they shift to an isolated place from their current residence and return after getting well. They also believe in making a vow to deities

for their wellbeing. They worship female goddesses to ward off smallpox and chicken pox. Thus, the paper shows that modernity and globalization has not reached them as yet.

In his paper, B.K. Nagla is concerned with 'Science, Technology and Society: Responses, Reflections and Responsibilities'. He delves on science, technology and society highlighting the social aspects of science and technology. He notes that science and technology play a very important role in development and change in society. That is, they are considered instrumental in the emergence of a 'new society' – an industrial, technological, global society. But they have had both positive and negative implications. To understand the issues comprehensively, the paper first explains the field of science and technology studies (STS), followed by the trajectory of sociology of science/technology and science studies. Then, it briefly explains the core body of STS knowledge and practice, which is followed by elaboration of four types of policy cultures of science and technology, namely bureaucratic culture, industry-market culture, academic culture and civic culture in which dominate technocrats, private business bodies, academics and civil society respectively in shaping science and technology policies. Then are discussed three distinct issues which are found in the discourses on science, technology and society, i.e. responses, reflections and responsibilities. While explaining the response aspect of science and technology, the paper shows with examples the differential social impact of science and technology in society. Foci of reflections include all three, i.e. science, technology and society. The issue of responsibility is viewed in the context of research and innovation as collective scientific activities with uncertain and unpredictable consequences. Finally, there is emphasized the need of responsible research and innovation asserting that it must be conducted for substantive common good and normative reasons rather than to instrumentally expedite growth and progress for sectional benefits.

Social stratification and mobility

India is known to have since centuries among Hindus a unique system of social stratification based on caste status which is ascribed to an individual by birth. Empirical studies demonstrate prevalence of caste-based stratification even among people of other religions, though a little less prominently in some respect. Caste stratification remained for centuries quite rigid despite few historical instances of mobility of some groups here and there in some areas. But starting with the British rule and more after Independence with unleashing of forces of modernity and globalization, there is seen changes in the social structure and pace of social mobility has increased over time. Here, in Part III of the volume there are five chapters which reflect on the nature of changes in social structure and social mobility.

The paper by Richard Pais is titled 'Social Stratification and Mobility in Indian Society: A Case Study of Scheduled Castes'. He examines the system of stratification found in Indian society with a focus on mobility attained by the Scheduled Castes as a result of acquiring education and employment. His study was conducted on 220 Scheduled Caste employees living and working in Mangalore Urban Agglomeration. First, the paper briefly discusses the conceptual aspects of social stratification and mobility and some historical instances of social mobility in the caste system in India. Thereafter, it moves on to empirical analysis of the findings of the study area. Here, it examines the benefits of government affirmative policies availed by the Scheduled Castes in education and employment. Then, it discusses the scenario of intergenerational educational and occupational mobility of the SC employees. It covers the issues of their class/category of employment acquired through education, number of children, relationship at work-place, type of residential locality and status of the family because of education and employment. The study concludes that education has enabled the SCs to get gainfully employed. As a result of education and employment, they have been able to restrict the number of their children, improve their relations in the workplace and also live in decent housing among people belonging to other castes/religions. Ultimately, through education and employment Scheduled Castes have been able to attain middle class status.

The paper by Sinyutin Mikhail Vladimirovich, Karapetyan Ruben Vartanovich and Veselov Yuri Vitalievich is titled 'Craft of Untouchables at the Capitalist Racing: A Social Study of Shoemakers in India'. Here, they make an attempt to understand in globalizing India the craft of shoemakers in which the people belonging to Scheduled Castes have been engaged for centuries. The paper is mainly based on the study of street shoemakers in the city of Mumbai, which is part of their larger project covering also some other cities in the country. The methods used for the study include interviews with shoemakers and observations. Here, the paper first provides the broad context of the Indian economy and the caste system of which hereditary division of labour by caste is an important feature. Second, it narrates the peculiarities in terms of difficulties in studying shoemaking in urban India. Third, it discusses the social field of craft in India. This is followed by an analysis of the shoemaker's craft. Finally, it is concluded that there is nothing to indicate the coming demise of the craft of street shoemakers as industrialization is encroaching upon them too slowly. The quality of hand-made production is low both in footwear and leather products but meets the needs of undemanding clients. The main social mechanism contributing to craft production in modern conditions is the migration of shoemaking ex-untouchable castes from rural to urban areas. Another reason this craft is preserved is because it is always in demand. It has very low transactional costs. Clients can save both their time and money thanks to

street cobblers who can mend their sandals quickly and efficiently. Moreover, interests of artisanal shoemakers and big shoe manufacturers do not overlap. Shoemaking craft in two of its varieties (mending and production) successfully coexists with huge shoe manufacturers' businesses. It was found that very often city shoemakers sell both self-made shoes and manufactured ones. It is noted that the reproduction of artisanal shoemaking craft in India is connected not only with regional/ethnic networks but also with Schedule Caste groups. The occupational association of caste continues to fully exist in case of artisanal shoemaking craft. Shoemakers remained highly exploited and at the lowest rung of social hierarchy. They could earn only to meet their survival needs. There was no sign of occupational differentiation or mobility for them as yet. But there is emerging some hope of change. Shoemakers do not want their offspring to inherit their business. Rather they want a different sort of future for children and even insist on their continuation of studies. It is affirmed that this craft will disappear only when buying a new pair of shoes is as easy and cheaper as having the old one healed.

'Becoming Entrepreneurs: An Artisan Caste of Punjab' is the title of paper by Gurpreet Bal. In contrast with preceding case, Bal examines the case of emergence of entrepreneurs from castes having no traditional background of business and trade in Punjab. She notes that among the Punjabi entrepreneurs the traditional dominant trading castes of Khatri, Arora, Bania and Mahajan are preponderant. However, alongside them people from service, and cultivating castes have also emerged in a big way, as they have had skills, resources, and networks. The post-liberalized India has made the base of entrepreneurial activities more inclusive by providing opportunities to people with capabilities across regions, castes, religions and communities. This paper explores the journey of a caste group of Punjab towards becoming entrepreneurs from being artisans. They are Ramgarhias who traditionally have been carpenters, blacksmiths, and masons, all in one, providing skilled services to the farmers under the local 'jajmani system'. They adopted the name Ramgarhia during the Sikh struggle for power and identity in the 18th century. Through modification and diversification of their hereditary skills, they have emerged as successful entrepreneurs of Punjab. It has been argued that the entrepreneurial development of Punjab owes a lot to the craftsmanship, innovativeness, hard work, keen observations and practical mind of the Ramgarhia community. Through their humbleness, shrewd and uncanny eye, they mastered themselves in agricultural machinery, machine tools and in re-rolling mills. They have been able to acquire education, which led to their occupational diversification, and hence to social mobility. Their case is found to be unique and significant as it represents that how castes and communities, whose hereditary occupations have lost relevance in the course of industrial development, may refurbish their skills and can move forward. In the

broad framework of continuity and change, the Ramgarhias as a community have been examined in this paper. It is noted that though carpenters and blacksmiths fall under other backward castes (OBCs) but by registering themselves as Ramgarhias they did not claim any reservations to which they could be entitled. Paradoxically in the beginning of this century in a neo-liberal environment, they sought the OBC status, hence seeking educational and occupational reservation. The paper also addresses to the problematic that why such a prominent and successful community chose to become an OBC caste and without any agitation they got this status by the state government.

In their paper, Sanjay Kumar Mishra and Prabhleen Kaur Pabla discuss the issue of 'Sanitation and the Transformation of Macro-Social Structure and Micro-Social Structure' focussing on the situations in Britain and India. In case of Britain, they examine the relationship between the people's response to local environment management with regard to insanitary practices affecting comfort, health of members of community and the gradual emergence of a number of modern institutions leading to the transformation of macro social structure. Increasing industrialization, urbanization and large-scale migration from rural to urban areas witnessed huge generation and accumulation of waste, garbage, dirt and highly insanitary conditions resulting in spread of various kinds of diseases and ill health of the people. To respond to this neighbourhood problem of insanitation and concern for cleanliness and health, there was an evolution of modern institutions in Britain, such as bureaucratic urban local self-government, modern judiciary based on statutes and laws, and functional parliamentary democracy. In a way, modern institutions evolved due to neighbourhood opposition to the insanitary practices which led to the transformation of social structure of society. But the spread effect of transformation in the macro-structures of British society due to colonization produced differential impacts as the micro-structures of colonial societies which differed from British society and from each other on several count. Regarding India, the authors have taken up the micro-structures of caste system and village communities for analysis from sanitation point of view. They have noted that the norms of purity and pollution associated with the scripturally sanctioned hierarchical caste system is an important factor responsible for resistance to adopting/using pit toilets, though most of the village folk can afford to make and use it, and continuing insanitary practice of open-defecation by many in villages. Even those who used pit toilets deployed the ex-untouchables caste of *bhangis* (sweepers) for cleaning it whenever needed. They did not do it themselves considering this work as impure and polluting. So, the impact of modernity was not seen equally in all domains of the village life. Modernity, in fact, resulted in creating structural inconsistencies such as, modernization without civic culture and modern sanitary practices, democracy without complete eradication of the practice of untouchability, education with widespread open

defecation and so on. This reflected the particularistic pattern of modernization in India than universalistic form.

In his paper, Sanjay K. Roy critically discusses the issue of 'Social Democracy: An Unfinished Project in India'. The paper explores the functioning of Indian democracy in the light of the principles enshrined in the Indian Constitution, which proposed to build a social democracy based on the ideals of modernity, equality, justice, secularism, fraternity and humanity; a democracy that would be truthfully run by the people in the spirit of 'general will'. A democracy that would be in congruence with the pluralistic cultural tradition of India and that would fight all forms of parochialism to stand by brotherhood. In this context, the author reflects on the current regime which thinks there is 'too much of democracy' creating obstacles in the path of reforms along the lines of liberalization and privatization. His analysis shows a grand nexus existing between private corporates, the state and majoritarian nationalism under which there is promoted 'distorted' public communication through the media. There is seen shrinking of public sphere for critical voices, colonization of civil society, erosion of secularism, and crisis of multiculturalism which is essential in liberal democracy. The policies of the Indian state are shown to promote the interests of corporate class but the large mass of the people is neglected and put in a disadvantageous condition. Equality is now a forgotten promise. The paper argues that Indian democracy, which the visionary leaders of freedom struggle designed to be a social democracy is in severe crisis. However, it sees some ray of hope in the stance and verdicts of the highest judiciary in the direction of protecting liberal democracy, though attaining social democracy remains a huge challenge in the country.

Concluding remarks

Finally, it may be stated that India has experienced modernity which began under the British colonial rule and became a major force after Independence under the state-directed change in political, economic, technological, social and cultural domains. Modern processes like democratization, industrialization, urbanization, land reforms and agricultural green revolution along with political mobilizations of the lower castes have brought about significant changes in society. Lately since 1991, the country has adopted the development path of capitalist globalization which is also considered by many scholars as late/liquid/global modernity signifying early nation-bound Western modernity going global in scope, institutional features and operations. Like the previous phase of modernization, India is impacted as well by the regime of liberalization, privatization and globalization. But changes that have occurred due to increasing social mobility of lower castes, along with decline of upper caste dominance, emergence of somewhat new heterogeneous social classes (in caste composition), and fast rising intra-caste group/caste economic and educational differentiation/

inequality in India do not show transformation of caste stratification into class stratification in a linear way. All castes/caste groups are becoming more and more heterogeneous in class (economic) terms. Broadly speaking, modernity led to change in the traditional caste stratification from (earlier) congruence of statuses (social, economic and political) to incongruity of statuses of major caste groups in society, more so in their political status than in economic status (cf. Beteille, 1965). But this trend seems to weaken in recent decades in economic terms because the regime of capitalist globalization has benefitted the upper castes more and reduced opportunities for the OBCs and the SCs (also STs) due to the policies of downsizing of the government, and liberalization and privatization making the policy of reservation less efficacious.

Chapters in the book show that some people (individual and family) of SC/Dalit community have been able to benefit from affirmative state policies to attain educational and occupational mobility and emerge as part of the middle class. But some others like street shoemakers and bhangis (sweepers) mostly continue to perform their traditional hereditary occupations facing exploitation and discrimination even in the market place. Also, social discrimination is faced by some Dalits entrepreneurs in the market even under globalization whereas some others like Ramgariahias of Punjab, who belong to the artisanal OBC community, have emerged as successful entrepreneurs. Belief pattern of Sansis community regarding diseases do not reflect any influence of modernity. Social democracy remains an unfinished project in India. Diasporic Indian families show anguish and dilemma in the care of the elderly. So, India shows several contradictions and inconsistencies in its march under modernity and globalization. On the whole, it emerges that India does not conform to the universalist supposition of Western modernity implying India would become just like the modern West. Externally, many features of modernity/globalization are becoming more and more common to see in the country. But internal ethos, ethics and principles of Western modernity/global modernity are yet to penetrate deeper to reflect fully in thinking, attitude and behaviour of people in the country, and it is not clear that will happen in near or ever in future as culture and historicity of countries affect their path of change. Thus, India emerges today as one of the versions of multiple modernities. Moreover, like the whole world the country is confronted with the serious problems of environmental destruction/degradation, climate change, fast rising socio-economic inequalities and pandemics like COVID-19 in the age of globalization, which require a radical shift in development paradigm reigning today to avert these global risks and ensure a just and sustainable future for all. Duara (2015: 118) rightly affirms, 'A paradigm of sustainable [alternative] modernity [globalization] is needed to forge once again an equilibrium among the logics [of economics, politics and culture] to restore the balance between humans and the world'.

Notes

1. Taking a long view, Singh (1986: 27) holds that during the pre-colonial period structural changes in India followed an 'oscillatory' path rather than 'evolutionary pattern'. For instance, changes in micro-structure like family and caste, the trend used to be of pattern maintenance. In case of macro structure, the same pattern was reflected as in the 'rise and fall of monarchies'. So, he affirms that 'the orthogenetic [endogenous] sources of change in the social structure of Indian society did not have the potential for real structural changes which have been set into action through the heterogenetic [exogenous] form of the contemporary processes', i.e. partly during the period of colonial contact and mainly after Independence.
2. Moreover, Singh (1978: 12) observes that there has been adaptive changes in the traditional structures and cultural patterns caused due to the forces of modernization in India. The main ethos of modernization Singh sees located in the process of political modernization because in all developing countries politics impact the main processes of society. In India, he notes the dominance of 'elite-centred' modernization, wherein political elites privileged liberal parliamentary path rather than mass-mobilization strategy for political and structural modernization (ibid.: 13). Overall, Singh finds India following an 'eclectic ideology' of modernization in the early decades after Independence, which combined parliamentary democratic path with mixed-economy model of development (ibid.: 17). But since the 1990s mixed-economy model has been replaced with the market-centred and private sector-led globalization. The significance of traditional values, norms, institutions and national cultural identity, though of majoritarian type, are emphasized by the current ruling establishment and dominant socio-political formation in the country.

References

- Bandopadhyay, Jayant. 2017. 'Development' and 'Modernity' in the Global South: Why a Science and Technology Studies Perspective is Important. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 52(27), July 8.
- Beck, Ulrich. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- . 1999. *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Beteille, Andre. 1965. *Caste, Class and Power*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Choudhary, Kameshwar. 2014. Globalization and Culture. In Yogendra Singh (ed.), *Indian Sociology: Identity, Communication and Culture*. Vol. 3. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Damodaran, Harish. 2023. The changing Indian village. *The Indian Express*, December 25.
- Desai, S. and Dubey, A. 2011. 'Caste in 21st Century: Competing Narratives', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(1): 40–49.

- Deshpande, Rajeshwari and Palshikar, Suhas. 2008. Occupational Mobility: How much does Caste Matter? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(34): 61–70, 23 August.
- Dirlik, Arif. 2016 (2007). *Global Modernity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Dumont, Louis. 1980. *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Duara, Prasenjit. 2015. *The Crisis of Global Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eisenstadt, Samuel N. 2000. Multiple Modernities. *Daedalus*, 129(1), Winter.
- Ellis, Alex. 2023. Vows for the Planet: COP28 offers opportunity to accelerate action and ambition, *The Indian Express*, December 6.
- Featherstone, Mike and Lash, Scott. 1997. Globalization, Modernity and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction. In Featherstone, Mike, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage Publications (reprint, first edn. 1995).
- Ghurye, G.S. 1969. *Caste and Race in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Gupta, Dipankar. 2007/2000. *Mistaken Modernity: India Between Worlds*. New Delhi: HarperCollins Publishers India.
- . (ed.). 1992. *Social Stratification*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, Stuart, Held, David and McGrew, Tony (eds). 1992. Introduction (chapter). In their book, *Modernity and Its Futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press (in association with the Open University).
- Harvery, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge MA & Oxford UK: Blackwell.
- Hegde, Sasheej. 2009. Reassembling Modernity: Thinking at the Limit. *Social Scientist*, 37(9–10), September–October, 66–88.
- Held, David. 1992. Liberalism, Marxism and Democracy. In Stuart Hall et al. (eds), *Modernity and Its Futures*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press (in association with the Open University).
- Jagaran Research. 2023. Amiro ki viilasita ki kimat chuka rahe hai garib (The poor are paying for the luxuries of the rich). *Dainik Jagaran* (Hindi daily newspaper), Lucknow edn., p. 15, 24 November.
- Jameson, Fredric. 1991/1984. *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kapur, Devesh, C.B. Prasad, D.S. Babu and L. Pritchett. 2010. Rethinking Inequality: Dalits in Uttar Pradesh in Market Reform Era. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(35): 39–49.
- Kivisto, Peter. 2014. Postmodernity as an Integral Critique of Modernity, (chapter 5). In Samir Dasgupta and Peter Kivisto (eds), *Postmodernism in a Global Perspective*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Kumar, D.V. 2008. Engaging with Modernity: Need for a Critical Negotiation. *Sociological Bulletin*, 57(2): 240–54, May–August.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois. 1984/1979. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. UK: Manchester University Press.

- Pathak, Avijit. 1998. *Indian Modernity: Contradictions, Paradoxes and Possibilities*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Pathak, Vikas. 2023. In message on temple, PM includes faith, labharthi, caste and infra push. *The Indian Express*, December 31.
- Prakash, Aseem. 2015. Dalits Enter the Indian Markets as Owners of Capital: Adverse Inclusion, Social Networks, and Civil Society. *Asian Survey*, 55(5), September–October.
- Reddy, K. Srinath. 2023. To Clear the Air. *The Indian Express*, 31 October.
- Sharma, K.L. 2014. Caste: Continuity and Change. In Yogendra Singh (ed.), *Indian Sociology: Emerging Concepts, Structure, and Change*, Vol. 1, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, Yogendra. 2012. Modernization and Its Contradictions: Contemporary Social Changes in India, *Polish Sociological Review*, 2(178): 151–166.
- . 2009/1977. *Social Stratification and Change in India*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications (2nd rev. edn.).
- . 2004. *Ideology & Theory in Indian Sociology*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- . 2002 (2000). *Culture Change in India: Identity & Globalization*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications, reprint.
- . 1986 (1973). *Modernization of Indian Tradition: A Systemic Study of Social Change*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- . 1978. *Essays on Modernization in India*. New Delhi: Manohar Book Service.
- Sinha, Amitabh. 2023a. India at the Climate Summit. *The Indian Express*, 30 November.
- . 2023b. Fight against Climate Change. *The Indian Express*, 22 November.
- Srinivas, M.N. 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thorat, S. and Sadana, N. 2009. Caste and Ownership of Private Enterprises. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(23): 13–16.
- Wittrock, Bjorn. 2000. Modernity: One, None, Many? European Origins and Modernity as a Global Condition. *Daedalus*, 129(1), Winter.
- Yadav, Bhupender. 2023. The Old in the New. *The Indian Express*, 1 June.

11

Craft of Untouchables at the Capitalist Racing

A Social Study of Shoemakers in India

Sinyutin Mikhail Vladimirovich, Karapetyan Ruben
Vartanovich and Veselov Yuri Vitalievich

Introduction

Indian society has undergone major changes over the centuries. It is presently passing through the phase of market-centred private sector-led capitalist globalization. However, given its deep historical roots in social structure and culture, it is not completely transformed. Rather, it shows the co-existence of the features of pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial societies, which is observed in its labour market as well. The influence of the age-old caste-based division of labour is still reflected in varying degrees in the economic domain. In this broad scenario, the present paper makes an attempt to understand the craft of shoemakers in which the people belonging to the ex-untouchable community have been engaged for a long time to earn their living. It is mainly based on the study of shoemakers in the city of Mumbai, which is part of a larger project study covering some other cities in Kerala (Kochi) and Tamil Nadu as well. The methods used for the study include interviews with shoemakers and observations. Some references are also given in the paper to the situation of shoemakers in Russia and Europe due to the authors having the advantage of being from Russia and having done such a study in their own country. In this context, the paper first provides a broad context of the Indian economy and the caste system, where the hereditary division of labour based on caste was an important feature, alongside the shoemakers' setting in Mumbai. Second, it narrates the peculiarities in terms of difficulties in studying shoemaking in urban India. Third, the paper explores the social aspects of

craftsmanship in India. This is followed by an analysis of the shoemakers' craft and some concluding observations.

The context

Capitalist globalization is marked by essential contradictions that manifest in the social organization of production and labour. The current historical stage proves the Marxian critical view (Marx, 1867) on overpopulation and pauperization together with the growth of wage labour under capitalism in countries like India. Growing inequality is observed as a global phenomenon (Piketty, 2014) despite fast technological developments. The increasing division of labour provides a variety of commodities and results in the one-sided socialization of individuals, linked to their professional path. Understanding capitalist reality means accepting sharp contradictions of the core processes and seeing the driving forces of capitalist reproduction.

India was the first nation to heavily face early capitalist antagonisms by means of British colonial aggression. And until the recent days Indian society had been reproduced as a global capitalist periphery. This includes the observation that '(t)he sizes, and evolution of Indian wealth have been closely dependent on structural shifts and fluctuations in economic growth' (Kumar, 2019). However, the form of this reproduction absorbed multiple cultural features of the luxuriant Indian historical path. In long-lasting capitalist racing millions and millions of Indians participate in being socialized in very traditional social structures and institutions. Tradition is deeply rooted in pre-capitalist rural social life, shared and reproduced by two-thirds of the Indian population. The rural population is a prospective huge source of future economic development in India and an inexhaustible wellspring of the national labour force.

Nevertheless, Surinder S. Jodhka is right in claiming that '[a]lthough India today continues to confront many social, economic, and political problems, it cannot be characterized as an "underdeveloped" country with a traditional social and political order' (Jodhka, 2017: 3). At the beginning of the 21st century, India was reckoned to be one of the world's biggest economies with the fifth-largest volume of GDP (World Bank, 2020). The hidden foundation of this growth is that with over 1,380 billion people India keeps being an incredibly huge resource of labour power (United Nations, 2020). With the mobility of capital and communication plus outsourcing technologies, nations with cheap but skilful labour absorb advanced means of mass production. But skills vary from country to country as per specific social and cultural conditions. As a result, India became very attractive and successful in hosting global IT and publishing hubs. New occupations are in high demand internationally. But the largest world population also constitutes a giant internal market with culturally specific consumer demands and habits. The lack of full-fledged commodification appears to

be an obstacle to capitalist developments at various levels of social relations. Being not destroyed by capitalist relations, social institutions of rural India constantly reproduce pre-capitalist life standards and use values.

Visible urbanization of rural migrants in the Indian cities as well as the introduction of urban developments in some rural regions represent only one side of the process. On the other side, the rapidly urbanized masses keep being ambiguous in their class interests and consciousness. Peasants are not able to be organized as a capitalist class due to this ambiguity of producers and consumers, workers and owners, being self-sufficient in their economic activities. Conservative element of Indian peasant culture allows Yogendra Singh to conclude decades ago from his sociological point of view that '(o)n the Indian scene it appears that despite continual tensions and contradictions, chances of the institutional breakdown are minimal; democratic values have fairly institutionalized in the political system; a cultural gap which has recently widened between various levels of the elite does not go far enough to introduce major conflict about the ideology of modernization' (Singh, 1973: 213). Too many pre-capitalists' social relations distract human minds from pure capitalist rationality, manifested in just a few economic practices. On the other hand, Indian peasants are strongly influenced by the inevitable process of proletarianization. This capitalist change has been recently analyzed by K.L. Sharma: 'There is a clear process of polarization of the peasantry into a class of rural capitalists and of agricultural labourers' (Sharma, 2013: 722). Besides, just as great revolutionary leaps in the economy were based on the intensive urbanization in the Soviet Union from 1920–1950 and in China from 1980–2010, the expectations of Indian social change are intertwined with the economic success of the nation.

In fact, the social singularity of Indian life is a system of social castes. They serve as an obstacle to the capitalist labour market, but only so far as they somehow fit its interests, only at the stage of under-developed capitalism and so far, the internal Indian market stays at the early stage of advancement. Since an individual does not completely delink from his traditional social networks, family ties and religious values into the fully alienated scope of commodified market relations, capitalist forces act roundabout, disguising into the common and well-known social forms. Capitalist forces differently influence the existing caste practices; many occupations and professions can still benefit from this tradition to fulfil market demands. Some occupational networks are still well reproduced precisely among various groups of untouchable castes, now also called Dalits, such as '*chamars*' who work as shoemakers.

The caste system, an ancient Indian system of regulating labour division, continues to exist due to its usefulness for capitalist purposes. However, it persists in an incomplete, underdeveloped, one-sided

manner, reflecting the lack of large-scale capitalist interests among the population. Functionally protecting the system of social hierarchy in a society with strong interpersonal dependencies of status type, caste practice provides reproduction of social power and order in strongly stratified communities. Moreover, this practice coexists with a specific religious ideology of cleanliness that permeates social communication networks. The viability of the caste system is enforced by its adaptivity and flexibility. Throughout history, the caste system has evolved plenty of times. In the recent stage, three developments seem to be important in the untouchable caste's evolution, according to the perspective of Surinder Jodhka (Jodhka, 2017). First is a legal de-recognition of the practice of untouchability. Second is a gradual disintegration of the hierarchical framework of rural social life (known as the *Jajmani* system of economic organization). Third is a near-complete change in the consciousness of those at the receiving end of the hierarchical system. All these developments are evident manifestations of the advanced economic interests of the capitalist market, as exemplified by the occupational practices of '*chamars*.'

The untouchables called the Dalits are the caste which is most restricted in their rights. For a long time, they were prohibited from visiting temples, wearing shoes and going to restaurants because they could desecrate the upper castes if they had a meal in the same room with them. In 1910, in his work '*Soziologie der Mahlzeit*' (Meal Sociology), Georg Simmel (2004) mentioned that the violation of this rule in ancient times used to be punished by the death penalty. Recent studies have covered a horrible occurrence with the killings of Dalits (Bhosale, 2008: 150–159). The caste of shoemakers, '*chamars*', are mostly deprived. The reason appeared to be symbolic: they work with leather and touch people's feet, while all *Sudras* (traditionally artisans and labourers, belonging to the lower castes) have been created from God's feet. On the other hand, shoemakers are allowed to eat meat but the upper castes are required to be vegetarians.

Indian labour today

What is peculiar about labour in India? At the beginning of the 21st century, Indian labour might be seen both technologically and socially as a mosaic, combining pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial features. For instance, in Chennai, a city in the south of India, one can see a common sight: peasants cultivating their modest lots with primitive tools, like a mattock, a true representation of pre-historic labour. Just across the road, there is a café where young Indian programmers, connected to the high-speed internet via Wi-Fi, work remotely for tech giants like IBM or Facebook. The difference in the level of remuneration is simply astonishing: peasants are happy with 100 USD (around ₹ 8,300) per month, while a programmer's monthly income gets up to 5,000 USD (around ₹ 4,15,000). The difference in labour prices

equals 50 times, producing enormous inequality in motivation, consumption, and quality of life at the same place within the country. And all those types of work are strongly demanded, which provides adequate supply. Also one may see that a giant portion of work that provides fulfilment of basic needs (cooking, cleaning, washing, repairing, childcare, etc.), is carried out in the household mainly by women, and is not being commodified at all. It shows extreme gender inequality in labour.

Another common challenge of Indian labour is weak public regulations and civil oversight. As a result, an unbelievable share of jobs (93%) exists in the informal sector (Alter Chen, 2007: 6). According to Vakulabharanam and Motiram (2012: 4), 92 per cent of the Indian labour force appears to be unorganized. It means that the labour is not organized and the forces of market and tradition dominate over workers. People often do not perceive state officials as public organizers of their work. 'Poor people report that their interactions with state representatives are marred by rudeness, humiliation, harassment, and stonewalling' (Narayan, 2000: 8). Market alienation needs some amount of trust so that working people turn to the frameworks of personal relations common to their everyday experience through personal socialization history. Therefore, family, kinship, neighbourhood, community, and caste habits play a decisive role in providing minimal trust and certainty for sustainable employment and labour processes. This is more of a social milieu than a matter of their choice.

Technologically deficient, unskilled and hard physical labour is still widespread in India. Seeing people pushing their loaded carts and ignoring the benefits of automobile transportation is a common sight. Manual labour remains cheap and originates from villages where people have poor income prospects and try their best to move to the city. That is how mega-cities with multimillion populations (for example, Mumbai) are formed. There, former peasants live and are willing to take up any job. They find their accommodation in slums with their peers, manage to live off a modest income, and yet send half of it back to their native village to support their families.

Indian city cobblers migrate from nearby villages to the city in hopes of earning money. Why do they prefer to work as shoemakers? The answer seems simple: they do not need any professional qualification, the process of training is only one month long, no initial money investment is needed and there is always demand for cobbler's services, so, one can never be in lack of job. Thus, there is a repetitive process of supplying a labour force for craft reproduction, including shoemaking, in Indian cities, guaranteed by favourable conditions.

Shoemakers of Mumbai

Indian shoe craft has been socially reproduced based on the strong cultural tradition of the special attitude to the foot and representing it as a crucial part of the human body. The foot was traditionally considered

sacred and symbolic. It holds an ambivalent status, being both a highly humble and revered part of humans. 'Almost paradoxically, the sentiment of humility and submissiveness evoking the emotions of awe, respect, and adoration are rooted in the idea that feet are the humblest, most impure, and polluting part of the body, and therefore may command respect by those who surrender their ego to the venerable' (Jain-Neubauer, 2006). Rooted in religious beliefs, the foot was an element to be venerated, like the feet of elders were treated to be worshipped by the youngsters, and the feet of idols by their devotees. Feet provides a sacred gift for culprits seeking forgiveness, and adorers seeking consideration. Appealing one foot symbolizes the reproduction of hierarchical relation and readiness for the subordination of the pleading person. Being part of the body that naturally touches the earth the most, the foot becomes interpreted as a support of the human body and through the vital meanings of 'clean' and 'polluted'. Footwear has absorbed a variety of traditional meanings and attitudes.

For centuries, footwear was an exceptional practice, expressing social privileges and status. Historically most Indians happily lived barefoot. For certain practical purposes, footwear was necessary and constituted the stable demand for shoe craft. Due to the variety of climates and living conditions, as well as natural resources, social activities and cultural traditions, the Indian shoe industry was extremely diverse. Most common Indian toe-knob sandals, *paduka*, were manufactured of wood, ivory, brass, silver, semi-precious stones, or various combinations. But only since the mid-20th century industrial mass production of footwear, based on new technologies and materials, revolutionized shoe consumption in India. However, traditional artisanal shoemaking and shoe repair did not fade away. Being an integral part of local communities, the shoe business continues to supply footwear needs in neighbourhoods far from modern market rules and regulations. They are strongly locally oriented in consumption and materials. Skills and knowledge are reproduced within the traditional family and kinship networks. All these conditions still contribute to the self-sufficiency of shoe craft.

Big Indian mega-cities, like Mumbai, create great challenges and great opportunities for traditional shoe artisans. They are huge consumer markets with a rich variety of options. And they lay upon shoemakers not only market demand-supply relations but also urban administrative orders. Nevertheless, the price of having stable monetary income today outweighs any troubles, difficulties, and risks. *Paris vaut bien une messe* (sacrificing one thing for getting another).

As soon as you have made your acquaintance with Mumbai, you start seeing it as a modern metropolis with a developed production industry and sphere of services, full of universities and science. Despite the obvious absence of order and some sort of irrationality (so much untypical of Western countries), Mumbai follows the route of

contemporary capitalist urban life. Unfortunately, it has plenty of social problems unsolved: poverty, slums, organized crime, corrupt police officers and retardant bureaucracy (Witt, 2017).

Mumbai is an important cultural centre of India; it has Bollywood, the biggest movie studio city in the country. The city suffers from the dominance of bureaucracy and officials' despotism to a great extent which is why it has an informal economy and employment sector. Craft and small-scale production actively develop despite the encroachment of large-scale and global businesses in the form of commercial franchises.

Mumbai is an example of a typical Asian city merging a shining Oriental beauty with Western traditions brought by Englishmen. It has Hindu temples and Muslim mosques alongside Victorian buildings of Queen Victoria's railway station, a building of the university and Crawford market. Unfortunately, there is one undesirable distinctive feature of a big Indian city: an ugly pile-up of slums both in the centre of the city and on the outskirts. Road traffic in Mumbai is chaotic and terrifying, the level of road accident mortality is the highest in the world. Besides, crossing the road becomes so risky that you might start pondering over the necessity of visiting places on the other side of the street. Moreover, the level of air pollution in Mumbai is simply catastrophic, second to none on a global scale.

Another astounding peculiarity of India, that never stopped surprising us, was a tremendous difference in its living standards. Mumbai is a city of contrasts where disproportionate wealth and appalling poverty exist side by side. For instance, there is a billion-dollar-worth skyscraper with a helipad, swimming pools and artificial gardens inhabited only by a family of six, but right in the street, there dwell masses of homeless people who cannot even afford to live indoors. They are not independent down-and-outs you might see in Europe, and not even families but entire communities. Workers, as a rule, live at construction sites where they work, the same goes for cobblers. They do not think of themselves as homeless people, they just cannot afford to rent proper lodging. People from slums are not homeless either, as they have their own shelter. To sum it up, 60 per cent of the population in Mumbai lives in slums. It is not even worth mentioning the fact that they lack all modern conveniences, like electricity, running water and sewage system. Unsanitary conditions breed swarms of city rodents that frequently attack citizens. Slums are the hotbed of many diseases, such as cholera, dysentery, typhus, yellow fever, and dengue fever (according to the newspapers' reports, there was nothing to be worried about as the number of infected was just above normal). The level of infant mortality in Mumbai is dramatically higher than in Europe. Nevertheless, the birth rate is higher too, with 50 per cent of the population aged less than 30. Every Indian citizen welcomes you with a white radiant smile. Thus, the cultures of the East and the

West differ significantly in their essence, making Mumbai a perfect representation of this statement.

Peculiarities of studying shoemaking in urban areas

Craft-based study in India refers to the Middle Ages period. Alternatively, research on craft may have its connection with artistic trades or, the so-called, 'souvenir field' (Tyagi, 2008; Ranjan and Ranjan, 2009; Barnard, 1995). Anyway, Indian entrepreneurship has been deeply rooted in social structure and is counter to capitalism (Dana, 2000: 86–91; Kshetri, 2011: 35–52). Nevertheless, shoemaking has never been observed as an important element, perhaps except for tanning in general, or giving examples of unique specimens of ethnic footwear, like sewed woollen boots from the province of Ladakh. Without looking back at those works, we were in our study specifically interested in vivid modern artisanal production that did not reproduce traditions of the past and had only artistic value in its basis but coexisted in the same field with industrial production and post-industrial sphere of services (for an example of similar research, see Sarkar, 2016).

In our project, we have not just studied the way craft functions in a metropolis area, but also paid attention to the state of things in small and medium-sized cities in India. We were constantly warned against choosing Mumbai as the object of our study, as it, allegedly, was not an accurate representation of the whole picture. That is why, following the advice of our Indian colleagues, we also studied the life of craft in cities of southern India (Kerala).

However, we would like to highlight the difficulties we endured in the course of our field research on Indian crafts. First, we did not take into consideration the ethnic specificity of language in the Indian urban environment. We were inclined to believe that centuries-old English governance had left its imprint on Indians' ability to express their thoughts in English at least roughly. The first surprise came with the realization that none of the street cobblers could speak anything close to English. Moreover, it was even impossible to make out numbers written for us on paper (which was an unusual paradox, because our Arabic numerals, so familiar to us, have Indian origin). We found ourselves in desperate need of an interpreter, able to translate not only from Hindi but also from Marathi, the language that all Mumbai dwellers speak. In Kerala, people speak a completely different language, Malayalam, so we needed an interpreter again, as we could not do interviews otherwise. This problem was financial, as we had to spend extra money on our budget. Of course, we could take pictures and make videos, but it all would have been of little help had we not had a chance to do interviews.

Second, during a similar study in Saint-Petersburg (Russia), interviewees demanded no payment (or gifts) from us after talking; however, their Indian counterparts laid it as an obligatory condition. What is interesting, we had to offer the payment three times, as it was a kind of ritual.

Fortunately, this custom was explained to us by our colleagues from the University of Mumbai and, luckily, the cost of an interview was rather low, not more than ₹ 500. Sometimes we could substitute the payment with making a small purchase from artisans, so each time it was a small relief for us. A comparative study of shoe craft in India and Russia revealed that Indian artisans in Mumbai are more open to communication than in Saint-Petersburg since they are possibly not as afraid of the police and repressive authorities.

Third, the lack of proper language skills hampered our ability to identify the ethnicity and caste of artisans. In India, we could not distinguish between cobblers of different regions/nationalities judging by their appearance, but thanks to guidance from our Indian colleagues, we learned about various ethnic communities. However, those were not from neighbouring countries, but entrants from adjacent regions, who had arrived in the hope of making some money. They live together as a community and share common resources which make their lifestyle an important network tool and mechanism of shoemaking craft reproduction in the urban environment.

Fourth, we never expected the scale of craft production in India, particularly in shoemaking. Entire city districts (and, consequently, slums) can be involved in the small-scale production of shoes and leather products. Furthermore, stages of production are strictly differentiated: regularly, leather is curried, painted, and stitched by different masters. All these procedures are done only using hard manual labour. Surprisingly, cheap Chinese factory shoemaking is ignored; however, it is situated not so far away from there. Who even needs hand-made shoes in Mumbai when everybody wears sandals anyway? As it turns out, all office workers and government officials are obliged to wear shoes – and that is the answer. Fortunately, police officers need their shoes as well, so they can turn a blind eye to unauthorized artisanal production and trading. Footwear is sold in the same place where it has been made, right after being stamped with Gucci or Versace brand mark. There may be a possible misspelling in a brand's name, but it makes no big difference due to the widespread lack of English knowledge. It was an ordinary occasion, especially, in cities of southern India, when we could not easily identify products being sold. Let us say, the price was 10 US cents (around ₹ 1.5). Could it mean that the shoes were second-hand, restored, and brand new or maybe everything at the same time? It took us some time to learn that the new ones could not cost less than 2 USD (around ₹ 170). When we inquired about the type of shoes being sold, the salesman assured us that they were brand new.

Fifth, we happened to face a different type of social structure that regulated the process of craft reproduction: it was the Indian caste system. We arrived in the country with the idea that so long after India's independence and the official ban on untouchability, there had to be no vestiges of it left at present. We were proved to be wrong. Shoemakers

are not included in the caste of untouchables (thus, they are not the deprived social stratum). On the other hand, cow slaughterers and tanners are clearly the untouchables; while shoemakers have a connection with lower castes and occupy an isolated step on the social ladder of Indian society (interestingly, the Indian Constitution has the caste table as an appendix). This state of things makes shoemakers stick together, preserves their social identity and its reproduction, but hampers social mobility, including the intergenerational one. A situation of this kind has never existed in the Western world, and one might argue that we now have an absolute equity of professional rights.

Sixth, the mental set-up and value-belief structure of Indian society do not appear very rational. Indian public consciousness is full of myths, religious beliefs, numerous saints and rituals. The total number of religious denominations and sects is huge. One can see people walking down the streets, singing songs, beating drums and carrying out some rituals. You can also see crowds of Christians who wear white clothes and ramble along the streets singing as well.

There is one way to escape the lower caste position in India: by renouncing Hinduism and adopting Buddhism or some non-Hindu sect – which is a good means of social mobility for cobblers. Nevertheless, most Indians have their mindset based on the paradigm of reincarnation. What is the secret to any person's success? An Indian will say that it is all about karma. There is no point in feeling envious as all our efforts mean nothing and our success is predefined by our previous lives. The absence of luck in the current life is most surely explained by success in the next one. It is one of the possible reasons why Indian craftsmen tend to do their job unhurriedly, unselfishly and sticking to their traditions. As a result, some questions in our interviews (with cobblers) based on Western mentality and instrumental rationality remained misunderstood and, consequently, unexplained. Their way of thinking strikingly contrasts with the principles of our Western rationality and profit-driven motives. An Indian cobbler does not tend to complain about his life, low income and police oppression. He accepts the current state of things and hopes for the better, which is yet to come in his next life. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the values of the caste system are developing a crack. All the interviewees resolutely rejected the prospect of making their children a part of the cobbler's profession. Thus, we can infer that this craft will not be inherited across generations. However, even this circumstance does not dramatically undermine the caste system. A Hindu being a member of the highest caste of Brahman can freely work as a waiter in a café in case it is urgent for the provision of his family. Meanwhile, a representative of the cobblers' caste can become a university professor, provided they have parental support and are persistent enough to make their way up the social ladder.

Social field of crafts in India

Interviewing Indian shoemakers was organized during the grant research funded by the Khamovniky Foundation as a part of the comparative study of shoe craft in India and Russia in 2016–2017. Based on these interviews, the authors designed the model of the social field of Indian shoe craft.

The way into the profession

A regular Indian shoemaker is a migrant, a former peasant, who has come to a big city with the hope of finding a job and earning some money. Usually, they do not have any relatives involved in the profession, but sometimes they might have a father or uncle who works as a cobbler in a small town or a village. Mumbai, with a population of nearly 20 million people, is undoubtedly a real metropolis, but Kochi (Kerala) in the South, inhabited by almost one million people, is a big city as well. It is not a surprise that such a city will also attract migrants from neighbouring small settlements and villages. A cobbler in Mumbai typically earns a monthly income of ₹ 10,000 at best. Half of this money is sent back to his native town or village to support his family, while he lives in a community with his fellow cobblers (unfortunately in small towns cobblers' incomes are two or even three times smaller). The knowledge of the cobbler's craft is usually passed down through relatives who have experience in the profession or fellow countrymen who can provide guidance, allowing newcomers to learn by observing and practicing. In this respect, the situation is very close to ours. Having a job is crucial for survival, especially among the youth, as unemployment in this age group is always an issue. We found Indian cobblers to be very young, usually not older than 30 years. They are typically involved in the craft for ten years and sometimes even more. They are attracted by an opportunity for fair, constant, and quick moneymaking. Indian cobblers never think about saving their funds, accumulating capital or leaving their jobs to start their own business. Their occupation or profession is their destiny, their karma. Their primary goals are to work hard, raise money for the family and make a humble symbolic capital for their future lives. Life dictates that they stick to their trade, such are the rules – and if they break them in pursuit of something bigger, they will end up in the long run with less than they could ever have. Their mindset is such, and that is why our question to them about finding satisfaction in their job (clearly Western in its nature) was never accepted and received no answer. Of course, the cobbler's profession has its advantages. They are always paid at once and their service is always demanded due to the large inflow of customers who constantly have problems with their shoes, so they must never complain about lack of money. Unfortunately, they have to be in constant search for a new place as the police always chase them away.

Regime and working conditions

A typical working week in India typically spans 50 hours. An Indian cobbler works every day, from morning till night with a sporadic chance for a single day off. Even on those days, he always has a substitute as regular customers cannot ever be let down. The working conditions are austere, but that was only our view as you cannot be offered anything better in India. A cobbler in Mumbai works straight in the street, surrounded by crowds of people, without the luxury of a kiosk or closet. He works in a sitting position, posed as a traditional cobbler with his feet pressed against each other (one may find a yoga position of the same name (a cobbler's posture)) and works with his unsophisticated tool. Shoemakers who not just mend but produce shoes have a higher qualification and specialization. They, too, work on the streets, often leaning against a wall in a less crowded place. The only convenience they need is to stay in the shadows. Occasionally, they might even have a kiosk, but it is only for selling ready-made shoes, a place where a customer can try them on. In little towns, cobblers can afford a small premise, typically open from one side. This kiosk becomes his workspace, his dining room, and a place to while away his life. They usually have their products piled up on a polythene cover right in the middle of the street. You just need to approach it and make your choice.

In general, across India, especially in Mumbai and in southern regions, the shoemaking craft is predominantly represented by mending sandals (known as *chappals*). There is no need for repairing shoes as nobody wears winter boots. Shoe cleaning service is also a rare occasion. According to cobblers, the amount of cheap shoes has increased in comparison with the past times. Nowadays people prefer to buy one-use shoes made in China, while hand-made leather footwear is out of mass demand; young people follow Western trends and wear sneakers. Shoemaking in India bears more traits of craft rather than creative work as it is a kind of unsophisticated skill. However, there are some exceptions to this rule – masters who produce expensive custom-made shoes. It is worth mentioning that Indian shoes are out of our size range as their standard last is too narrow for an average European foot.

The social structure of craft in India

Shoemakers belong to a special caste. (Foundations of theorizing the castes are laid by: Srinivas, 1962; Dumont, 1971; Cohn, 1987; Appadurai, 1988; Raheja, 1989; Gupta, 2000; Dirks, 2001; Jodhka, 2017). In the state of Maharashtra, those who work with raw leather materials are members of the caste of Mahars (the lowest one), tanners are dhars' by caste, and shoemakers are Chamars (the highest in their hierarchy). These people occupy a special position in society and live in a tight social community. They all live and dine together as a rule dictated by the caste system. However, this caste is not the lowest one as the

most hapless are janitors, dustmen and others who deal with waste. Shoemakers deal with feet, which puts them much lower on the social ladder than those who, for example, deal with food products. For instance, Malabar Jews, who migrated to Kerala and Mumbai back in the first century AD, immediately started to produce oil, however, despite being strangers, they occupied a step on the social ladder, which was far from the lowest.

Cobblers' outfit preferences are rather peculiar; despite the scorching weather conditions they choose black colours. Cobblers have no assistants or apprentices, so they do their jobs independently from start to finish. However, they have fellows, and relations with them are based on support and mutual help.

With the division of labour, there comes subordination: shoemakers, who produce footwear, have their masters. The masters provide financial support and stay in the background; meanwhile, the managing shop assistants are rather prominent with their protruding bellies symbolizing wealth and high social status. Cobblers stand in sharp contrast with them – they are young and skinny, yet cheerful, buoyant and ever-resilient. In India, cobblers generally abstain from alcohol, which is why our (Russian) set phrase 'as drunk as a shoemaker' can never be applied to them.

The ethics of craftsmanship

Traditional caste rules dictate – do not aim for the highest, otherwise you will find yourself among the lowest; keep to your business and make sure your product is the best it can be, as though it was meant for you; do not rip off your clients, your income must be sufficient to provide for your family, and an excessive sum would be unnecessary. However, the quality of Indian artisanal footwear is rather low from our (Russian) viewpoint. The average craftwork, just as it was during the era of Egyptian pharaohs, still proves to be of quite low quality. By no means can it be compared with Indian masonry and medieval temples. Even modern villas in India are of great quality and impressive architecture, not to mention textiles, which have very interesting designs and meet the highest quality standards. Footwear is rather crude and of mediocre design. Nonetheless, it is manufactured thoroughly, well stitched, using natural leather; hence, the product is durable.

A photo appeared in all Indian newspapers, where a government minister (a woman) is sitting beside the cobbler, waiting for her sandals to be mended. Everyone is content, as it is a social equality image. The minister pays ₹ 100 and tells the cobbler to keep the change; it is a little Indian miracle.

Street cobblers' main clientele comprises passersby; therefore, it is profitable to occupy the busiest spots in town. However, shoemakers maintain a client base. Local police officers are usually serviced for free, while the others get a discount; the latter usually work nearby. We did

not see any cobblers where ordinary people lived. Quickly mending a shoe is the priority for street cobblers since their clients are in a hurry. The shoemakers' prices are attractive, but footwear completely made of leather is easily mended later. It is very durable, resilient, and undemanding. What is interesting is that manufactured shoes are on the market right beside handmade production: you can choose whichever you like.

Cobblers' and shoemakers' clients are usually talkative; and tend to discuss news and such. Women are treated specially: social interaction between men and women is not as liberal as in the West. To this day, many women in India have mostly been housewives, so a woman is unlikely to go to the cobblers unless she needs to have her sandals mended right away. Most street cobblers' clients are men. We have never seen women as shoemakers or cobblers – it is not customary in India, although some women find employment at construction sites.

Social analysis of the shoemaker's craft in India

The main research question of this study was the following: why does the shoemaking craft still exist? It turned out that this question lacks accuracy in the Indian context. Nothing has been found to indicate the coming demise of a craft: manual artisanal labour is flourishing, industrialization is encroaching too slowly and manufacturing has not yet fully replaced hand-made production. There is only one reason: manual labour is too cheap and there is plenty of supply of workforce, with 1 million new workers every year. The quality of hand-made production (which, on average, is rather low both in footwear and leather products) meets the needs of undemanding clients. A shoe repair market is always needed, as one does not walk around the city barefoot, so the sandals have to be mended from time to time. Thus, the main social mechanism contributing to craft production in modern conditions is the migration process. In India, like others, shoemakers migrate from villages to cities. Another reason this craft is preserved is because it is always in demand. It will disappear only when buying a new pair of shoes is as easy and cheaper as having the old ones heeled.

Institutionalization is a process of structuring and standardizing social relations within the framework of shoemaking. Indian laws and regulations, keeping the market of craft under control, are different from their Russian or European counterparts. Employees of the non-formal sector amount to 90 per cent and have to work without any hire agreement, social insurance, pension allocations and other obligatory conditions. They get their payment only in cash and deal with the authorities by means of bribery. This is the current situation in India despite all the efforts made by the government. Shoemaking craft was institutionalized a long time ago and has sustainable mechanisms of reproduction.

The general hypothesis of our study proved to be completely valid: successful institutionalization and sustainable reproduction of

shoemaking craft in the modern economic, cultural and social urban space are provided by its: (a) involvement in social networks (including the ethnic ones); (b) low transactional and social costs; and (c) high degree of flexibility and adaptability to economic and social changes. However, the reproduction of shoemaking craft in India is connected not only with ethnic networks but also with caste groups. Though the caste system still exists, just as it did centuries ago, it has been heavily transformed under the influence of the general process of social modernization. A common modern practice of sending children to school shatters the very grounds of this caste society – shoemakers do not want their offspring to inherit their business, on the contrary, they want a different future for them and even insist on their continuation of studies. Shoemaking craft is reproduced through the mechanism of migration from the village to the city and it is still going to work for a long time.

Another hypothesis of this study about cobblers' workshops having local character and being targeted only at local demand and customers was also proven: Spheres of interest of artisanal shoemakers and huge shoe manufacturers do not overlap. Shoemaking craft in two of its varieties (mending and production) successfully coexists with huge shoe manufacturers' businesses. It is interesting to mention that very often city shoemakers sell both self-made shoes and manufactured ones. Laws and institutions that regulate the actions of huge manufacturers do not function at the local level. They have their own system of rules and regulations based on informal relations. The middle-scale shoe business has not yet become that widespread to occupy the niche of street cobblers, which is why the network problem in India is not thrown into sharp relief to the same degree as it is in Russia or Europe. The institution of shoemaking craft is also being preserved or reproduced due to the lowest transactional costs. Clients can save both their time and money, thanks to street cobblers who can mend their sandals quickly and efficiently. Meanwhile, large-scale and medium-scale businesses are significantly hampered by bureaucracy as the street economy will never let them get their profit and always outstrip them easily. Social costs in India also matter significantly – relationships between cobbler and his client are based on trust which is why they will always prefer to have their shoes mended by the same cobbler if they are satisfied with the quality of his work. What is the point of looking for somebody else?

The craft of shoemaking always functions within the scope of the special value system. When it comes to India, those are the values of the traditional society – values of collectivism and commonality, and values of the Hindu vision of life and death. Ethnic network groups, especially associations of fellow countrymen, regulate the division of a big city's territory and set the rules for shoemaking crafts' functioning in the urban space. Of course, there is always a chance for misunderstandings. Nevertheless, those groups are rather capable of agreeing. However, any other institutionalized members of the market are not in a big hurry to

become a part of this socio-economic niche occupied by craft. Likely, they do not have any plans at all. Indian shoemakers themselves are much more than a certain professional group, and their caste strategy goes far beyond the scope of labour tasks, organizing to a large extent their way of life. The process of forming such social groups as a caste and its reproduction is also a part of institutionalization. Cobblers have to keep somewhat aloof; however, intercaste marriages are acceptable to some extent nowadays.

Conclusion

In the contemporary world of capitalist racing, various economic structures and types of labour seamlessly combine like pieces of a puzzle under the imminent yet versatile pressure of market power. Highly intellectual labour, automated production and hard manual labour coexist remarkably flexibly. Interestingly, this phenomenon occurs simultaneously and in the same geographic location. India is a very vivid example of it. In the same location, you can see a peasant who cultivates the land using prehistoric tools (like mattock). A procession of TATA or Mahindra trucks (manufactured in the factory situated right here) going down the road next to the peasant, and an Indian programmer from Bangalore, who sits in a cafe across the road, drinks his tea, yawns from time to time and works distantly for IBM or Google using Wi-Fi and sticking to American time zone. That is the coexistence of the past, present and future, the intersection of global and local spaces. However, you must not think that this situation is unique to India. Take a closer look at the streets of any global mega-city, and you will see working migrants occupied with hard manual labour. Capitalism pulls out humans from their familiar social frameworks to let them be exploited in any possible manner. The process of pulling makes the labour force cheaper and free from traditional social obligations. Exploiters can be incarnated in various forms as per local conditions, but the true picture appears to be the same. As Karl Marx wrote in the mid-19th century: 'He who was previously the money-owner now strides out in front as a capitalist; the possessor of labour-power follows as his worker. The one smirks self-importantly and is intent on business; the other is timid and holds back, like someone who has brought his hide to market and now has nothing else to expect but – tanning' (Marx, 1867). Capitalists do not much care if this hide belongs to untouchables or not.

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the support offered through the Social Researches Support Fund 'Khamovniky' (funding reference number 2016–005). They are very grateful to Balkrishna Bhosale, Professor of the Sociology Department at the University of Mumbai, and Prasenjeet Khanderao, Research Assistant of the Sociology Department at the University of Mumbai who hosted and arranged fieldwork in India. Early

results of the study were published in two articles (by Y.V. Veselov, R.V. Karapetyan, M.V. Sinyutin, 2018; M.V. Sinyutin, Y.V. Veselov and R.V. Karapetyan, 2020).

References

- Alter Chen, M. 2007. *Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2007/wp46_2007.pdf
- Appadurai, A. 1988. Putting Hierarchy in its Place. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(1): 36–49.
- Barnard, N. 1995. *Arts and Crafts of India*. London: Conran Octopus.
- Bhosale, B. 2008. Dalit Discrimination and Assertion in India: A Case of Dalit Killings in Khairlanji Village in Maharashtra. *Social Problems*, 1(1): 150–159.
- Cohn, B. 1987. *An Anthropologist among Historians and Other Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dana, L.P. 2000. Creating Entrepreneurs in India. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 38(1): 86–91.
- de Witt, J. 2017. *Urban Poverty, Local Governance and Everyday Politics in Mumbai*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Dirks, N. 2001. *Castes in Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dumont, L. 1971. *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*. Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks.
- Gupta, D. 2000. *Interrogating Caste: Understanding Hierarchy and Difference in Indian Society*. Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Jain-Neubauer, J. 2006. *Feet and Footwear in Indian Culture*. Ahmedabad: Mapin.
- Jodhka, S. 2017. *Caste in Contemporary India*. Delhi: Routledge.
- Kshetri, N. 2011. The Indian Environment for Entrepreneurship and Small Business Development. In *Studia Negotia*, 56(LVI): 4, 35–52.
- Kumar, R. 2019. The Evolution of Wealth-income Ratios in India, 1860–2012. URL: <https://wid.world/document/the-evolution-of-wealth-income-ratios-in-india-1860-2012-wid-world-working-paper-2019-07/> (accessed on 24.08.2020).
- Marx, K. 1992 (1867). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Volume One* (transl. by Ben Fowkes). London/New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Narayan, D. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Piketty, T. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (transl. by Arthur Goldhammer). Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Raheja, G. 1989. Centrality, Mutuality and Hierarchy: Shifting Aspects of Inter-Caste Relationships in North India. In *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 23(1): 79–101.

- Ranjan, A. and Ranjan, M.P. (eds) 2009. *Handmade in India: A Geographic Encyclopedia of India Handicrafts*. New York: Abbeville Press.
- Roberts, G. 2003. *Shantaram*. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.
- Sarkar, S. 2016. A Case Study of the Footwear Industry in India. Retrieved from <http://www.ihdindia.org/formal-and-informal-employment/paper-4-a-case-study-of-footwear-industry-in-india.pdf>
- Sharma, K.L. 2013. Social-Class Connection and Class Identity in Urban and Rural Areas. In Peilin Li, M.K. Gorshkov, Celi Scalon, K.L. Sharma (eds), *Handbook on Social Stratification in the BRIC Countries. Change and Perspective*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd.
- Simmel, G. 2004 (1900). *The Philosophy of Money*. (transl. by T. Bottomore and D. Frisby). London: Routledge.
- Singh, Yogendra. 1973. *Modernization of Indian Tradition. (A Systemic Study of Social Change)*. Faridabad: Thomson Press (India) Limited, Publication Division.
- Sinyutin, M.V., Veselov, Y.V. and Karapetyan, R.V. 2020. Manual Labour in the Post-industrial World: A Study on Shoe Craft in St. Petersburg, Russia. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 40(3): 322–336.
- Srinivas, M. 1962. *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*. Bombay: Media Promoter and Publishers.
- Tyagi, A. 2008. *Let's Know Handicrafts of India*. London: Ibs Books.
- United Nations, URL: <https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard> (accessed on 24.08.2020).
- Vakulabharanam, V. and Motiram, S. 2012. Understanding Poverty and Inequality in Urban India since Reforms: Bringing Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches Together. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(47 and 48): 44–52.
- Veselov, Y.V., Karapetyan, R.V. and Sinyutin, M.V. 2018. Handcraft in the Post-industrial World: A Comparative Study of Shoemaking in Russian and Indian Cities. *Monitoring Obshchestvennogo Mneniya: Ekonomicheskie i Sotsial'nye Peremeny*, (No. 4 (146)).
- World Bank, URL: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?most_recent_value_desc=true (accessed on 24.08.2020).

Editors and Contributors

Editors

Kameshwar Choudhary, Former Professor, Department of Sociology, B.B. Ambedkar (Central) University, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Email: kames.c@gmail.com

B.K. Nagla, Former Professor, Department of Sociology, M.D. University, Rohtak, Haryana, India. Email: bnagla@yahoo.com

Contributors

J.P. Singh, Former Professor of Sociology, Patna University, Patna, Bihar.
Email: jpsingh1950@gmail.com

D.V. Kumar, Professor of Sociology, Northeastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya.

Bibhuti Bhushan Malik, Professor of Sociology, B.B. Ambedkar (Central) University, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. Email: bbmalik57@gmail.com

Nirakar Mallick, Associate Professor, Assam University, Silchar, Assam.

Shweta Prasad, Professor of Sociology, Banaras Hindu University (BHU), Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. Email: shweta1_bhu@yahoo.co.in

Mala Kapur Shankardass, Former Professor of Sociology, Maitreyi College, University of Delhi, Delhi. Email: mkshank2001@yahoo.co.in

Anand Kumar, Former Professor of Sociology, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. Email: anandkumar1@hotmail.com

Madhu Nagla, Former Professor of Sociology, M.D. University, Rohtak, Haryana. Email: bnagla@gmail.com

Pragya Sharma, Assistant Professor, IIS, Deemed to be University, Jaipur, Rajasthan. Email: pragya.sharma@iisuniv.ac.in

B.K. Nagla, Former Professor, Department of Sociology, M.D. University, Rohtak, Haryana. Email: bnagla@yahoo.com

Richard Pais, Former Professor of Sociology, Saint Aloysius College, Mangaluru, Karnataka. Email: richardpais123@gmail.com

Sinyutin Mikhail Vladimirovich, Professor at the Faculty of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University, Russia. Email: sinewtin@mail.ru

Karapetyan Ruben Vartanovich, Docent at the Faculty of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University, Russia.
Email: ruben.v.karapetyan@gmail.com

Veselov Yuri Vitalievich, Professor at the Faculty of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University, Russia.
Email: yurivitalievichveselov@yahoo.com

Gurpreet Bal, Former Professor of Sociology, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Punjab. Email: gbal.judge@gmail.com

Sanjay Kumar Mishra, Principal, Udaipur School of Social Work, and former Assistant Professor, JRN Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, Udaipur, Rajasthan. Email: snjmishra111@gmail.com

Prabhleen Kaur Pabla, Former Research Scholar of JRN Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, Udaipur, Rajasthan. Email: pablapk@yahoo.co.in

Sanjay K. Roy, Professor of Sociology, North Bengal University, Siliguri, West Bengal. Email: sanroyb@rediffmail.com