

**YOUNG ASPIRATIONS: YOUTH IN THE RURAL-
URBAN INTERFACE IN HARYANA**

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that the dissertation entitled “**Young Aspirations: Youth in the Rural-Urban Interface in Haryana**” submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted, in part or full, for any other degree, diploma of this or any other university.



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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluations.


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Dedicated To My Parents

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Chapter - 1
Introduction

1. Introduction

The present thesis explores the transformation of rural Indian society through the concept of youth. It begins by investigating work on village studies in India and different perspectives deployed to conceptualize village. With this, the idea of youth and historical shifts in its conceptualization is simultaneously analyzed to decipher larger historical, political and social transformation shaping village life. Then there is an attempt to understand youth scenario in Haryana through literature discussed in the second and third chapter on youth studies. Socio-economic and political structures of rural life have undergone a significant transformation that started even before independence. Post 1991, the pace of transformation in rural and its interface with urban has been rapid. Further in most of the literature in social sciences, the category of rural has been understood as binaries opposite to each other. A significant amount of literature in social sciences suggests that rural and urban localities should not be considered as two distinct entities. “Because the livelihood of many households includes both rural and urban components” (Fan et al., 2005, p. 1). Despite it, many developing countries have precisely done that.

Rural has always been viewed as a sight of backwardness, poverty, related to agriculture and simple way of life (Jodhka, 2014). While urban, on the other hand, has been seen as a sight of development, progress, and modernity. Rural is expected to transform into urban with the developing stages in a linear path which will lead to shifting of population engaged in agriculture in to industrial urban pockets of India. This model may have worked successfully in western and other developed countries where most of their population moved out of agriculture, however, it is reverse in India (Jodhka, 2014). Herein, rural population has increased rapidly along with the process of urbanization. As per CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 3) report, two-third of India’s population is aged below 35 years of age. Therefore, youth constitutes a majority of total population. Rural transformation has followed a unique trajectory, which is different than other parts of the world and has impacted the society in a unique manner. Due to its numbers, category of youth is each time in majority among the affected segment of population.

Further the trajectory of economic changes of rural Indian society has been traced in the present thesis through different economic policies of government such as Green Revolution, economic liberalization, and privatization. Economic liberalization had a negative impact on agriculture production (Jeffrey, 2012, p. 34). Multiple factors, such as increasing the cost of production, reducing agriculture subsidies and stagnant prices of crops, lead to the crisis in the agriculture sector. Share of agriculture in national income has fallen to 15 percent of national income (Jodhka, 2014). Due to this crisis in agriculture, people have started to move out of agriculture as well as from rural in search of employment. As a result of the above-discussed changes, there has been an expansion of the non-farm economy. So, therefore above-discussed factors lead to a crucial interface between rural and urban. The latter has influenced the former at the different levels in multiple ways. People in rural have aspirations for an urban way of life, use of modern gadgets, urban lifestyle, clothing patterns and habits that are discussed in the fourth chapter. But, in recent decades, the employment created in the country have failed to meet the demand of job requirements. In this backdrop youth becomes a significant point of analysis in the discipline of sociology. In India, significance of youth category comes in light post-1991 macroeconomic changes. Economic liberalization and political reforms including implementation of three-tier panchayat system transformed socio-political structures of rural Indian society.

Despite of economic liberalization, the majority of youth aspire for the government jobs (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 20). Undoubtedly, share of government jobs has also fallen in the employment sector. So, the agitation by youth from agrarian communities Jats in Haryana, Patels in Gujarat, and Maratha in Maharashtra for reservation in government jobs and educational institutions is the manifestation of agricultural crisis and youth aspirations for the urban way of life and government jobs.

1.1. Rationale Behind the Study

The sociological relevance of studying youth is in its richness of revealing the value structure most aspired and its long-term social consequences helping scholars to

prognosticate larger social tendency. It helps policymakers to frame social conditions desired for greater objective of national and social progress. The relevance of values and its productive relation with youths in society is of importance to interest for researchers and policy formulators.

As per 2011 census, some 68.84 percent out of the total population continues to live in rural areas, and around 31.16 live in urban parts of the country.¹ Tremendous economic, political, socio-cultural and technological changes have taken place in recent decades. All these changes have impacted rural Indian society in a significant manner. Since independence, nature of Indian economy was agrarian and majority of its population were employed and depended on agriculture. To attain food security, government implemented the policy of Green Revolution. After two decades of its implementation, agriculture started facing distress. Then in 1991, macroeconomic changes were adopted by the government. Since then, India continues to liberalize its economy in different sectors. Due to all these economic changes at the national level, various traditional economic institutions such as *jajmani* have withered away. Post-1991, youth emerged as a significant category due to various socio-economic, political and cultural changes in the country. Interest in youth research and policy focus on youth civic engagement among government, youth and researchers in different parts of the world have been growing.² In today's context, Indian economy is the fastest growing economy in the world. But, have failed to create required numbers of jobs. As per World Youth Report (2016, p. 28) in the year 2014 around 73 million people in the world were unemployed that is 13 percent of total young then. Further report (2016, p. 28) mentions by quoting International Labour Organization, that near about 600 million jobs must be created in next decade to absorb currently unemployed youth and 40 million youth joining labor market each year. In case of Indian scenario, Vivek Kaul explains that approximately one million people are entering the workforce every month.³ The share of government jobs has fallen in the employment sector since

¹ [http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural Urban 2011.pdf](http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2011.pdf). Page 16. Accessed on June 5, 2018.

²

http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf. Page 11. Accessed on June 9, 2018.

³ Article "Viewpoint: India's budget sells dreams for votes" by Vivek Kaul. Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42900194>.

the introduction of liberalization and privatization. CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 20) youth report highlights that in the last decade, aspirations for government jobs among youth have not diminished.

After independence, India adopted democracy as the political system to govern itself. After 70 years of independence roots of democracy have deepened in Indian society. Credit for establishing democracy at ground level in rural Indian society goes to the implementation of three-tier panchayat system. New democratic panchayat system has replaced old caste panchayat system in rural parts of India. Further, last decade of Indian politics has been turbulent (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). National capital witnessed an anti-corruption movement and led to an emergence of a new political party. General elections of 2014 changed the nature of country's political system. Political participation of youth in the last decade has been significant. Youth as a political category, was hardly of any interest till recent times (Kumar, 2014, p. XXII). He further argues that it was in 2009, general elections print as well as electronic media highlighted youth in Indian politics (Kumar, 2014, p. XXII). Analysis on the age of elected members of 15 Lok Sabha shows that 79 elected members were below the age of 40 years (Kumar, 2014, p. XXII).

Another factor that makes youth as the significant category of analysis is its number. As mentioned above, two-third of India's population is below the age of 35 years. One-third is in the age group of 15-34 years (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). "The population of this young cohort rose from 353 million in 2001 to 422 million in 2011 and it is expected to increase further to 464 million by 2021 before it starts declining" (The Hindu, 2013).⁴ Further CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 3) report mentions that median age of South Asian countries (that include India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal) falls in the age group of 21 to 31 years. While the median age of developed countries (that include the USA, UK, Germany, and France) falls in the age group of 37-44 years (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). Further, the report suggests that demographic dividend that India has is not going to remain forever, its median age is expected to rise from 25 to 30 by 2025 and 39 by 2050. Therefore, it is

⁴ Source- CSDS-KAS Youth Report, 2017, p. 3.

significant to understand the issues, challenges, and aspirations of Indian youth to utilize the demographic dividend before it turns into a liability for the nation.

Further, the thesis focuses on rural transformation in Haryana due to rapid urbanization in Delhi and its expansion to neighboring districts of Haryana. Urbanization in NCR (National Capital Region) districts of Haryana has led to urbanism (urban way of life). This has transformed the rural life of state and led to commodification of land in some districts of Haryana. Further, due to unavailability of sufficient literature on youth, in the context of Haryana, an attempt is made in the chapter to comprehend aspirations in terms of politics, socio-economic, jobs and occupation choices with the aid of available literature at national and International level on particular themes related to research on youth. Subsequently, efforts are made to locate demand of youth from agrarian communities such as Jats in Haryana for inclusion into OBC category. That is also helpful in understanding the similar scenario in case of Patels in Gujarat and Marathas in Maharashtra.

1.2. Objectives of the Research

The objective of this research is to understand the trajectory of socio-economic and political transformation experienced by rural Indian society due to various economic and political policies implemented by the government. Further, the aim of this research is to highlight significance of youth category in the discipline of sociology. To add it more, the present thesis projects to comprehend the newly emerged category of youth and investigate the issues, choices, and its aspirations. Following it, the present objective of research is to analyze rural transformation in Haryana along with the challenges and aspirations of youth from agrarian communities of the said state.

1.3. Research Questions

1. How are changes in economic structure influencing social and political structure in rural part of Haryana?

2. How does the process of economic transformation vary across different social categories of rural society?
3. How have these processes of economic transformation worked towards changing the position of dominant agrarian communities in rural Haryana?
4. How local power structure and aspirations of youth in Haryana have changed?
5. How are the rise in non-farm economy and economic crisis in agriculture shaping choices and aspirations of Jat youth in the rural part of northern India?

1.4. Methodology

Present research is exploratory and qualitative in nature. Available literature on rural transformation in India and youth aspiration is secondary in nature. Other secondary research materials that are used in research are reports (United Nations World Youth Report, 2003 & 2016), CSDS-KAS (2017) report, Census of India 2001 & 2011, NSSO data and online sources (websites & newspapers). The literature is processed through content analysis, and socio-historical contextualization of findings is done.

1.5. Chapterization

1.5.1. Chapter-2

The second chapter of this thesis provides a grass-root view of rural India by discussing the classical literature on rural Indian society. Then, there is an attempt in to study transformation that has taken place in socio-economic and political sphere of rural India with the passing of time. Initially, chapter analyzes an emergence of rural studies in India, and the way category of the village had been considered as a core category by Britishers and leaders of Indian national movement. Further, this section focuses on the unique trajectory that has been followed by the transformation of rural India that is very much different from what has taken place in the west through the process of urbanization. After that an attempt is made to understand rural life through the discourse of caste along with analyzing the ritual and political unity in village life. There is a detailed discussion on the way institution of caste governs the village life.

Further sub-section consists of the discussion on interdependence in rural life along with the way socio-economic and political changes that have altered inter-caste relationships. Subsequently, the chapter involves the discussion on the feeling of identification that people had with their village. Further, the chapter focuses on rural transformation lead by government intervention to ensure that the benefits of development are not monopolized by particular social groups or few people. Then, there is a discussion on the political transformation that has taken place over time in rural Indian society to deepen the roots of democracy. Further, it analyzes macroeconomic changes and political changes post 1991 in different aspects of rural Indian society.

Adding more to it, chapter focuses on dynamics of rural-urban interface. Falling income in agriculture and reducing employment opportunity in rural have forced inhabitants to move out of agriculture. Expansion and improvement in the infrastructure of communication and transport have led to increasing interaction between rural and urban areas. Then, there is an elaboration on non-farm economy, and the way urban have influenced rural. Lastly, the chapter extends discussion to the category of youth. It shows a significance of the youth category in understanding of social aspirations. Then there is an attempt in the chapter to understand the attitude of youth towards traditional institutions such as marriage, caste rules, traditional form of authority, etc. At the end of this section, emphasis is drawn on the youth category to have a better sociological understanding of rural and social aspirations.

1.5.2. Chapter - 3

The third chapter grapples with the challenges of defining youth. Work of various scholars and reports related to youth studies have been discussed to locate interlinks between youth studies and sociology. Then, chapter shows that collaborating with the category of youth and discipline of sociology helps to “draw on the behavior of youth to produce insights into social life in general” (Manning, 1972, p. 1). Initially, the chapter involves discussion about the concept of youth in social sciences and the significance of studying youth to enhance the understanding of sociology. After that chapter grapples with the conceptual challenges of youth studies.

It involves the discussion of Bourdieu's (1993) work on youth to understand the conceptual difficulties in youth studies. Further, the chapter highlights the demographics in western and South Asian countries. In the backdrop of it, work of Kamla Chowdhary and Sudhir Kakar is discussed to understand the issues of sexuality and choices among Indian youth. Their work explains change in the sexual behavior of Indian youth and their attitude towards sexuality. Further discussion extends to study generational conflict concerning youth and try to investigate the causes of conflict.

Further it draws the attention on emerging scenario of education and mobility in context of youth in India. Then, issue of caste discrimination in Indian Higher education is discussed. This includes a general picture of contemporary youth and important sociological work. Then, the chapter extends elaboration about the unemployment challenges among youth at global level as well as in India. Further, this section discusses youth political participation. A comparative perspective is taken to enrich understanding. Along with it, there is a discussion on the changing aspirations of *Chamar* and *Jat* youth. This includes assertion by the historically disadvantaged group and how education provides them confidence and dignity. Lastly, there is a discussion on how the lower middle-class *Jats* defend their power.

1.5.3. Chapter - 4

Chapter four analyzes rural transformation in the state of Haryana and throws light on the social dimension towards changing youth aspirations. Initially, the chapter investigates the history and demographic profile. Further, there is a discussion on urbanization and urbanism (urban way of life) in the state. Then, regional disparities within the state in context of urbanization and urbanism are discussed. After that discussion extends to analyze shift in the economy of said state from subsistence to a higher level of production. This involves the discussion on green revolution and its socio-economic impact. Further, the chapter traces the economic prosperity of major land owning community *Jat* in the state and their usage of economic prosperity to gain political dominance. Adding more to it, chapter highlights how the agriculture sector started facing distress and an emergence of non-farm economy.

Economic transformation has led to change in the notion of land in rural part of Haryana. Further, there has emerged a new attitude among the landowners who do not any more relate selling of land with shame and see land as an asset that possesses financial value. Hence, land is ready to be commodified, and people are ready to sell it for higher financial gain. Thus, landowners have completely shifted their notion towards the agricultural land that is also altering their belongingness with village. Moreover, the spatial integrity of a village that existed in the imagination of people in rural has also been dislocated. Subsequently, an attempt is made to capture youth aspirations as the reflection of rural transformation in Haryana. It highlights the significance of youth aspirations as it reveals the most aspired value structure and its long-term consequences. Factors that shape youth are discussed in detail. Adding more to it, the significance of socio-economic inequalities in shaping the destiny of youth is analyzed. Further, aspirations of the younger generation of farmers regarding occupation are discussed. Subsequently, the attitude of Indian youth towards lifestyle, habits, and fashion are explained to grasp youth aspirations in Haryana in a similar context. Lastly, anxieties and aspiration of youth are discussed along with the patterns of aspirations among youth.

Chapter - 2

Rural Change: History of Rural Development in India

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to capture a grass-root view of rural India through fundamental studies done on rural Indian society. These studies explain the changes that have taken place in rural India few of them started even before independence. Further, the chapter describes the historical context and emergence of rural studies in India. This includes how the idea of village emerged and way India has been imagined through the category of village by Britishers and then leaders of the national movement. Then there is an attempt to understand rural life through the discourse of caste. This includes interdependence in rural life and discourse of unity in rural Indian society. Along with the functional perspective, there is a discussion about antagonism in rural life by mentioning conflict in rural Indian society. After that, there is a discussion about government intervention. Government intervention in the political aspect includes introducing the three-tier democratic system, and development aspect comprise institutional credit, Green Revolution, and Community Development Programme. Then there is an analysis of political and socio-economic transformation in rural Indian society. Further, chapter talks about dynamics of rural-urban interface that include how urban has influenced the rural. In the end, there is an attempt to highlight the issue of youth in rural studies.

1. Historical Context and Emergence of Rural Studies in India

Rural sociology in the West came into existence in response to crisis and depression experienced by countryside in the U.S because of long civil war in the country in 19th century. Therefore, the main task of rural sociology was to understand the social and economic challenges of American farmers (Jodhka, 2012, pp. 2-3). The category of village has been considered as the core category through which India was perceived by Britishers and national movement leaders before as well as after independence. The categories of rural and urban have been understood as binaries opposite to each other in most of the literature in social sciences. Many scholars have criticized this distinction between rural and urban. In today's globalized world with the dissolving boundary between rural and urban due to improved means of communication and infrastructure, this distinction between rural and urban has faced

even more challenges for its existence. Rural has always been viewed as a sight of backwardness, poverty, agriculture and simple way of life.⁵ While urban on the other hand has been seen as the sight of development, progress, and modernity.⁶ Rural is expected to transform into urban with the developing stages in a linear path which will lead to shifting of the population engaged in agriculture in rural India to urban industrial India. This model may have worked successfully in western and other developed countries where most of its population successfully moved out of agriculture, but this has not been the case in India. In India, it's rural population has also increased rapidly along with the process of urbanization. Rural transformation in India has followed a unique trajectory, which is different than other parts of the world and it has impacted the society in its own manner. The trajectory of economic changes in rural India can be traced through various stages of change in the economic structure of society, which in turn influenced the social structure of society. "Economic liberalization had a negative effect on agriculture production".⁷ Government intervention and economic crisis in agriculture caused by multiple factors such as increasing cost of production, reducing agriculture subsidies and stagnant prices of crops have changed the economic, social and political landscapes of rural India.

The idea of village has acquired a significant place in the history of India (Jodhka, 2012). It has been considered a core category through which India was perceived by Britishers and leaders of the national freedom movement (Jodhka, 2012). The opinion of the prominent leaders varied on village, significantly it was seen as a site of politics. Jodhka argues:

"Indian village came to be seen as a signifier of the 'native life', a place where the local level patterns of economic life, social organization and cultural belief could be observed. Gandhi saw village as a site of 'authenticity', for Nehru the village was the source and site of India's 'backwardness'. Ambedkar saw village was a site of oppression where the institution of caste presented itself in its most brutal and inhuman form" (Jodhka, 2012, pp. 4-5).

⁵ See S.S. Jodhka, "Emergent Ruralities: Revisiting Village Life and Agrarian Change in Haryana", 2014.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See Craig Jeffrey, "Timepass: Youth, class, and the politics of waiting in India. Stanford University Press", 2012, p. 34.

According to Beteille “the village was not merely a place where people lived; it had a design in which were reflected the basic values of Indian civilization” (Beteille, 1980, p. 108).⁸ There is no specific time frame from which the origin of idea of village can be traced. Despite, the challenges S.C. Dube traces it from the classical epics of Indian civilization. According to S.C. Dube (1961) due to the significance of village in the social polity of Indian society it has been considered as the most important units. Dube argues:

“The idea of a village is also mentioned in the classic texts of land. According to Rig-Veda society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha or kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*)” (Dube, 1961, p. 1).

While discussing in details about the structure of village in history, Dube mentions that there is no discussion about internal structure and external organization of village but the text of Mahabharata suggests about an outline system of the village and organizations of group of villages. Outline system and political structure of village are described in Mahabharata as such:

“According to the epic, the village was the fundamental unit of administration; and had its head the *gramini*, who was its leader and chief spokesman; one of the major responsibilities of this headman was to protect the village and its boundaries in all directions within a radius of two miles. The administrative system was organized on the basis of grouping of villages, each group having its own recognized leader. Thus a group of ten villages was under a *das-gramini*, and this was the first unit of inter-villages, used to be under a *vimsatipa*. A group of a hundred villages was headed by *satgramini* or *gram-satadhyaksha*. Finally, a group of a thousand villages was under an *adhipati*” (Dube, 1961, p. 2).

M.N. Srinivas mentions the view of Sir Charles Metcalfe on Indian village which became the most dominating. It shaped the imagination of the village for a long time and was widely accepted. He argued on village community in 1832:

⁸ Source of it is S.S. Jodhka, “Village Society”, 2012, p. 4.

“The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty trembles down; revolution succeeds revolution..., but the village community remains the same..... This union of village communities each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment to a great portion of freedom and independence”⁹ (Srinivas, 1969, p. 23).

Metcalfe's understanding of Indian village became an essential representation of village life. Writings of Hindu lawgiver Manu (c. 200 B.C. -2nd century A.D.) also give the idea about different types of settlement.¹⁰ In understanding the idea of village Dube focused on three types of settlement given by the Manu that is village (*grama*), town (*pura*) and city (*nagara*). Manu considers village as the unit of administration, that consist of officers and organization system.¹¹ There are some duties, responsibilities, and services like maintenance of tanks, wells, ponds, and reservoir, etc. had to be dispatched by village organization.¹² Dube has described the structure of village as such:

“Group of villages come together and form different types of organization on the basis of numbers. Approximately thousand villages constituted a country and were under a *sahasresa*; within this group were several divisions and subdivisions - a hundred villages under a *sates*, twenty villages under a *vimsi*, ten villages under a *dasi*, and finally the village itself under a *gramini*” (Dube, 1961, p. 2).

In today's context also the village as a unit holds some of the characteristics mentioned by Manu. “Even today the village retains its semi-autonomous character” (Dube, 1961, p. 2). Nowadays also groups of ten or more villages gather to solve some important issues although this structure has transformed to a large extent. Approximate a thousand villages will have its own culture or subculture. Community within this rural area will have common traits of culture, rules, values, and norms. Dube argues:

⁹ The source of Charles Metcalfe writing in the book is “Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, Appendix 84, p. 331.

¹⁰ See S.C. Dube, “Indian Village”, 1961.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 2.

¹² Ibid, p. 2.

“We cannot regard the Indian village community as timeless, static and changeless. Time and interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization, and ethos of these communities in many significant ways” (Dube, 1961, p. 3).

In the past “Maine distinguished between two types of villages in India the ‘joint’ and the ‘severalty’. The first type prevails in the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, and the United Provinces, and the second in Peninsular and Central India” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 22). First type of village ‘joint’ has been further sub-divided into *pattidari* and *zamindari* under both of these sub-categories the village land is treated as the joint property of an organized ownership body. Second type ‘severalty’ or *ryotwari* village, exists in most parts of India. In the second typology, unit of revenue is not village but it is the landholder, and they are accountable for the payment of revenue at an individual level. M.N. Srinivas describes the unit of a village in his work ‘India’s Village’ as such:

“The village is an independent unit, largely self-sufficient, having its own village assembly, watch and ward, officials and servants. Inside each village, each caste lives its own life, though it is dependent on other castes within and without the village. There is also a division along caste lines. The untouchables are never wealthy, and they are usually servants and laborers at the house of the upper castes. But there are also poor members of the upper castes who act as servants to rich members of their own caste. Thus a poor *Okkaliga* often becomes the servant of a rich *Okkaliga*. Usually, an upper caste man never becomes a servant at the house of a man who belongs to a much lower caste” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 35).

There are some common problems and challenges across the rural. But it would be a mistake to understand that there are similar social structures, values, and norms in entire rural India. Therefore to develop the proper understanding about the social structure of rural, Dube suggests several criteria which can be used to enhance knowledge on rural: “size, population, and land area, ethnic composition and caste-constitution, the pattern of land ownership. Structure of authority and power hierarchy, and local tradition” (Dube, 1961, p. 3). According to Dube, each culture area has its own specifications. Like in Hindi speaking region of north and middle-India there is a usual differentiation between “*kheda* (hamlet), *gaon* (a small village)

and *kasba* (a large village)” (Due, 1961, p. 3). A similar type of distinction is made in Telugu speaking part of the country by using the term *gumpu* (few huts), *majra* (larger hamlets) and *grama* (proper village). Jodhka and Shankar explain the diversity among different regions in the country as such:

“Rural societies are also regionally diverse—shaped not only by demographics and the occupational profiles of their working populations but also by ecological specificities, economic endowments, regional histories, social and cultural movements and political trajectories” (Jodhka and Shankar, 2013|14, p. 4).

So, in this manner, different types of rural settlement differ on the basis of multiple criteria such as internal organization, self-sufficiency, an organization with the outside world of a village. The history of rural India has always been associated with the “regional diversity due to varied ecological, environmental and social conditions” (Thomas, ‘Rural Development Report’ 2013-14, p. XXII). Ethnic and caste composition of a village also decide the character of a village. Different factors determine the structure of village. The structure of village becomes more complex when the number of caste groups living in village increases.¹³ City influence village in multiple ways but according to Srinivas (1969) closeness of a village to a city should not be observed mere in terms of physical proximity but also in terms of network of communicability that particular village has with the city, here the communicability is the link village has with city.¹⁴ The expansion and improvement of communication and transport infrastructure have led to increasing interaction between rural and urban areas.¹⁵ A village can be more distant from the city than another village and simultaneously can be more connected due to its location along a bus route. Due to development of communicability in between urban and rural, there has been changes at multiple levels.

According to Dube (1961), no village has full autonomy and independence. It is one unit in the larger system and simultaneously part of larger organization and system. It is so because an individual is not only just a member of the village

¹³ See M.N.Srinivas, “India’s Villages”, 1969, p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Rural Development Report, 2013-2014, forward, p. XX.

community but also the part of particular religion, caste, and tribe. These different units are not confined to just one village but consist of multiple villages. The various units such as religion, caste and tribe have their own social, political norms and sanction at domestic level which shape the structure of village. Official authority is maintained by enforcing the state and union laws, rules and order. Union government has recreated the system of self-control in the village by electing the village headman. Regional and local traditions also determine village settlements. The clothing design, speech have particular pattern according to a specific area. According to M. N. Srinivas (1969), the difference between villages cannot be understood just by focusing on the factors of urbanization, industrialization, and Westernization.¹⁶

From the above arguments of scholars S.C. Dube and M. N. Srinivas it can be argue, that due to different types of complexity at different levels we cannot consider a single village as representative of rural India to understand it. Simultaneously, it should not be mistaken with that there are no uniformities in rural at regional and all India level. Recognition of variation in the rural settlement is vital for the development policy.

2. Understanding Rural Life Through Discourse of Caste

The institution of caste governs and determines the life of millions in rural India because it has strength and command on life of people. It influences the institution of marriage and inter-caste dining is also rarely seen. These restrictions imposed by caste norms have not lost their grip even in today's time, and people continue to adhere to these strict rules. The members of a particular caste group living in a village have special ties with members of same caste residing in nearby villages. To satisfy needs at the social, political and economic level people develop have ties with their caste men in neighboring village and among members of sub-caste in a region. In rural an individual is not just a member of caste group and village but also that person will have ties with his sub-caste called *gotra* that is spread to a large number of neighboring villages. According to Srinivas (1969), intense rivalries among

¹⁶ See M.N.Srinivas, "India's Villages", 1969, p. 2.

the members of non-agricultural or serving castes groups force them to build a friendly relation with the members of other castes or outside their own caste.¹⁷ Lower caste groups in the village life make themselves the part of this system and develop relation even when they have to face humiliation and subordination because the system used to guarantee them a basic living. Srinivas describes the multiple types of relationships on the basis of which different castes are linked to each other as such:

“Members of different castes are also linked in other ways: the relationships of landlord and tenant, master and servant, creditor and debtor, and patron and client ignore caste barriers to bind together people who are unequal. These relationships may also cross the village boundary, but a good many of them will be found inside it. In some spheres, the strength of caste has increased in the last few decades, and bitterness between castes is a prominent feature of our urban life. But in village complementariness of caste is still visible” (Srinivas, 1969, pp. 7-9).

But in today’s context complementariness have reduced to a great extent because of newly developed relations between rural and urban. With the passing of time, outside intervention in village will increase. This can be substantiated by what Dr. Bailey has suggested that “as the village gets more closely integrated with the larger economy of the country, it becomes less of a unity” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 9). Growing connection between village and larger economy will put a strain on the feature of complementariness in rural life. The social field of villagers cross the boundary of village and spread to a larger area than a single village. Economic, social and political ties of village members are spread beyond a single village to number some neighboring villages.¹⁸ A village does not only have ties with other neighboring villages, but economic and political forces set in motion in the society affects the village fundamentally. Similar, to other principles of rural life, the principle of exogamous is also not uniform across the regions as the physical distance outside which marriages take place varies from one region to another. “One of the effects of village exogamy and hypergamy is to spatially widen the range of ties. The ties are not repetitive, but extensive” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 12). While an opposite principle is followed in peninsular India. Through the institution of marriage “intensification is

¹⁷ See, M.N.Srinivas, “India’s Villages”, 1969, p. 7.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 11.

the operating principle in south India while an extension is a principle in the North” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 12).

Caste hierarchy in rural is also determined by the factors like food of customs and occupation of a caste group. E. Kathleen Gough in her work “the social structure of a Tanjore Village” have shown that community like *Pallans* and *Parayans* in the past were the serf of the landowning castes till today they do the agricultural labor. *Parayans* are considered below the *Pallans* in the ritual hierarchy because of their food habits of beef eating and occupation of picking dead cattle and dealing cremation grounds.¹⁹ Contrary to the past these days community which does not bring social reforms has the perception of backwardness.²⁰ A single village can have multiple sub-castes, Rampura studied by Srinivas had seventeen sub-castes. Simultaneously, members of each sub-castes also had the ties with the members of the same sub-caste in neighboring villages. Therefore, “the village is a horizontal unity, its alliances going beyond the village” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 27).

The notion of purity and pollution is strong in the caste system. According to Bhattacharya if a good Hindu comes in a physical contact of a *Camars* that is low in ritual hierarchy then he needs to take bath by clothes on.²¹ In every region, the name of some caste groups that are low in a ritual hierarchy is used in the form of abusive connotation by the members of upper caste groups. But lower caste groups assert by linking themselves with some icon or saint. Dr. Cohn highlights a similar the instance of Madhopur village “the name ‘*Camars*’ has accumulated abusive connotations, as in the phrases ‘dirty as *Camars*’, ‘black as *Camars*’ etc., the *Camars* of Madhopur prefers to designate themselves ‘*Raidasi*’, taking the name of their most famous saint, *Raidas*” (Cohn, 1967, p. 61). Hierarchy persists among the subcastes, among *Camars* of Madhopur, *Jaisvara* is the highest sub-caste of the *Camars*, and the rules of food and occupation also determine it. Cohn mentions that *Jaisvara* that is the highest sub-caste among *Camars* will not keep a relation of food, water or marriage with other

¹⁹ See E. Kathleen Gough’s work “The Social Structure Of A Tanjore Village”, p. 37 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 39.

²¹ See Bernard S. Cohn’s work “The Changing Status of Depressed Caste” p. 61 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

subcastes of *Camars*. *Jaisvara* looks down the subcastes of *Camars* for doing the jobs which *Jaisvaras* consider below their dignity. For example, *Jhusiya Camars* do the job of carrying heavy poles while among *Jaisavara* anyone who does this kind of job will be outcasted. *Camars* behavior towards upper castes and mainly towards *Thakurs* is of giving formal respect. “In ordinary day to day relations, respectful behavior is determined less by caste than by identity” (Cohn, 1967, p. 62).

Attempts are made by lower castes to raise their social status through adopting new habits of food consumption and occupation, Srinivas has called this process as ‘*sanskritization*’.²² *Camars* of Madhopur have done consistent struggle to raise their social status in the caste hierarchy. *Jaisvara* that is a sub-caste of *Camars* began to prohibit the eating of beef and discharging the beef, but all these efforts were useless in achieving their goal. Even *Camars* adopted the practice of out casting the beef eaters. “As for inspiring greater respect from the higher castes, such changes of caste behavior receive at best passive recognition, certainly not approval” (Cohn, 1967, p. 73). The gain for *Camars* forms all this is of self-respect. Similarly, *Bhars* of Kerakat Tehsil decided to prohibit pig raising to raise their social status. They are still regarded as untouchable. But they are treated better than the *Khatiks* and *Pasis* of that area who still herd swine. S. S. Jodhka argues:

“While caste was an important institution in the Indian village, and most studies gave precedence to caste differences over other differences, empirical studies showed that it was not a completely closed and rigidly defined system. Caste statuses were also not exclusively determined by one’s position in the ritual hierarchy and there were many grey and contestable areas within the system. Above all, village studies proved the usefulness of fieldwork for a social scientific understanding of the Indian society” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 9).

As discussed in the above section that institution of caste helps to gain a detailed description of rural India. Subsequent section extends the discussion to feature of interdependence in rural life.

²² According to M.N. Srinivas the process of “*sanskritization*” is defined as the “imitating the customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmins, and the adoption of the Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden”. “*Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (Oxford, 1952), p. 30.

2.1. Interdependence in Rural Life

According to Wisner (1936), social relations among different caste groups in a village is that of 'reciprocity'. Though it was hierarchical interdependence among the different caste groups in village that bring village community together and created the village unity. Wisner argued: "Each serves the other. Each in turn is master. Each in turn is servant" (Wisner 1969, p. 10).²³

According to M.N. Srinivas, the one aspect of caste system which has got very less attention from scholars is that various caste groups existing in a village are interdependent.²⁴ Vital description of village community by Sir Charles Metcalfe as little republics can be because of its feature of interdependence in village life among different caste groups. Srinivas (1969) believes main aspect for the existence of caste system is also interdependence among different caste groups.²⁵ The nature of a relationship that existed in the past between upper and lower caste was that of master and servant. For instance, job of a servant belonging to a lower caste in a wedding was to provide shoes for a bridegroom. In return, the upper caste family would give paddy and straw to the family of a servant after harvest. But in today's context, ex-untouchables refuse to do any such work as they consider it below their dignity. Nowadays interdependence among different castes in rural has reduced. There has been a change in the economic structure of rural India. Therefore, majority of caste groups are no more engaged in their traditional work. As a result, the lower castes which used to obey orders of upper castes have started refusing to follow anymore. Change in economic structure has changed the power and political dynamics among the different castes in a village. Due to it, there is a visible friction among different caste groups. Barter occurs even today also. Use of money has increased to a large extent. Srinivas describes the rising demand for outside goods in rural as such:

"The village is even today largely self-sufficient. But nowadays there is a need for goods made or grown outside, the village: cloths, salt, sugar, matches, kerosene,

²³ See S.S. Jodhka, "village Society", Introduction, 2012, p. 8.

²⁴ See M.N.Srinivas, "India's Villages", 1969, pp. 27-28.

²⁵ Ibid.

soap, tea, coffee, beedis, lanterns, cycles, and safes are some of the goods that come from outside. A self-sufficient economy is possible only if each sub-castes adheres to its traditional occupations” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 29).

Caste groups which are considered lower socially and ritually keep on trying to uplift their status which also has repercussion. A similar instance is discussed by Srinivas (1969) that an attempt made by caste group of Smiths for their equality with others lead to fighting between Smiths and others in Rampura village, in this fight the middle order caste groups join the higher caste groups to stop the lower to do so.²⁶ In Rampura village “the Smith group of castes are said to have “one color less” than the others. Formerly this group suffered from certain civil disabilities” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 31). As a result, Smiths were stopped to conduct their marriages within the village. They were socially boycotted and excluded from all types of functions and village gatherings. Smiths were also stopped from wearing red color slippers. All castes of the village came together against Smiths for their attempt to claim equality with other groups. All castes denied dining at the house of Smith, even an ex-untouchable caste called *Holeyas* refused to dine at the house of Smith. The reason for these kinds of a reaction was the nature of grouping in the village as explained by Srinivas:

“Perhaps the grouping of castes into those “with one colour less” coincides with the grouping of castes into right-hand and left-hand divisions. The Smiths belongs to the left-hand division, *Holeyas* from right-hand division of untouchables and *Madigas* belong to the left-hand division. Formerly a fight usually arose when a left-hand caste tried to assert a privilege which was denied to it by the right-hand division” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 31).

Within the relation of interdependence in rural life, there were also some obligations on the patron as well as on the client. The patron-client relationship as discussed by Dr. Cohn in context of Madhopur village is hereditary because a patron cannot change the traditional worker by his choice. Also, no other than the traditional worker will perform the task for a patron, anyone who attempts this may have to face the outcaste. Castes other than *Thakur* also have ties with traditional working families

²⁶ Ibid, p. 31.

like Barber, Potter, *Camar*, and Blacksmith.²⁷ “Economic interdependency of the different castes was connected with differentiation of occupations inherent in the caste system. The interdependency of different castes in Namhalli was confirmed and reinforced by ceremonial relationship” (Beals, 1967, pp. 88-89). The subsequent section extends discussion to the significant characteristic of unity in rural.

2.2. Unity in Rural Indian Society

Interdependence in village life creates unity in rural society. There exist different types of unity in rural life such as ritual unity, political unity, and belongingness of an individual with his village. Ritual unity is formed by village members to face the different types of problems and crisis. Ritual unity is manifested in village life in various forms across the regions. According to Srinivas (1969) ‘ritual unity’²⁸ in Rampura village is visible when village members encounter the drought. Spiritual unity can be seen during issue of religious temple of village. Kathleen Gough highlights, that ritual unity in Kumbapettai village is dramatized at annual temple festivals. It is also visible at some festivals that were affiliated to some caste groups and these festivals were attended by most of the caste groups of village like Pallan, Non-Brahman to Brahman. All castes of the village attended annual festival which was sponsored by the Brahman caste group. Further Kathleen Gough argues:

“During this period nightly processions of the deity are conducted through all streets of the village, and offerings are made to her by the several castes incense, food, and vegetables by the Brahmans, and goats by the lower castes. This festival dramatizes the unity of the village and also the separateness and ritual rank of each caste within it” (Gough, 1967, p. 48).

According to Kathleen Gough recently a festival was organized that was not attended by all castes groups. According to her these types of celebrations now rarely attract people in the district, and a lot of villages in eastern part of Tanjore district.

²⁷ See Bernard S. Cohn’s work “The Changing Status of Depressed Caste”, p. 56 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

²⁸ See M.N.Srinivas, “Indias’s Villages”, 1969, p. 25.

Such kind of festivals were ignored five years ago.²⁹ Kathleen Gough in her work ‘the social structure of Tanjore village’ highlights the uniformity and heterogeneity among caste groups have also been vanishing that have an impact on the village unity due to multiple reasons as such:

“In each wider endogamous caste, by contrast, all but the closest kinship ties are gradually being weakened by the increasing heterogeneity of wealth, education, and occupation. All these changes in the broad pattern of village organization have their effect on everyday social relations between the several castes” (Gough, 1967, p.49).

Political unity is manifested by the members of village when there is a threat to an individual or whole village. According to Srinivas (1969) villagers of Rampura village protested against the auction of fish tanks. Villagers protested against it and believed what right has the government have to auction our fishing rights in our tank? It shows people considered themselves more the member of the village, caste than the citizen of state. While in today’s context people consider themselves primarily the citizen of state than the member of a moral village community.³⁰ The day government officials were supposed to come for the auction that day villagers managed to avoid auction because on the day of auction villagers managed that no one from the nearby villages participates in the auction. Therefore, the official who had come for the auction went back without organizing the auction. In today’s context, these type of unity is visible when there is farmer protest or demand for affirmative action policy is raised. A sense of pride in one’s village may have weakened today but it has not vanished. Earlier, it was strong. Bernard S. Cohn has described the relationship between tenant and landlord as such:

“While a man may farm the lands of several *Thakurs*, he has a primary and lasting socioeconomic tie with the *Thakur* on whose land he had originally built his house. The *Thakur* is considered to be responsible for the welfare of his tenants, and responsible for their care in need and ill health. Each tenant, in turn, owes allegiance and support to his *Thakur*. Tenants tie with his *Thakur* is Clear also in disputes: tenants of each *Thakur* support him, to the extent of doing violence to his adversary” (Cohn, 1967, p. 55).

²⁹ See E. Kathleen Gough’s work “The Social Structure Of A Tanjore Village”, p. 48 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

³⁰ See Tina Otten and Edward Simpson, “F.G. Bailey’s Bisipara Revisited”, 2016, p. 31.

Earlier social, economic, and other political institution contributed to the village unity but now a day's changes in these aspects have disturbed that equilibrium. In today's context, it is visible more clearly as with the weakening of caste structure and other traditional institutions a sense of collectivity in village has also disappeared. According to Redfield and Singer (1967) different political and social institution maintains the village unity by bringing the village members together as described by them:

“The castes, kept apart by endogamy and the rules of commonality, are brought together by institutions and sentiments that unite the whole village : the ceremonies, the village political organization and court of justice; the common dependence on the dominant peasant caste” (Redfield and Singer, 1967, p. X).

There exists a feeling of identification with village in rural life not only among the upper caste but also among lower caste; a similar scenario is shown by the Cohn in his study of Madhopur village. Where along with the *Thakurs*, *Camars* also have a strong feeling of identification with the village. If *Thakur* of any other village come and try to discipline *Camars* of Madhopur, then *Thakurs* of Madhopur protect the *Camars* of Madhopur from *Thakurs* of another village, police and any other kind of problem that comes from outside the village. No matter how much the *Camar* is exploited in Madhopur still he feels Madhopur is his village and it will remain his home no matter what happens. M.N. Srinivas argued that “in his village, the residents had so strong a sense of identification that an insult to the village had to be avenged like an insult to oneself, one's wife, or one's family” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 27). Similarly, Dube argues:

“Village communities all over the Indian sub-continent have a number of common features. The village settlement, as a unit of social organization, represents a solidarity different from that of the kin, the caste, and the class.... Different castes and communities inhabiting the village are integrated in its economic, social, and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by generally accepted conventions. Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions

inside the settlement, people of the village can, and do, face the outside world as an organised, compact whole” (Dube, 1961, p. 202).³¹

Nowadays this feeling of identification with village has vanished to a large extent. A lower caste may not tolerate an upper caste and possibly take help of outside intervention either of the legal system or their caste members from the neighboring villages. Kathleen Gough also mentions that Brahmans often complain that due to the weakening of their economic and political dominance over lower castes loyalty of tenants and laborers towards them has almost gone.³² Therefore, changes in village structures have contributed towards vanishing of village unity. Kathleen Gough describes the cracks in political structure that have affected unity in Kumbapettai village as such:

“The breakdown of the feudal economic system, the emergence of lower caste groups in economic rivalry rather than cooperation, and the widening range of social relations beyond the village have endangered the power of the Brahmans and the unity of Kumbapettai” (Gough, 1967, p. 46).

On the other hand, scholars Paul Hiebert, F. G. Bailey, and Lewis disagreed with the notion of unity in Indian Village. Lewis argues:

“... the caste system divides the village and weakens the sense of village solidarity. The caste generally represents a distinct ethnic group with its own history, tradition, and identification, and each caste lives in more or less separate quarters of the village ... each caste forms a separate little community” (Lewis, 1958, p. 314).³³

Similarly, F. G. Bailey disagreed with the notion of ‘unity-reciprocity’ and critiqued it by highlighting the coercive aspect of caste system. But the discipline of sociology and literature on rural India has been dominated by the functionalist perspective rather than the critical perspective.³⁴

³¹ See S.S. Jodhka, “Village Society”, Introduction, 2012, p. 7.

³² See E. Kathleen Gough’s work “The Social Structure Of A Tanjore Village”, p. 46 in ed., book “Village India” by Mckim Marriott, 1967.

³³ See S.S. Jodhka, “Village Society”, Introduction, 2012, p. 8.

³⁴ Ibid.

3. Government Intervention and Rural Transformation

Independence after a long struggle and sacrifices in 1947 marked a new beginning in the history of rural India. There was participation in freedom struggle from all sections and social categories of society. Government took the responsibility of development to bring the stagnant agrarian economy on track. Efforts of government were to make sure that the benefits of development are not monopolized by particular social groups or few people. In the backdrop of development as an agenda government of India started implementing various new policies. Primary challenge was to transform political and economic structures evolved during the British rule so that benefits can trickle down to masses of the country with the help of policies implemented by the government. Decision to reorganize agriculture relations through regulating the rent, eliminating intermediate tenancy, redistribution of land reform was one of the significant steps by government that proved to be a landmark in the history of India. Issue of land reforms is hotly debated issue, scholars have argued for and against it. Despite it, land reforms did not show radical changes on the ground. Land reforms included ceiling on land holdings, redistribution of surplus land and to remove absentee landlords. State governments were directed to enact laws for land reforms. According to Jodhka, the legislations were so large that:

“... they could be the largest body of agrarian legislations to have been passed in so brief a span of years in any country whose history has been recorded” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 10).

One thing that is clear about land reforms was that these were gender blind. Hardly women became the owner of distributed land; ownership of allocated land was given to male members of the middle caste groups. The aim of implementation could not match the result of land reforms (Jodhka, 2012). As many laws had loopholes in them. Therefore, dominant landlords could take advantage of these loopholes. Landlords distributed their land among their locals and relatives in the government record. They also remove their tenants from their land. Land reforms were successful in some part of the region mainly “where the peasantry was politically mobilized and

could exert pressure from the below” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 10).³⁵ Reforms failed in some of its aims but succeeded in removing absentee landlords from rural society and helped in the emergence of a strong economic and political group.

3.1. Political Transformation

Government after independence took various steps to bring political democracy in the country. But the three-tier panchayat system was a unique one that transformed the rural Indian society. Surinder. S. Jodhka explains the changes brought by the government in the political structure of rural life:

“On the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee the three-tier Panchayati Raj system was introduced during the early 1960s in order to democratize the local level power structure and decentralize governance” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 15).

Governments at the central and state level have attempted to form a new social organization to replace the old ones at rural level in order to grapple with the problem arising in the modern world. Therefore, government made efforts to create a new order which can replace old order and connect with the new system. In this line, one of the crucial decision of government is to create village panchayat. Earlier also panchayats were there, which were responsible for smooth functioning of village and settling village disputes. But these new panchayats differ from that of old panchayats in selection and formation. Earlier formation of panchayats was arbitrary and their decision could hardly be disobeyed and altered. New panchayats are elected instead of their arbitrary creation and they also perform the development work with accountability and responsibility.

According to M. N. Srinivas, there exist caste courts in rural India. These caste courts penalize those who break the caste rules. These types of traditional political organizations have been weakened due to legal system brought by the Britishers and further such kind of political institutions in rural India have faced drastic decline by political reforms done post-independence. Punishment given by these caste courts

³⁵ See S. S. Jodhka, “Village Society”, 2012, p. 10, here source mentioned is ‘Radhakrishanan, 1989’.

vary according to the nature of offense committed by an individual. Sometimes the penalty can be given in the form of excommunication from community or caste group. The caste members break all types of ties and relation from the person who has been facing punishment of excommunication. In case the excommunicated member is head of the family, then the entire family have to meet the same fate until it does not break contact with the offender. Person who has been boycotted along with his families sometimes cannot even avail the common village facilities like village tanks and canals. Sometimes village head man also refuses to hear the matter if people involved in the disputes are well known for their disagreements with each other.³⁶ Under these circumstances party involved in the disputes are left with no option but to go to law courts. Usually, people take their disputes to their caste courts.

Power and authority of caste panchayats have reduced with the introduction of new political changes. Cohn (1967) in his study of Madhopur village shows the trajectory of it. *Thakurs* in Madhopur village have started to earn their income from outside village by doing the job of teacher, police, printers, and business, etc. Therefore, sanctions from traditional caste and village panchayats have less impact on them. Punishment like outcaste does not have much impact because a *Thakur* family facing outcaste can have ties with another family which is also facing outcaste. Authority of *Thakur* panchayats is getting weaker, while on the other hand authority of *Camars* panchayat is getting stronger. With the weakening of traditional ties like patron-client and landlord-tenant, *Camars* solve their disputes themselves. In Madhopur village, *Thakurs* are leaving traditional norms while *Camars* are adopting them. New norms adopted by *Camars* in social and political aspects are as such:

“Eating and drinking restrictions for the *Camars* have been tightened and strictly enforced. Although *Camars* formerly would eat with and take water from other untouchables, they now punish such acts by outcasting. As the *Camar* caste has grown stronger, outcasting by the *Camar* panchayat has actually become more frequent” (Cohn, 1967, pp. 68-69).

According to Srinivas, the forces which have been set in motion in last hundred years have weakened these ties. Since independence, these ties are always on

³⁶ See M.N.Srinivas, “India’s Villages”, 1969, pp. 34-35.

the decline. Earlier the punishment of excommunication from caste authority was severe and no one could refuse to accept it. Work of Kathleen Gough highlights that change in nature of political authority is as such that if there is an attempt to enforce an excommunication, the offending family may refuse to comply by giving the defense of modern argument derived from secular law. Nowadays, people do not abide by the punishment given by caste courts until the police take offender or convicted by the law courts.

3.2. Socio-Economic Transformation

Along with political changes after independence, a number of policies initiated economic reforms that also led to social changes such as launching of community projects and agriculture extension services in many regions of the country. Moreover, infrastructure in the form of new roads and improvement of old roads, connectivity through public transport has improved and small industries like flour, oil, and rice mills have been set up in different rural regions of the country.³⁷ There has also been fast industrialization and urbanization in country. All these changes have affected the lives of people in rural and have transformed rural India. The strict rules of caste have also weakened. There has been a change in occupational pattern in rural part of country. Educated urbanized and westernized youth in terms of lifestyle, habits, and aspirations hold different opinion and values than their previous generations on social issues. CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 81) youth report shows the aspirations of Indian youth in terms of their attitude towards fashion and use of gadgets. Report highlights that majority of Indian youth are fond of wearing stylish clothes, footwear, and aspire to have the latest mobile phones. They also like to go to restaurant, cinema, and cafe regularly. Work related to youth aspirations, lifestyle, attitude on social issues is discussed in detail in chapter three. “The introduction of democracy gives them a chance to assert themselves against their elders. Struggle for power between the two groups is becoming more common” (Srinivas, 1969, p. 13). Further development programmes have led to improvement in the transportation, communication, and spread of western education. In independent India Green Revolution is the most

³⁷ See, M.N.Srinivas, “India’s Villages”, 1969, p. 12.

successful programme. It even solved the problem of food security. Food security was one of the biggest challenges that country was facing post-independence as Bengal famine haunted the nation after independence. In the backdrop of this the policy of Green Revolution was implemented. It triggered socio-economic and political changes. Jodhka argues regarding the green revolution that:

“It did bring about an ‘agricultural revolution’ in India. In purely economic terms, the agricultural sector experienced growth at the rate of 3 to 5 percent per annum (Byres 1972), which was many times more than what it had been during the colonial period (less than 1 percent). It conceptualized agrarian change in purely technological terms and was based on the ‘trickle down’ theory of economic growth. The expression ‘green revolution’ was deliberately coined to contrast it with the phrase ‘red revolution’ ” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 12).

Green Revolution includes HYV seeds, chemical fertilizers, controlled irrigation, pesticides, etc. New technologies were adopted in agriculture sector. Earlier it was claimed that these technologies were scale neutral but later it was found that most of the farmers with small land holdings could not afford them. Landless castes did not benefit from development projects and they also could not benefit from the economic institutions because they did not have land. So, low castes remain socially and economically disadvantaged. There has been a change in the agriculture pattern which has led to shifting from the subsistence crop to cash crop. So, therefore, changes in agriculture, transportation, and communication also had consequences on village social relations as well.

According to David G. Mandelbaum (1969), there have been efforts by the government to bring economic and technological change in society especially in rural and its impact is visible in institutions such as family mainly with the joint family system, caste system, village organization and relation of village members with the government.³⁸ Phenomena of formation and fission of families are ubiquitous but the general trend is towards nuclear family because in changing economic patterns there are more opportunities for an individual to succeed in life than being the member of

³⁸ See David G. Mandelbaum, “Social Organisation and Planned Culture Change in India”, p. 15 in ed., book “India’s Villages” by M.N. Srinivas, 1969.

joint families. Moreover, now a day's individuals have less desire to follow their elders in making choices and decisions in life, for collective efforts in work and pooling their earnings. In one or the other way, land reforms have also exerted pressure on the joint family system. These land reforms imposed a ceiling on the amount of land a family can own. Therefore, under such circumstances family goes to split in multiple nuclear families. Land reforms have acted as the push factors towards smaller families which have contributed to the decline of efficiency in agriculture. "This may well be only a short-term effect, with the smaller family becoming more efficient producing unit over a long period" (Mandelbaum, 1969, p. 16). As land reforms were aimed at eliminating landlords similarly providing financial assistance to farmers and peasants through institution were aimed at removing moneylenders. Jodhka argues on it that:

"According to findings of an official survey carried out immediately after independence from the colonial rule, 91 percent of the credit needs of the cultivators were being met by informal sources of credit (RBI 1969: 15). Much of this came from usurious moneylenders (69.7 percent). It was in recognition of this fact that the Indian state planned to expand the network of cooperative credit societies. While in 1961, on an average only 18.4 percent of the total credit needs were being fulfilled by the institutional source of credit, in 1981 it had gone up to 62.6 percent" (Jodhka, 2012, p. 11).

Despite inherent bias in institutional credit against the rural poor, it played an essential role in turning Green Revolution a success and reducing the influence of money lenders. After that Community Development Programme (CDP) was launched in 1952. The task of it was different than land reforms and institutional credit. Jodhka argues:

"Its basic assumption was that 'the Indian peasant would of his own free will, and because of his 'felt needs', immediately adopt technical improvements the moment he was shown them' (Moore 1966: 401). The programme was launched on 2 October 1952 in a few selected 'blocks' and soon it was extended to the entire country. However, the enthusiasm with which the programme was started could not be sustained for very long. A non-political approach to agrarian transformation resulted in helping only those who were already powerful in the village. Most of the benefits were cornered by a small section of the rural elite" (Jodhka, 2012, p. 12).

According to Beals external changes in the economic structure brought by the government have influenced the village structure uniquely. For example, there was blow to the prestige of headman due to the introduction of *rayatvari*.³⁹ Beals in his study of Namhalli village in Mysore mentions that before independence, the purpose of introducing the modern techniques of law enforcement and civil government by reorganizing administrative systems was to increase economic production so that there can be an increase in the revenue of government. Specific changes in Mysore state include that there has been rapid growth as well as improvement in the transportation and communication system; “development of urban manufacturing, trading, and political centers; diffusion of European style systems of education, public health, and welfare” (Beals, 1967, p. 80). Earlier British and indigenous governments were not interested in internal village affairs and hardly showed interest until village members called them. On the contrary, today’s government has direct intervention in technical legal aspects. “Later, the government became increasingly interested in the internal problems of villages and attempted to regulate the panchayat and to limit its authority (Buchanan 1807, I:81; Sharma Rao 1936, I:398-99; Rice 1897, I:611)” (Beals, 1967, p. 90).

After 1990’s, there has been a significant economic and political change. These economic and political changes have disturbed the equilibrium of village life. The notion of village as republic is no more. A village can no more be considered a unit. This happened due to prolonged distress in agriculture after 1980’s have forced people to move out of agriculture. So, there is an expansion of non-farm economy. There has developed a continuous and complete interdependence between rural and urban. Caste groups in village are no more engaged in their traditional occupation which is a necessary condition for village to remain a unit. These days a variety of material goods comes from outside the village. Due to economic opportunity available outside village, serving castes are no more dependent on the upper castes. Earlier, they used to get remuneration in the form of crops at the end of harvest. So, there was a patron-client relationship between lower and upper castes. But nowadays lower

³⁹ Rayatvari tax system was introduced by the Britishers. Its aim was to establish tax system based on the area of land owned rather than on the basis of the quantity of grain harvested.

castes are no more dependent on upper castes for their day to day needs. They do not need to work on the lands of upper castes for their livelihood. As a result, the political structure of village community has also changed and caste courts are no more significant. “Until the middle of the nineteenth century the *Thakurs*, as landlords, were de facto rulers, judges, and arbitrators for the *Camars*, for the village of Madhopur, and for the whole taluka of Dhobi” (Cohn, 1967, p. 65). People take their disputes to the legal courts as mentioned above. People are no more obliged to caste courts as it was in the past. The fear of punishment like excommunication from the caste does not prevail as it was in the era after independence. But still, it will not be viable to say that rural India has started experiencing economic democracy along with political democracy. Inequality persists in rural India as there is unequal ownership of resources. This unequal possession of resources is visible more when studied on the basis of caste lines.

With the increase in population, lower castes started moving outside village in search of the job and started leaving work on land in village. These changes bring depressed castes in open conflict with the upper castes in village life. Redfield and Singer describe these changes as such:

“We see the development of aspiration and the formation of policy in the depressed caste: the *Camars* organize to achieve new power and status. In their struggle to free themselves from the *Thakur's* power they fail for the present, but one feels that they will try again” (Redfield and Singer, 1967, p. XII).

During this struggle for power between the two caste groups in Madhopur village, there comes a change in the customs and religion of these two caste groups. The transformation describes by the Redfield and Singer is as such:

“The *Thakurs*, affected by Western models of conduct, become more individuated and secular; they relax traditional caste rules. At the same time, the *Camars* seek to enhance their status by tightening the traditional rules of commensality, by giving up the occupations considered as defiling, and by adopting Sanskritic elements of custom. One might say that the *Camars* strive to move into a culture and its associated status which the *Thakurs* have vacated. Social change in India is both a movement toward an urban and cosmopolitan mode of life and also a revival and

penetration downward of ancient Hindu elements of culture and religion” (Redfield and Singer, 1967, p. XII).

According to Mandelbaum (1969) social and economic system for many centuries were stable and constant as both were reinforcing and connected to each other. But, now there has been a change in both. Change in the economic system affect the social system or vice-versa as both are connected to each other. Traditional institution of *jajmani* has been replaced by the new contractual type of labor system. As a result, the relations between lower and upper castes have vanished to a large extent, whereas earlier low castes were dependent on higher castes for their urgent needs. Although upper castes did not do much for lower castes but saved them from the acute starvation because of the patron-client relation between them and “lower castes could have their happiness in celebration and festivities of upper castes” (Mandelbaum, 1969, p. 18).⁴⁰ Now a day’s lower castes men do not have such support. Similarly, due to change in nature of labor upper castes also have to face difficulties because in the past upper castes could call caste members linked to them whenever urgent need emerges but today they need cash for such type of help.

These changes have different implication and importance for different section of people. For the dominant castes, it is an end to their dominance while for Dalits it has improved their conditions. Jodhka has explained this new form of anxiety that has emerged in rural Indian society in his revisit to the village in Haryana as such:

“These changes have also generated a new sense of individuation in the village society and in the absence of viable economic opportunities and social support structures, it has generated a new sense of anxiety, a kind of ‘ontological insecurity’ ” (Jodhka, 2014, p. 17).

He has also shown that because of growing individuation in the village has also led to the increase in fan following of babas and *deras*.⁴¹ Radha Swami Sect is located at Beas in Punjab and Dera Sacha Sauda in Sirsa (Haryana). Its evidence is

⁴⁰ See David G. Mandelbaum, “Social Organisation and Planned Culture Change in India”, p. 18 in ed., book “India’s Villages” by M.N. Srinivas’s, 1969.

⁴¹ See S.S. Jodhka, “Emergent Ruralities: Revisiting Village Life and Agrarian Change in Haryana”, 2014, p.17.

visible as Jodhka (2014) mention follower of sect Dera Sacha Sauda had increased to 500 in one of the villages he revisited while the number was small when he visited the village first time for fieldwork. Therefore, the withering of community and growing individuation has its socio, economic and political implications.⁴²

Therefore, it is evident from the above discussion that socio-economic, political and technological changes have led to the process of social change in motion. Most important is that “land and authority have been de-linked in village India and this amounted to a historic if non-revolutionary transformation” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 16). The issue of change in the notion of land and its use is discussed in chapter four through the scholar work done on Haryana. Further studies are required for analyzing socioeconomic and political changes on rural Indian society. Next section will focus on rural-urban interface and its dynamics. Further light will be thrown on integration of rural-urban economy and process of expansion of non-farm economy.

4. Dynamics of Rural-Urban Interface

Increasing population and falling income in agriculture have forced people in rural India to move out of agriculture. Transformation in economic structure has led to an expansion of non-farm economy. Expansion and improvement in the infrastructure of communication and transport have led to an increasing interaction between rural and urban areas. People in rural areas have started to use urban goods and materials. Brijender Kumar (2013) in his work on Haryana shows that rapid urbanization in Delhi has lead to its expansion to neighboring districts of Haryana. These districts have experienced a high percentage of urbanization and urbanism (urban way of life). According to Dr. Marian Smith, the notion of complete self-sufficiency about Indian village is now a myth. In pre-British era village were less dependent economically on towns instead it is more in today’s context.⁴³ A newly developed relationship between rural and urban poses new complexity.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ See, M.N.Srinivas, “India’s Villages”, 1969, p. 11.

The study done by Kathleen Gough in the Kumbapettai village shows that there has been a shift in the pattern of village economy from that of a subsistence economy to expanding capitalist economy. According to Kathleen Gough (1967), one significant change in last two decades is that traders and professional castes have bought one-third of land owned by Brahmans in the village from Tanjore district and nearby towns.⁴⁴ Kathleen Gough explains changes that have come due to change in economic structure of village are that non-Brahmans of the village have been partly or wholly freed from the feudal system that existed earlier within the village. Earlier suppressed non-brahmans also owned land but in a lesser amount, “ten out of sixty-seven Non-Brahmans men have managed to buy between one and four acres of land from Brahmans, which they cultivate themselves” (Gough, 1967, p. 42). Due to change of economic pattern of Kumbapettai village, only 63 percent non-Brahman are dependent on landlord Brahmans of the village.⁴⁵ Kathleen Gough describes new linkage between Tanjore that is urban locality and Kumbapettai village as such:

“These economic changes within the village are accompanied by a great increase in economic transactions outside it. Members of all castes, when they can afford it, now patronize the cinema in Tanjore and in the nearby town; all travel on buses and trains to buy clothing or household goods, which have increased both in amount and in kind. Few families now receive clothing from their landlords; most are required to buy it from the town themselves. Most important, the village as a whole is now in debt to the town” (Gough, 1967, p. 43).

Changes in an economic structure have led to an increase in the transactions outside the village. Urban influence has changed the culture, economic life, and aspirations of rural Indian society. One primary reason for the debt that rural have towards the cities is an urban-biased approach to government policies. According to Fan et al. (2005), China, as well as India both, formed their development policy in favor of urban sector. One of the critical biases is of government investment in urban areas as compared to rural. They also argue:

⁴⁴ See E. Kathleen Gough’s work “The Social Structure Of A Tanjore Village”, p. 42 in ed. book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

“That empirical evidence on the economic returns to public investments from both countries has shown that more investment in rural infrastructure as well as in agriculture research and development, and education will yield the largest returns in terms of both growth and poverty reduction” (Fan et al., 2005, p. iii).

The main concentration of development and resources towards urban have increased the development gap between rural and urban. This policy continued for many decades until India went for macroeconomic reforms in the early 1990's.⁴⁶ So therefore, slowly and steadily village is intertwining with larger urban economy. Circumference of this change can subsume entire India. One of the reasons behind this process is of a transformation of rural economy from a feudal system to an expanding capitalist economic system.⁴⁷ Urban influences have changed rural society in multi-folds. Works of scholars S.C. Dube (1961), M.N. Srinivas (1969), E. Kathleen Gough (1967), McKim Marriott (1967) and Jodhka discussed above show that in future there will be a further change in the traditional institutions. Kathleen Gough highlights some changes in Tanjore that:

“The social structure of the Tanjore village is changing from a relatively closed, stationary system, with a feudal economy and co-operation between ranked castes in ways ordained by religious law, to a relatively ‘open’, changing system, governed by secular law with an expanding capitalist economy and competition between castes which is sometimes reinforced and sometimes obscured by the new struggle between economic classes” (Gough, 1967, p. 51).

Along with urban influence government intervention of food rationing system, opening schools, and colleges, representation of oppressed in government and changing the nature of relationship between tenant and landlords in village have also transformed.⁴⁸ Decaying of traditional structures in rural Indian society was in the momentum since independence.

⁴⁶ See Fang et al. “Rural and Urban Dynamics and Poverty: Evidence from China and India”, 2005, p. 1.

⁴⁷ See E. Kathleen Gough's work “The Social Structure Of A Tanjore Village” p. 43 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 51.

Further Cohn (1967) in his work mentions that non-farm economy is not a recent phenomenon although in past its scale was small. He further argues that *Camars* of Madhopur and nearby area have been engaged in outside employment from very earlier times. They were working as servants of British residents, at the beginning of 20th century, large numbers of *Camars* worked in cotton and jute mills, in the mines, as rickshaw pullers in cities. The *Camars* of Madhopur are part of village economy which has been limitedly integrated with the larger economy of northern India. Due to scarcity of land in rural India, the inclination towards outside and urban employment has increased. Similar, situation is highlighted by Cohn in the economic status of Madhopur village.⁴⁹ Increasing population and reducing land holdings have forced the people to move out of villages.

According to Beals (1967) expansion of non-farm economy has reduced the dependency of poor village members on the dominant groups in rural. The introduction of panchayat system and expansion of non-farm economy together have served as the blow to traditional social and economic leadership in rural. Effectiveness and influence on rural are related to how people in rural makes modern urban goods as part of their life. In developed regions of the country urban influence has entered into various aspects of life from material to aspirations. Increasing income in rural has also increased interaction between rural and urban. Rising income also brings the changes in culture of rural. Income and job outside agriculture in nearby urban area determines learning of urban culture and way of life. Urban influence on rural has increased more due to changing nature of economy from agricultural to industrial. Urban manufactured goods have entirely replaced the goods produced in village.

According to EY report (2017), India's urban population will be 470 million in 2020, which was 420 million in 2015. This report also highlights that 70% of national GDP will be generated from urban areas by 2020, which was 65% in 2015, and the real GDP growth of urban India during this period will be 8.8% that is almost double than rural India which is 4%. In urban India 50 largest cities have emerged as

⁴⁹ See Bernard S. Cohn's work "The Changing Status of Depressed Caste", p. 64 in ed., book "Village India" by McKim Marriott, 1967.

the most important consumption hubs. The report claims that around 123 million lived in these cities in 2015 with the household income of 26.4 lakh crore.⁵⁰

Next section extends the discussion to significance of the youth category in enhancing the understanding of rural society within the framework of sociology. Knowledge about youth helps to capture the social aspiration that can be helpful for the further sociological analysis.

5. Issues of Youth in Rural Studies

The relevance of Youth category in rural studies lies in providing scenarios in which transformation and new social aspiration can be precisely located. The analysis of youth reveals research important of the question of lasting the factors and motivation towards social aspiration. There is the relaxation on some taboos like inter-caste dining but the rigid prohibitions on inter-caste marriage have not weakened. There are cases of intercaste marriage as educated youth does not believe entirely in strict rules of prohibition on inter-caste marriages but they have to face repercussion from society. Work of Kathleen Gough (1967) in Tanjore District shows that the youth in communist groups of Anti Dravidas adopts the policy of anti-religious and anti-Brahman propaganda. In rural Indian society, there is a change in religious co-operation and the unequal relation of interdependence among the youth of lower castes as they no longer believe in religious cooperation. Further Kathleen Gough highlights that youth from lower caste groups can assert itself because younger leaders get an opportunity in the organized communist party in Tanjore district.⁵¹ Similarly, youth from across the sections have more opportunity nowadays in order to express themselves and raise their voice.

Youth from the backward and lower castes are no more interested in their traditional caste occupations. Youth from lower castes find some of their traditional occupations as defiling. And they are not ready to accept traditional master-servant

⁵⁰ [https://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/ey-indias-growth-paradigm/\\$FILE/ey-indias-growth-paradigm.pdf](https://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/ey-indias-growth-paradigm/$FILE/ey-indias-growth-paradigm.pdf). Pages 6-7. Accessed on December 18, 2017.

⁵¹ See E. Kathleen Gough's work "The Social Structure Of A Tanjore Village", p. 48 in ed., book "Village India" by McKim Marriott, 1967.

relation. As aspirations and choices of youth are more influenced and shaped by modern western education, urban goods, and lifestyle. They aspire to fight for their rights, unequal political and social institution in rural life. Increasing population and reducing agricultural income have forced youth in rural to move out of agriculture in search of a job. There has been an expansion of non-farm economy and intertwining of rural-urban relations has reached at a new level. Cohn highlights in his work the behavior of youth from lower caste *Camar* towards the upper caste *Thakur* that “younger *Camars* are less prone to give outward signs of respect to *Thakurs*, and the younger *Thakurs* seem to expect such signs less” (Cohn, 1967, p. 74).

Youth are moving away from traditional norms, values, and authority. Further Dr. Cohn shows that modern secular education plays a significant role in *Camars* efforts to improve their position. *Camars* in Madhopur often describes their low position to a lack of education. But *Camar* teacher does not get the same respect as of a higher caste teacher. But still, an educated *Camar* get better position among upper castes than an uneducated *Camar*. “Education is an individual achievement, but even educated *Camars* cannot escape an awareness that mobility for them, too, must be a group phenomenon” (Cohn, 1967, p. 74). Education has also been seen as an important medium in spreading urban culture, mannerism, and way of life to a rural. Notion of educated and uneducated extends to different consumption practices such as clothing, urban mannerism, speech and body language.⁵² The change in rural has been faster since the control has come into the hands of younger. As youth is less oriented towards tradition and more aware of the possibilities of urban law. They are less interested in traditional occupations and agriculture.⁵³

Increasing population in villages, reducing land holdings and falling income in agriculture have forced people to move out of agriculture. People have moved from agriculture to non-farm activities as discussed above in this chapter in detail. Few reasons for migration from rural to urban are landless laborers, rising prices of food, reducing land, inadequate employment, etc. Along with these factors, the course of

⁵² Craig Jeffrey et al. “Degrees without freedom: The Impact of Formal Education on Dalit Young Men in North India”, 2004, p. 974.

⁵³ See Alan R. Beals work “Interplay Among Factors of Change In A Mysore Village”, p. 91 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

change in rural areas also depends upon the interplay of external change-producing factors. People in rural India are adopting an urban way of life and have started to consume urban material goods so rural is becoming part of urban. Study by Alan R. Beals shows that there is possibility in the future, as “more remote villages are drawn increasingly under the influence of urban factors of change, they too may begin to follow a course of change resembling the one followed by Namhalli in the past” (Beals, 1967, p. 100). These changes at different level affect youth differently and shape their aspirations.

According to Vivek Kaul, various government sources suggest that approximately 84 million people who are one-fourth of India's rural workforce need to move out of agriculture so that it can become economically viable. He mentions in case of other countries when the workforce moves away from farming construction and real sector have absorbed it. The major problem in case of India's agricultural workforce is that it is highly unskilled or semi-skilled. These conditions become even more significant as India is in the middle of a demographic dividend, approximately one million people are joining workforce every month.⁵⁴ On the other hand, poor performing public schools have produced young unskilled workforce.

Even after improvement in infrastructure “only 4.69 percent of India's working population is formally skilled, much lower than the numbers in developed countries like Germany (76%), Japan (80%) and South Korea (96%)” (Jodhka, 2018, p. 7). Lack of proper education is one of the major reason for holding back India's workforce. “The amount of money spent on education by the government (at the state and federal level) has fallen from 3.2% of the GDP in 2011-2012 to around 2.7% of the GDP in 2017-2018”.⁵⁵ It is also a well-established fact that when youth is facing unemployment there are chances that they get engaged in violent activities, minor riots, etc.⁵⁶ When young people go to school in the hope of obtaining good positions in government but on contrary, in an atmosphere of unemployment they have no

⁵⁴ Article “Viewpoint: India's budget sells dreams for votes” by Vivek Kaul. Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42900194>.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶ See Alan R Beals work “Interplay Among Factors of Change In A Mysore Village”, p. 96 in ed., book “Village India” by McKim Marriott, 1967.

option but to return to land. Young people who have high aspirations, for urban mannerism and urban way of life, they are bursting with new-felt needs, manifest their dissatisfaction and frustration through aggressive action and violence.⁵⁷

The change in economic structure of rural India has also disturbed the existing traditional social and political equilibrium. Stagnation and crisis in agriculture are forcing the youth from agricultural communities to move out of agriculture. Moreover, urban aspirations play an important role in shaping their choices. As part of the strategy of middle-class youth and their parents invest in education on the basis of their knowledge of likely returns from education.⁵⁸ But youth from agriculture communities are unable to compete with youth from other upper castes youngsters living in urban areas and fail to secure admissions to government based educational institutions. They also remain unsuccessful in securing government jobs while government jobs are seen in 'ideal' form in the context of security in life it is discussed in detail in chapter four. On the other hand, they see youth from other caste groups benefitting from the affirmative action policy in government based education institutions and government jobs. The major reason behind these disadvantages faced by youth from an agricultural community such as *Jat* is lack of cultural and social capital along with the poor educational background. Most of them are first generation learner in the field of education. Craig Jeffrey (2012) in his work "Timepass" on *Jat* youth in Meerut shows that "*Jats* looked to the state as a provider of resources and believed in the ideal of the nation-state" (Jeffrey, 2012, p. 33). These types of challenges along with crisis in agriculture has forced the land-owning castes such as Marathas in Maharashtra, Patel's in Gujarat and Jats in Haryana to demand their inclusion into the OBC category.

Thus, along with the socio-economic and political structures of rural Indian society, there is a need to analyze the different varieties of social life. In this aspect youth is an important category that needs more attention from the academic world. This initiative from the academic world can prove beneficial for policy-making.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ According to Craig Jeffrey in his work 'Timepass' "middle classes maintain their power in part through a strategy of deliberate 'waiting': they invest in specific future on their knowledge of likely returns".

Chapter - 3

Youth Studies: Transformation and Trajectories of Indian Youth

Introduction

The third chapter attempts to comprehend the category of youth. It analyzes the concept of youth in social sciences and significance of studying the category of youth to enhance understanding in discipline of sociology. Further, an attempt is made to develop conceptual clarity on youth. After that work of Bourdieu (1993) is discussed to understand conceptual challenges in youth studies. Then, the chapter highlights the demographics in Western and South Asian countries. In the backdrop of it, the work of Kamla Chowdhary and Sudhir Kakar is discussed to understand the issues such as sexuality and choices among Indian youth. Their work explains the change in the sexual behavior of Indian youth and attitude of youth towards issues related to sexuality. Further discussion in the chapter extends to study generational conflict concerning youth and try to investigate the causes of conflict. After that attention is to emerging scenario of education and mobility in context of youth in India. Further, the issue of caste discrimination in Indian Higher education is discussed. Then the chapter extends discussion to the unemployment challenges among youth at global level as well as in India. Then, the chapter discusses youth political participation. Under it, a comparative analysis of youth political participation in India with the world level is made and different ways through which youth manifest their disappointment is discussed. Lastly, there is a discussion on the changing aspiration of *Chamars* and *Jat* youth. This includes the assertion by the historically disadvantaged group and how education provides them confidence and dignity. Further, discussion extends to how the lower middle-class *Jats* defend their power.

1. The concept of Youth in Social Sciences

Study of youth in social sciences has a historical character. At different stages of human history various changes such as social transformation, shift in mode of economy, formation of modern political institutions and increase in life expectancy have made imperative for researchers in social sciences to study issues related to youth. This chapter is an attempt to enhance understanding in discipline of sociology with the help of the category of youth. According to Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi (1972, p. 1), youth is one among different categories through which

understanding of sociology can be enhanced. They explain the significance of youth studies in sociology highlighting the relation between youth and sociology as such:

“By studying youth, we can isolate concepts, principles, and data that reflect the larger aim of sociology: to understand society in a careful, disciplined, and systematic way. By pairing youth and sociology, then, we can draw on the behavior of youth to produce insights into social life in general” (Manning & Truzzi, 1972, p. 1).

Further, Jorgen Baek Simonsen (2005, p. 7) in his study on youth in the middle east argues that youth has been defined by social scientist and historian as a social construction and a period between two significant stages of human life that are childhood and adulthood. There is no single definition of youth, but usually, it incorporates people of age group of fifteen to thirty. With the passing of time, there has been an increase in upward and downward inclusion of age groups. The definition of youth has been fluid and volatile; therefore, it has always been discussed and debated in the academic world from time to time. According to Theodore Roszak (1972, p. 40) with passing of time in last few decades the category of youth has expanded downward to include school going children and upward to include university going students of thirty years. Some believe that this process of extension has lead to the creation of counterculture that holds a particular set of roles, beliefs, choices, different view of future, particular behavior and way of expressing things or desire.⁵⁹ Youthfulness has always been loved and desired in all types of societies. In most of the modern industrial societies, people wish to extend their youthfulness from their age of 30's that is believed to be an upper limit of age to the age group of 40's and 50's. These types of changes in the use of word 'youth' have somehow eroded the original, long-standing analytic meaning of youth.⁶⁰

Youth is a transient phenomenon because the boundary of youth is permeable as before and after a particular age an individual can no more be part of the youth category (Jodhka 2018, p. 1). He further argues that unlike other categories such as

⁵⁹ See Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, “Introduction”, p. 3 in ed., book “Youth and Sociology” 1972.

⁶⁰ See Jorgen Baek Simonsen “Introduction”, p. 7 in ed., book “Youth and Youth Culture: In The Contemporary Middle East”, 2005.

caste, gender which remain with the individual throughout his/her life. As per world youth report (2003, p. 5) “youth, as a concept, varies from culture to culture and from one society to another”. Youth as a period of transition from childhood to youth involve some systematic rite of passage. It requires community action, and therefore it also has symbolic significance. Just with the participation in rites an individual gets a new status by recognition of society.⁶¹ Rituals that mark transition from childhood to youth are also present in complex societies but do not have clear boundaries as it existed in pre-industrial societies. Further Jodhka (2018) argues that in a technology-oriented urbanized world the ritual and culture continue to exist. Rituals also exist in legal terms such as the particular age of marriage, fighting an election, to get a license, etc. Further, he (2018, p. 2) argues that in each period particular connotations are attached to age groups. In traditional Indian society that had a conventional mode of economy, being old had an advantage than being too young. Being old is valued and they also have authority over young. Youth were dominated and controlled by the elders in traditional Indian society because they were considered immature.

Further as per world youth report (2003, p. 5) “the boundaries defining the transition from childhood to youth and from youth to adulthood are shifting, and the crossover into each new stage is now manifested in different ways than before”.⁶² According to Manning & Truzzi (1972), youth is a category that is given to one stratum of society by another to define social roles, norms, attributes, and meanings for those it is denoted. Adults in most of the societies hold privilege to give labels to young irrespective of its nature. Therefore, the category of youth comes into existence when defined by the generation of elders. Manning & Truzzi (1972, p. 12) further argue that multiple factors determine the category of youth such as social formation of society, division of labor, values, norms, roles, and expectations. The different attributes and features of youth such as freedom, the transition from youth to adulthood vary across societies. While elaborating on attaching the characteristics to youth Manning argues:

⁶¹ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/covercontentsoverview.pdf>. Page 5. Accessed on May 19, 2018.

⁶² Ibid.

“When and how the period occurs, and what psycho-social attributes are said to attach to youth, are closely associated with the link between the family and family roles and the requirements made of adults and adult roles” (Manning & Truzzi, 1972, p. 12).

Youth studies in social sciences have contextualized and shifted its focus in due course of time. According to Simonsen (2005, p. 7) in 21st century Europe there has been spread of multiculturalism, along with it there has also been a different point of concerns regarding youth in different period. In 1950’s concept of angry young man dominated the European literature and theatre, in 1960’s concern of society became criminal gangs of youth who were left on street by working parents. But in the 21st century, the focus of researchers in Europe has been on challenges faced by the youth of migrant parents as compared to the traditional norms of social interaction. In today’s context main concern in European society is related to the youth of migrant parents whose roots lie outside the European society.⁶³ There is a need for building trust in different parts of the world including in European society. As per world youth report (2003, p. 8), the number of youth who migrate from one country to another per year stands to be 120 million. World Programme of Action of Youth of the year 2000 and beyond have considered in their objective to highlight the social dimension of life and importance of community.⁶⁴ A systematic study on youth has been done initially by Eisenstadt attempting to outline the critical issues of youth. Analysis of it has been insufficient, so detailed discussion on youth is required. Next section elaborate on the concept of youth through the debate of biology-culture.

1.1. Understanding Concept of Youth through Debate of Biology-Culture

Youth can also be seen from the dimension of biology and culture. Youth is a biological phenomenon which is defined by society in cultural terms (Eisenstadt, 1972, p. 15). So it is one part and category of a broader cultural phenomenon “the

⁶³ See Jorgen Baek Simonsen “Introduction”, p. 7 in ed., book “Youth and Youth Culture: In The Contemporary Middle East”, 2005.

⁶⁴ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/worldyouthreport.pdf>. Page 8. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

varying definitions of age and of the differences between one age and another” (Eisenstadt, 1972, p. 15). Like other determinants and factors in human life age and differences in it also determine the human destiny. Eisenstadt (1972, p. 15) states that every individual becomes the member of different age groups in his/her lifetime by following the law of nature. In each of these stages, he/she has to fulfill some obligation and duties assigned to him in the form of roles and expectations by the members of his society through using his biological and intellectual abilities. Roles assigned to an individual vary at different stages of life for instance from the stage of childhood an individual turns into an adult and accept the role of father after that he turns to an old man. Eisenstadt describes the biological process and cultural variation in different societies as such:

“Although the basic biological process of maturation (within the limits set by such factors as relative longevity) are probably more or less similar in all human societies, their cultural definition varies from society to society, at least in details” (Eisenstadt, 1972, p. 15).

In all types of societies, biological age determines the social and cultural attributes of human beings by which social roles are allocated. Eisenstadt (1972, p. 16) argues regarding the cultural definitions of age and age differences that these types of definitions are result of the division of labor in society. There are multiple roles in society that are associated with the physical strength like military roles for which youth are considered to be fit, while youth are prevented from taking roles like decision making, economic independence, marriage etc. According to Eisenstadt (1972, p. 16), the cultural definition of age also helps in constructing an identity of a person himself. It helps to locate psychological needs, aspirations, the location of an individual in society and in finding a larger purpose and meaning in one’s life. Cultural definition helps people to shape their life roles and expectations. Individual fit themselves and other social actors of society into these roles and hopes to make sense of their life. To understand the attributes of one age group it is essential to have an understanding of the attributes of other age groups also. Therefore according to Eisenstadt “each definition of age must necessarily cope with the perception of time, and changes in time, of one’s own progress in time, one’s transition from one period of life to another” (Eisenstadt, 1972, p. 16). Along with differences in attributes

among different types of societies, there also exists some similarity in the form of a common point.

Eisenstadt (1972, p. 17) further states that no matter how much are the differences within the different types of societies, there is one focal point within the lifespan of an individual that is highlighted. That is period of youth which includes the period of transition from childhood to complete adult status who can be accepted as a full member of society. During this stage, an individual has passed the stage of childhood and is ready to take roles that are associated with adults in society. During this process, he is not acknowledged as an adult in society, but he is preparing himself for adulthood and roles associated with it.⁶⁵ The image and definition of age include the crucial attributes of age. It is at this stage when an individual's personality and behavior reach psychological maturity and develop self-control, and can successfully restrain him from multiple activities. Multiple changes take place at this stage in the life of an individual. First, the personality of an individual is clearly manifested, second young also encounter a challenge when they are expected to emulate some models in significant roles by adopting substantial norms, practices, and values of culture and community, third it is vital to integrate between individual and society, and fourth, is developing linkage between an individual's personality and societal. Cultural definitions describe this stage as a transitory phase.⁶⁶ As discussed above there are different challenges faced by youth at the stage of transition from childhood to adulthood.

As argued by Eisenstadt above that the social factors play an essential role in shaping youth, by taking advantage of it attempts are made by different political ideologies to manipulate youth for the benefit of their political agenda. According to Jorgen Baek Simonsen (2005) in the 20th century, many communist and fascist regimes were found to be involved in manipulating young men and women by inculcating their political ideology among the youth. The similar type of manipulation has also been seen in the modern Arab world where some regime has been

⁶⁵ See Eisenstadt "Archetypal Patterns of Youth", p. 17 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

manipulating youth by supporting the youth organizations.⁶⁷ In India also youth has been manipulated by their community leaders or elites for their political agenda and benefit, the work of Paul Brass (2005) shows the way elite in India manipulate the crisis, divert the agenda of future for their political interest. Simonsen (2005, p. 8) further argues that with the time as the concept of youth gained importance its acceptability as an autonomous category with its own norms, values and culture also increased. In the academic world there began studies to see how the social change in different ways is related to youth. In the decade from 1960's to 1970's Western world experienced a drastic social change brought on by the youth.

While further elaborating on the transition of youth that is a significant archetypal element of youth, Eisenstadt (1972, p. 19) argues that a primary attributes of the archetypal image of youth involve the transition from childhood to adolescence to complete adulthood. After that an individual acquires a personal identity, psychological independence then an individual develops self-control, and in the end, he integrates his own temporal transition with the general norms and images of society. So, therefore, the configuration of these attributes and elements of the archetypal image of youth differ from one type of society to another and also within society. Other types of social configuration can be best understood by a social organization of the period of adolescence. Mainly there are two determinants of social organization that shapes the period of youth. First, is that age and youth form the criteria in society according to which allocation of social roles, norms in the political and economic aspect of society takes place. Second, is when society constructs the organizations of the same age as 'youth club' or 'club for elders'. If role allocation in society takes place according to the criteria of age, then it will determine to a large extent to which age constitutes a component of a person's identity.⁶⁸

As discussed above the significance of age in allocating social roles in society is linked with the multiple aspects of social organization or composition and cultural orientation of society. First is a complex division of labor. If the nature of society is

⁶⁷ See Jorgen Baek Simonsen "Introduction", p. 8 in ed., book "Youth and Youth Culture: In The Contemporary Middle East", 2005.

⁶⁸ See Eisenstadt "Archetypal Patterns of Youth", p. 19 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

traditional and simple or part of it has a same kind within developed society then the basis for allocation of social, economic and political roles remain traditional on the basis of age. The socio-cultural circumstances that influence the age and youth groups differ from circumstances that determine age as a criteria for allocation of social roles.⁶⁹ So, therefore, the basis of role allocation varies on different factors that vary from one society to another. Similar approval can be seen in the work of Sudhir Kakar and Kamla Chowdhry (1970, p. 3) in their studies on urban Indian youth. They argue that youth has always been the crucial stage in the human life cycle. The biological maturity in an individual is accompanied by the specific psychological crisis that has to be resolved before an individual attains adulthood through psychological and social maturity. The fundamental attributes of youth period remain same throughout the history without significant differences. Biological maturity like puberty and way of individual's way of dealing with these changes are a-historical as well as cultural specific. But the basic concerns and attributes are universal to a large extent, cultural and historical factors also shape them.

There are differences between the basic attributes of youth in the traditional and modern societies. Eisenstadt (1972, p. 23) argue that elements of youth in traditional and primitive societies are in sharp contrast to that of the elements of modern societies. The basic archetypal elements of youth differ in modern society. Unlike traditional where, allocation of social roles is done by age while in the case of modern society, youth organization aims towards the weakening of age as a criterion in general and youth in particular. Every young generation seeks its identity, but as the phase changes, it can develop an ideological conflict with the older generation.⁷⁰ In traditional and primitive society the transition from youth to adulthood is not determined by different age groups instead this is replaced by the family and kinship groups that play an essential role in it. In these types of societies, the transition from childhood to adulthood is given by cultural norms, values, and expectations. While in modern societies the influence of age declines and new factors such as media, new cultural symbols start influencing the transition from youth to adulthood. Although in many modern societies the elements of primitive archetypal of youth still exist. As

⁶⁹ See Eisenstadt "Archetypal Patterns of Youth", pp. 19-22 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 22.

discussed above in this section Eisenstadt (1972, p. 13) argues that the category and definitions of youth are not merely biological but also social and cultural because:

“They are intimately related to the division of labor (the complex process by which people are assigned social roles), the process of identity formation, and the attribution of “primordial” qualities such as strength, vigor, powers, and so forth” (Manning & Truzzi, 1972, p. 13).⁷¹

While Manning & Truzzi (1972, p. 14) argue that there are multiple studies which substantiate the view that youth is a cultural phenomenon. The allocation of roles to an individual is done by society through which an individual makes sense of his life. They further argue that “neither age nor sex alone determines the patterning of adult roles; they are determined by the interaction of age and kinship, formal education, occupation, and community participation.” (Manning & Truzzi, 1972, p. 133). Norms adopted by an individual in his life have opted from society. But simultaneously the social construction of roles and norms of an individual cannot be done until the biological basis of an individual is taken into account. For example, a child who is not biologically mature enough cannot be allotted the role in military. Similarly, on the biological basis, only different attributes are related to the different stages of life. Subsequent section will analyze the attribute of idealist among youth.

1.2. Youth as Idealist

Kingsley Davis brings a different dimension to analyze the category of Youth. In his study which examines the difference between adults and youth gives vital information about the characteristics of youth. Kingsley Davis (1972) observes the difference between youth and adult, also emphasizes on the attributes of idealism and realism, etc. For him generally, adults are considered to be more realist and youth as an idealist. According to Kingsley Davis (1972, p. 96) young and old both associate the attributes of being visionary, pragmatic and truth with them. Even though old being conservative in their values holds believe in working ideals rather than utopian ideals. They tend to forget the poetic ideals of a new social order that they learned at

⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 15-17.

their young stage. Instead, they adopt the working ideals of the new social order. Due to belief of elders in the working ideals, they tend to incline towards the status quo ideology until there is an intervention of other social facts or there is an eruption of social crisis. As they grow they adopt the ideals as per their utility in practical life instead of opting for logical consistency.⁷²

Davis (1972, p. 97) further argues that the young are idealists for two reasons. First, is that they take working ideals seriously in their life and second, is that they adopt ideals that are not of full utility or operative in social organization. While on the other hand, those who are in authority over children are in a compulsion to inculcate the ideals in the form of official culture in next generation. Children are generally submissive because they do not have much social experience in their life as they are systematically kept away from an exposure and experience through the means of censorship with an aim to protect them. Therefore, as a result young people hardly embrace the acquired ideals and start showing resistance towards those ideals. While on the other hand, middle-aged persons, as opposed to youth, have plenty of balances in adopting ideals in their life. The subsequent section extends discussion to value conflict and its manifestation by youth through variety of behaviors.

1.3. Value Conflict and Youth Behavior

When the learned values and norms of youth differ from that prevails in society then it leads to conflict and under these conditions youth manifest themselves in a wide variety of behavior. Despite the social construction of youth norms, roles, expectations, etc. youth find their learned behavior and values in conflict with that of the social values at some stage of life. This leads an individual in the situation of confusion. These crisis or confusion is considered as the identity confusion. The concept of identity confusion⁷³, given by Erik H. Erikson indicates the uncertainty in the life of a young person for his role in society. An individual also experiences discontinuity between his past and future. And “subjectively, for a young person, this

⁷² See Kingsley Davis “The Sociology of Parent Youth Conflict”, p. 96 in ed., book “Youth and Sociology” by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

⁷³ Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York, 1968 Ch. IV.

means a feeling of fragmentation, of indecision, of being suspended in time, of being isolated from human contacts” (Kakar and Chowdhry, 1970, p. 4). This condition of identity confusion would be aggravated in future, and it would include a large number of young people in a historical period of rapid social change with the breakdown of traditional norms, values, authority, and roles. Crisis gets deepen in the absence of adult’s support for youth to search identity, accepted norms and guidelines for the transition period from childhood and maturity become blurred and contradictory. So in the backdrop of this youthful rebellion can manifest themselves with different degrees of violence, the need for independence can be great or small. Therefore, many universal factors of youth manifest themselves in a wide variety of behavior influenced by culture and historical factors.⁷⁴ The conflict of values and behavioral manifestation of it are caused by some of the factors that lead to stress among youth.

Discussing issues of stress and its relation with youth, Eisenstadt suggests that “the close linkage between the growth of personality, psychological maturation, and definite role models derived from the adult world has become greatly weakened” (Eisenstadt, 1972, pp. 23-24). Some of the significant stresses according to Eisenstadt (1972, pp. 23-25) involve: first, the biological maturity of body poses a constant problem for an individual, the social maturity fails to match the attained biological maturity, the biological changes that happen during the stages of puberty are not given a normative meaning. Further, the crisis gets widen because there is no legitimacy to the sexual relations formed during these stages. Second, the youth also face problem in internalizing the social values because children are raised in a segregation and protected environment. During childhood, youth are taught to be idealistic, but they find these idealistic values contradicting in real life. So, therefore, as a result, the adolescents face uncertainty and ambivalence towards an adult world. This ambivalence is manifested in efforts to communicate with an adult world and have its recognition. Then youth also oppose the norm of role allocation by the adults to them. Hence he emphasizes the difference emerging for youth as expected by an adult in rapidly transforming modern societies. The social transformation in modern societies has formed the new sequence of the basic archetypal elements of youth and its image In situations of value conflict youth attempts to develop autonomy in context of

⁷⁴ See Kakar and Chowdhry “Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society”, 1970, pp. 3-4.

choice and allocation of roles in society. Their attempts may differ in their priority on linking the cultural values to a particular social group and their belief in these social groups as an important holder of social values of society.⁷⁵

In a sharp conflict with their previous generations youth orient towards developing a counterculture to address the discontinuity face by them in society. According to Eisenstadt (1972, p. 384) counterculture is a culture developed by youth to accommodate an inconsistencies and stresses caused by the discontinuity between socialization, expectations and later experiences. Culture of today's youth is quite significant for its content. Appealing commitment to control their bodies' minds is very recent in urban youth. All these phenomena are also influencing to move youth from the world of ideas to the domain of experiential where their minds and bodies are under their control "The drug culture indicates the importance of expressive symbols and experience" (Manning & Truzzi, 1972, p. 384). By developing the control over their body youth attempt to claim their independence and autonomy.

Due to fast rate of social change old and young have acquired distinct types of social content. As a result, they have different social norms. There develops a problem with compatibility among parents and youth as they tend to dominate than follow. Therefore, they fail to understand the child's point of view. Social complexity as a result of rapid social change has created the 'anomie'⁷⁶ kind of situation and hence it leads to conflict among generations. Due to clear goals and realization of future among generations, parents build chaos in their mind in bringing up their children.⁷⁷ Rapid social change can also lead to change in a realization of historical meaning into family time span because of which children in a successive generation experience different content in socialization than their parents. As a result of all this develop an intrinsic differences among parents and youth. While extrinsic differences among the generation increase the chances of alienation.⁷⁸ Under these conditions youth

⁷⁵ See Eisenstadt "Archetypal Patterns of Youth", p. 25 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

⁷⁶ Anomie- According to Durkheim is the social condition when old norms have disappeared, and new norms are yet to develop.

⁷⁷ See Kingsley Davis "The Sociology of Parent Youth Conflict", p. 100 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 104-105.

experience conflict in values and manifest itself in a variety of behaviors in search of an alternative. Further subsection focuses on the generational conflict in context of youth.

1.3.1. Youth and Generational Conflict

To maintain the status quo is in the interest of those who have authority in society. The task of educational institutions in society is to contribute to an existing order of society. Theodore Roszak (1972, pp.40-41) argues that the purpose of universities in today's time is to produce the youngsters with the brain that technocracy needs. Making trouble in a campus is similar to creating trouble in most important sector of the economy. Moreover, once a single generation of youth starts raising their voice then soon the successive generations adopt the culture of being active in dissent and raising their voice. Very soon those who are in authority will find themselves drawn into an orbit of youth.⁷⁹ So, always there is an attempt by majority of the institutions of society to maintain the status quo by supporting the current social order.

Although there is an attempt by those who are in authority to maintain the status quo due to fast social transformation, there has been an increase in conflict between the generations. Multiple variables are responsible for this conflict. Most important is the rate of social change. The fast rate of social change in today's time initiates the change in social order that lead to increasing parent-youth conflict. Even a moment or incident can prove to be a turning point in the history of a society that can lead to a beginning of new era and can mark as a distancing point between one and the successive generations. Under such circumstances, the atmosphere of socialization of youth is entirely different from that of parents. Therefore parents become old-fashioned, and youth turns out to be rebellious, and clashes start

⁷⁹ See Theodore Roszak "The Making of Counter Culture", p. 41 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

occurring most frequently within the confined circle of family. That also generate sharp emotions.⁸⁰

Further Davis (1972, pp. 94-95) argues that rapid social change leads to conflict between parents and child because intrinsic differences lead to arising of extrinsic differences at the same stage of life from the differential cultural content by the successive generations. Logic of conflict between the parents and child is not only of the period but also of a content. Nature of the content that parents acquired at a particular age was utterly different from what their children are experiencing or learning at the same age. But the task of socialization of child has been associated primarily with parents in all types of society. In performing these responsibility parents apply the wrong content in relation to the time period. Parents commit this mistake because their basic orientation had developed with their experiencing of childhood. It is difficult for parents to transform themselves completely. They can change themselves only in a superficial manner. The logic behind this is that their experience has developed their social experience and view at the stage of childhood. To change the mode of thinking at the later stage of life is not an easy task for the generation of parents.⁸¹ To reach some consensus is significant for the functioning of society. Therefore, society attempts to develop an alternative for this problem.

Social order cannot exist until the conflict between generations of parents and children is not resolved. For this society develop different approaches to establish equilibrium in a society. Further, Davis (1972, p. 94) argues that most of the societies prevent the clash between an old and young by bringing sociological position as a diversion tactic and neutralizing agent. Society allocates different roles, responsibilities, and position to people of different ages. Thereby it helps in avoiding the competition for the same roles, emotions, jealousy, etc. The allocation of roles among young and old is done in such a manner that it becomes complementary to each other instead of being a point of conflict between the generations. The division of tasks and roles in a society is done in a way that it can serve the need of different generations of society. In modern society, the criteria for filling the position are that

⁸⁰ See Kingsley Davis "The Sociology of Parent Youth Conflict", p. 94 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.94-95.

of accomplishment instead of taking age as the criteria for it.⁸² It is important in modern society to do role allocation by specialization that fulfills the roles based on complementary. It is imperative to solve the conflict among the generations to avoid the risk of further social problems. After a long discussion on concept of youth in the above sections, subsequent section focuses on the conceptual challenges in youth studies.

1.4. Conceptual challenges in Youth Studies

There has not been any consensus among scholars in defining the concept of youth. While discussing the challenges in youth studies the work of Manning & Truzzi (1972, p. 3) describe that the conceptual category of youth is problematic and an approach of one size fits all shall not be used to study all types of societies. As discussed in the previous section youth is also a mirror reflection of society's norms, values, roles, expectation, and aspirations. While debating the conceptual challenges in youth studies, it becomes imperative to discuss the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's primary concern in his research on youth is to highlight the role of ideology in a society which makes the social differentiation between young and old. Elaborating the notion of youth Bourdieu (1993) argues that in the different time periods of varying society number of attributes and passions have been associated with the various stages of life such as love with adolescence, ambition to maturity and energy to youthfulness.

According to Bourdieu (1993, p. 94) the ideological acceptance of division among young and old in a society provide few things to the youth of society, in return, they are made to leave many more things to the elders of community. In one or the other way, they are prepared to accept the situation that they use their asset that is physical strength and refrain themselves from thinking or will to change. Bourdieu further argues that the similar kind of structure is visible in the division between sexes as women are restricted and kept away from many things in the society by the men. Bourdieu believes that the division between young and old is nothing but the division

⁸² Ibid, p. 96.

of power.⁸³ According to Bourdieu (1993, p. 94) the purpose of classification by age, sex, class, etc. is to develop an order to which people can abide by confining themselves in their place and limits. So that people refrain from engaging with things which lies in purview of elders. Bourdieu observes the relationship between youth and age as such:

“Youth and age are not self-evident data but are socially constructed, in the struggle between the young and the old. The relationship between social age and biological age is very complex. As one moves from the intellectuals to the managing director, so everything that gives a ‘young’ look — long hair, jeans, etc.— disappears” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 95).

Bourdieu mentions that all fields in the society such as fashion, sports, academia, and politics have their own rules and laws of aging. Therefore, to understand the logic behind the divisions of generations it is essential to know the rules and norms of functioning of the field. Bourdieu argues that:

“Age is a biological datum, socially manipulated and manipulable; and that merely talking about ‘the young’ as a social unit, a constituted group, with common interests, relaying these interests to a biologically defined age, is in itself an obvious manipulation. It’s the paradox identified by Pareto, who said that we don’t know when old age begins just as we don’t know where wealth begins. Indeed, the frontier between youth and age is something that is fought over in all societies” (Bourdieu, 1993, pp. 94-95).

After discussing the social and biological roles along with the division of generation, Bourdieu explains different categories of youth that are present in all the areas of existence. First, is the type of youth who is working and the second, is one who is a student in the same age group. The first one is economically independent and faces the challenges of an economic world while on the other hand, youth of same age who is student survives on the subsidized education, accommodation and food. So therefore according to Bourdieu, it is problematic to apply the youth as a term for a different section of masses who do not have any commonality among them. Sometimes people can have similarity just on the biological grounds and nothing else.

⁸³ See Pierre Bourdieu “Sociology in Question,” 1993, p. 94.

Bourdieu (1993, pp. 96-97) further argues that in some societies the working class's children oppose an increase in the school leaving age. That is so because they want to leave school early to work and attain the adult status. As in the view of society, it is crucial for them to earn money to keep up with peers, go out with boys and girls to be accepted or seen as the man.

While explaining the keen behavior of school going children to become a man, Bourdieu (1993, p. 99) highlights the role of school in the past as well as in today's time. In today's context school is not merely a place of learning but it also provides knowledge, qualifications, shapes and confers the aspirations. In comparison to the new schooling system, the old one created less confusion in the life of children. While the new school system with its complicated tracks made people have aspirations that are mismatch with their real-life chances.⁸⁴ Construction of aspirations and concerns among the successive generations of parents and children have been by the distribution of goods and life chances of obtaining the different goods. While showing the material difference among the generations Bourdieu argues that owning certain things was considered the matter of privilege in the generation of parents while the possession of same thing by the next generation may be a reasonable act. Something that was attained by a generation with a lot of efforts may be available to the next generation without any attempt at the same stage of childhood and still may not be considered as a matter of privilege. Most of the time, the basis of conflict among the generations is a worldview and systems of aspirations developed during the distinct time periods.⁸⁵

There are multiple causes of conflict among old and young, but the core issue is that of two distinct type of knowledge system that is the result of different schooling in different time periods. According to Bourdieu, all elders in society do not have an anti-youth mindset. Old age is also considered as social decline, and a loss of social power and even old age in comparison to youth is also characteristic of declining classes. The significant thing to be noticed here is that the opposition here is

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 97.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 99.

not among the young and old but between the two distinct types of education system and two different types of qualifications. Bourdieu further argues that:

“This opposition takes the form of conflict over classifications. Because the old cannot say that they are in charge because they are old, they will invoke the experience associated with seniority, whereas the young will invoke the competence guaranteed by qualifications” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 100).

The common thing among young people who have benefitted from the school system is that in an overall manner they have more qualification for a particular job in comparison to their previous generations. Similar kind of situation is also visible in the case of women. When a woman acquires a job after facing discrimination, women are always more qualified than men in equivalent positions.⁸⁶ Old has been pushing young people back towards youth similarly young also respond in pushing back old into old age. But during this process when the sense of limit is lost between young and old, it gives birth to conflict regarding age limits and limits between the ages. “In which what is at the stake is the transmission of power and privileges between the generations” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 101).

Work of various scholars discussed in the above sections shows that it is complicated to define the concept of youth on the social and biological basis. Applying the term youth for two distinct categories that do not have anything in common is problematic in the conceptual category of youth. The usage of term is contextual but reverberate few fundamental universalistic values as well. Therefore, one should be cautious while using the term youth. Next section provides the detail view on demographics of western and Asian countries.

2. Youth and Demographic Dynamics

Western world have started to face the problem of aging. While South Asian countries have an advantage of demographic dividend. Median age of South Asian countries that include (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal) falls in the

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 101.

age group of 21 to 31 years (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). While the median age of developed countries (that include the USA, UK, Germany, and France) falls in the age group of 37-44 years (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). In case of India two-third of its population is below the age of 35 years and one-third of its population is in the age group of 15-34 years (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). “The population of this young cohort rose from 353 million in 2001 to 422 million in 2011 and it is expected to increase further to 464 million in 2001 before it starts declining” (The Hindu, 2013).⁸⁷ The advantage of demographic dividend that India has is not going to remain forever, its median age is expected to rise from 25 to 30 years by 2025 and 39 by 2050 (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3). Therefore it is significant to understand the issues, challenges, and aspirations of Indian youth to utilise the rich demographic dividend of country before it turns into a liability. Next section begins with the sexuality, choices and issue of generational conflict in context of youth in India.

3. Indian Youth: Sexuality and Choices

Youth Study in India has responded to important question of culture-psychological negotiation in constructing the identities of youth. Scholars like, Sudhir Kakar and Kamala Chaudhary have done detailed work on Indian youth, the challenges and conflict involve in the formation of their identities and sexuality. Study was done in 1970 by Kakar and Chowdhry on Indian youth's sexuality, choices, and conflicts find that Indian youth questions, not much traditional orientation. According to Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, pp. 67-68) in case of Indian society, the institution of early marriage accompany condition of sexual maturity that could make heterosexual relationship possible. This made possible to follow rules of incest and reduce the tendency of homosexual affections to a large extent. They further argue that in Indian society the institution of early marriage and prostitution contributed towards sexual stability. Technological innovation in the society has increased the number of years of education required to cater to this innovation. It has also increased the time period of youth. Therefore, all these changes have raised the age of marriage

⁸⁷ Source- CSDS-KAS Youth Report, 2017, p. 3.

in the urban areas. But an alternative for institutions of early marriage and prostitution is yet to develop that could help in constructing sexual identity.

There has been increased in the co-education, the encounter between the youth of the opposite sex and friendship among them. Despite all this relation between the youth of opposite sexes is considered immoral and being objected.⁸⁸ According to Jodhka (2018, p. 6) the factors such as rise in the rate of literacy, increasing interaction among school, college, and university going youth have lead to the social interaction among different social groups and categories (opposite sex, castes, class, etc.). Therefore as a result of all these social circumstances, the sexual encounters take place within the boundaries of extended family involving nieces, cousins, aunts, etc. Instead of helping the young man to deal with rules of incest maturely, these sexual encounters within the boundary of extended family aggravate the feeling of guilt and shame that affect the development of adult sexuality. The manifestation of insufficient understanding and poor mastering of incest rules are evident among youth when they abuse each other by using the incestuous terms like ‘mother lover’ or ‘sister lover’. These are the examples of incestuous conflict that are yet to be mastered by the youth.⁸⁹ From very early stage of life through parents and other agencies of socialization various norms, notion and rules are inculcated in the mind of a child such as rules if incest, genitals are the shameful thing, and as a result of such type of socialization, children grow by taking these norms and words for granted.⁹⁰ In Indian society due to an absence of the emergence of new institutions to take the role of old institutions which are withering, youth face the challenges of developing sexual identity.

The pace of change in the sexual behavior of youth in Indian society is plodding in comparison to that of Western societies. Sudhir Kakar and Kamla Chowdhry (1970, p. 79) further argue that there is hardly any comparison in the sexual behavior of Indian youth and sexual revolution that has taken place in the Western societies. There cannot be denial regarding the changes that have taken place,

⁸⁸ See Kakar and Chowdhry “Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society”, 1970, pp. 67-68.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 70.

but that is too little in Indian society in the form of the pattern of choices of spouses for marriages. Arranged marriages are still preferred by the majority of young men especially in rural areas. CSDS-KAS (2016) youth report shows 84 percent of Indian youth prefer arranged marriages and only 6 percent prefer love marriages. Majority of arranged marriages and two third of the love marriages happen within the same caste, and social status.⁹¹ As per the CSDS, youth report (2017, p. 72) in 2007 80 percent of the youth respondents considered that it is important to get married in life while in 2017 report this preference among the youth reduced to 52 percent. Also, the survey reveals that in a decade there has been a decline in the married youth as evident in localities. This decline is evident more in rural areas in comparison to urban areas. As per report (2017, p. 66) in 2007 in rural regions of India, 61 percent of youth were married in the age group of 15-34 years, but in 2017 it has reduced to 52. While in urban regions it has been reduced from 46 to 40 percent in the period of 2007 to 2017. The possible reason for reducing the importance of marriage in the life of Indian youth be substantiated by world youth report (2003, p. 6) that when young people face unemployment, uncertainty and financial security in life they are likely to avoid a stable relationship, postpone marriage and having children in their life. Some time absence of economic opportunity can lead to youth engagement in illegal activities “such as drug trafficking, violent crime or gang warfare”.⁹²

Further Kakar and Chowdhary (1970) argue that goodness and badness are associated with women by their sexual behavior. The norm of virginity before marriage is still the preferred in case of both sexes and people are supposed to follow it strictly. Similar social and cultural attitude among Indian youth is shown by the CSDS-KAS (2017) youth report. Further report (2017, p. 51) reveals that on asking the question about women, it was found that response of 24 percent of the youth respondents was patriarchal and only 18 percent were found to be not patriarchal in their opinion. The patriarchal attitude of youth varies with the locality they live in. Youth survey (2017, p. 51) shows that 59 percent of youth living in rural areas of India have the patriarchal mindset, while this number is 52 percent in cities and least

⁹¹ Key findings of the Report are available at http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_48472-544-2-30.pdf?170508130556. Page 6. Accessed May 19, 2018.

⁹² <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/worldyouthreport.pdf>. Page 6. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

is 37 percent in big cities. Change in marriage and family life is a worldwide phenomena. On the change in the institution of marriage in India report (2017) reveals that 36 percent of Indian youth hold the opinion that inter-caste marriage is wrong and 45 percent of Indian youth have the view against inter-religious marriages. And the number of married youth in the age group of 15-34 years has declined in a decade from 54 percent in 2007 to 46 percent in 2017 (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, pp. 65-66). Similar patterns are shown by youth report (2017, p. 66) in case of women, that in the age group of 15-34 years percentage of married women has declined from 61 percent in 2007 to 59 percent in 2017.

Further report (2017, p. 54) reveals that in context of live-in relationships 67 percent of youth do not approve it, 53 percent of youth were found to be against the dating before the marriage, and 40 percent of youth are against the celebration of the Valentine's day. As discussed in detail through CSDS-KAS (2017) youth report the attitude of different generations have not changed much towards the sexuality due to unchanged norms and behaviors towards sexuality among generations with the time. Further Kakar and Chowdhry argue that:

“This absence of overt differences between the generations should not, however, obscure the existence of the greater pressures under which the young man's strivings for sexual maturity take place today” (Kakar and Chowdhry, 1970, p. 79).

It is significant to accommodate the changed sexual behavior of youth in Indian society. The changed sexual behavior is the result of technological innovation, increasing educational attainment, urbanization and due to content in different types of media. According to Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, p. 79), there has been an increased stimulation of sexual impulses among youth of Indian society in comparison to earlier generations. Mainly through the erotic content of movies, widespread circulation of pornographic substance, increased encounter among the youth of opposite sex. This is the reality of life mainly in urban centers of country. The increased stimulation of sexual impulses in society simultaneously with the absence of an appropriate channel to address this issue has caused the psychological stress and tension among youth. Consequences of these stress and anxiety are manifested in different areas of youthful activities, and mental life needs to be studied

by the scholars. At present these are just the questions that can only be raised and not answered. To understand changes that have happened at the level of sexual behavior of youth in Indian society further research is required. Subsequent section extends discussion from sexuality and choices among Indian youth to issue of generational conflict among Indian youth.

3.1. Indian Youth and Generational Conflict

Along with the crisis of sexual identity, youth in India face the challenges to be autonomous from the parents. Parents bring an emotional obligation in between the attempts made by their children to gain independence. Kakar and Chowdhry (1970) argue that parents shape the decisions of Indian youth in their lives to a large extent. Further, they say that parents attempt to keep their children dependent on them even at the stage of youth. Excessive love expressed by the parents hides their desire to keep the youth of their next generation as a child. This shows that it is not only the children who need parents but also parents need children for their emotional satisfaction. An important point in the relationship between parent and children is that parents need their children in the form of a child and not as a youth. By keeping their son emotionally, economically and psychologically dependent on parents is an attempt to keep him dependent on them at stage of youth as he was in childhood and infancy. Parents meet the different attempt by their son to be independent in various aspects of life in such a manner that going away for him becomes either difficult or impossible. Any refusal or disagreement by the youth for an emotional obligation is considered as his negligence for dependency as well as love and affection he has got during the childhood from his parents. Any disobedience that is required for a maturity leads youth into excessive anxiety, stress, and guilt. Youth is left with a single choice to develop himself into a 'conflicted behavior'.⁹³ Experience of parents that has developed from the content is different than what their children face in today's context. This makes for parents difficult to understand the situation of youth in next generation.

⁹³ See Kakar and Chowdhry "Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society", 1970, pp. 111-112.

To maintain dependency of their children on them, parents move to build the psychological condition of their children. Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, p. 112) highlight that a lot of parents even go further and hamper the growth and development of their children by demanding youth to justify them as their parents. Also by asking youth to fulfill the unfulfilled needs and desires of their life. The statements like: “I want my son to be more successful than me”, “I ask him to work hard so that he can go high in his life”, “I force him to study because I never get the chance to study” are all statements that show the worry, care, love and affection parents have for their children. This becomes the heavy burden on the shoulders of youth as they are youth is already struggling at this stage with the psycho-sexual conflict. On another hand, youth gets the pressure and burden to develop their own separate identity than their parents. Desire to have a distinct identity adds to burden on youth who has to struggle till the late period of life in the capitalist mode of economy.

Further Kakar and Chowdhary (1970, p. 112) argue that if an ultimate responsibility of a man is to achieve his deep down desire that is even assisted by the teachers and parents. Then this assistance according to Sudhir Kakar is negligible, and the career choice by youth are dictated and determined by their elders according to their values, norms, beliefs, and preferences that are hardly allowed to question. Sometimes this dictation shown by the elders to youth can be accompanied by love and concern or may not be, but they always dictate it in one or other way. Despite some social, economic and political transformation in Indian society youth have failed to achieve autonomy in decision making, and career choice, etc. So, there is a necessity to make youth more independent to build a progressive and innovative society.

Indian society has experienced the rapid social, economic and technological transformation. It has impacted Indian society in multiple dimensions. Generational conflict is visible in organizations as well as in institution of family. Patriarchal authority has declined with the passing of time in Indian society (Jodhka, 2018, p. 2). Increasing literacy through formal education and social transformation has created the opportunity for an individual agency for youth. As a result, they claim their

independence and freedom to make choices in other aspects of life than the occupation and career.⁹⁴ As per world youth report (2016, p. 11) key periods characterized by the transition from youth to adulthood that is “economic independence, political involvement, and participation in community life”.⁹⁵ Further world youth report (2003, pp. 7-8) mentions that to gain independence is an important objective of youth for this youth require a solid social structure to have growth and stability. Therefore, society and elders should be to support life process between childhood and adulthood. Further the report mentions that:

“Becoming independent is one of the most significant aspects of youth; moving from the childhood home to one’s own place, letting go of one’s parents and acquiring a spouse, and making choices after one’s compulsory education regarding continuing education and/or career moves are all part of one of the most dramatic life changes a person experiences”.⁹⁶

On economic engagement, world youth report (2017, p. 27) mentions that the transformation of work sphere is a significant stage in young people’s lives. It enhances the chances of independence, application of academic learning, provides an opportunity to prove individual’s potential regarding productivity earning, job and career. As per various youth reports the definition of youth as the period of transition from dependence to independence relates to all societies and could serve as one of the fundamental principles of Indian government policies on youth. Further Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, p. 124) argue that if Indian society ignores the rate at which the obsolescence of its knowledge, ideas, skills, and the information is getting outdated, then it will lead society towards the generational conflict. Obsolescence here signifies the context which means distancing from the past and enthusiastically accepting the new ideas, thoughts, and ways of doing things. As a result of it, there has been the clash between ideas and beliefs of different generations. Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, p. 124-125) highlights in their study on Indian youth that the fast-changing and expansion of knowledge along with information in different fields such as technical,

⁹⁴ See Jodhka, “The Youth Bulge”, 2018, p. 2.

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf . Page 11. Accessed on June 9, 2018.

⁹⁶ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/worldyouthreport.pdf>. Page 7. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

management and science have developed problems for society and its various institutions. As a result of it young men who were useful for their societies and their communities from an early age of life like from twelve to sixteen now they have to wait till the age of twenty-five to thirty and sometimes, even more, to acquire expertise in the field of medical science and academics. Further report explains the possible reasons for late marriage among Indian youth as such:

“The demands of modern based economy entail placing greater focus on one’s career and aspiring for fast-paced professional mobility. This may require postponing the immediate need to get married” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 67).

Sometime, youth continue to depend on their parents for their day to day basic needs. Earlier acquiring knowledge with a particular skill was enough for a whole life. In traditional agricultural societies where the nature of economy was labor intensive. It demanded long experience and wisdom so due to it elders of society could gain dominant and authoritarian position in society. The same also stands true for business organizations of the past.

In today’s time, youth is living in an environment of rapid technological and social change. Due to rise in literacy rate and expansion of non-farm economy, a large number of youth moves to urban areas to gain higher education and in search of employment. As a result, they experience varieties of socio-economic changes. Through education modern values of secularism, equality and rationality are inculcated in the successive generations. Due to increase in literacy competition for scarce resources in Indian society have increased. Majority of these youth are first generation learner to have higher education, but sadly a large number of them faces unemployment due to their high aspirations it is difficult for them to accept failure to secure good jobs and fulfill their newly felt needs. So, therefore, they are more vocal than their parents and do not hesitate to raise their demands and fight for their rights. Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, pp. 4-5) have called it the revolution of rising expectation. The significance of youth aspirations will continue because of the rise of higher education, increasing white-collar jobs and different educational stratum (Flacks, 1972, p. 384). Rising aspirations have also raised the expectation of youth from their life.

Failure of youth to fulfill their expectation creates resentment among them. Also, generational conflict in Indian society has created crisis. Kakar and Chowdhary (1970, p. 8) argue that crisis in society have resulted into authority crisis in the society which means that our family, political, social and educational institutions are losing their authority to compliance our youth. These institutions are losing their compatibility with the changing aspirations and choices of youth. Authority crises are evident in the society from the violence on the streets, university campuses and in four walls of homes. Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, p. 21) further elaborate that older generations firmly hold an opinion that the present generation of young people does not have great ideals and agenda. While on the other hand, their generation at the stage of youthfulness had a more significant task like independence through which they could manifest their energy. But these days' youth manifests their energy through violence and riots.

While some believe that current generations of youth grow without experiencing the idealism and pride of patriotism that generations in the era of independence could learn. Adoption of Western values has diminished importance of traditional values like faith in religion and accepting others view with calmness. Educational system has failed to utilize and shape the energy of youth in today's context.⁹⁷ An act of violence by youth is determined by factors such as vacuum created by historical transition and the way youth imagines morals, principles, and integrity of the older generations. Kakar and Chowdhry (1970) further argue that higher the 'betrayal' or the 'hypocrisy' on behalf of older generations the more the violent behavior manifestation by youth. This rejection will be more than the developmental rejection experienced by their parent's generation in their youth. Therefore, the fundamental basis of student agitation on multiple issues seems to be the rejection that is much more than mere 'generational conflict'.⁹⁸ India has been changing from a simple and stable rural society. Its 31.6 percent population lives in urban areas.⁹⁹ Pattern of family is also shifting from joint to nuclear. The educated

⁹⁷ See Kakar and Chowdhry "Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society", 1970, p. 21.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 22.

⁹⁹ See census 2011, Government of India. Source - <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-series/C-14.html>.

youth in rural as well as in urban challenge the traditional authority where elders were in charge. There has been a change in an average age of marriage in Indian society. The sex taboos are breaking in urban society. The competition for socio-economic status has also increased. Due to proximity to Delhi, the changes have been adopted very fast in north Indian states. All these changes in Indian society have increased the parent-youth conflict and youth uprising.

Economic and technological change has led to the replacement of experience by the expertise. The old beliefs based on the traditional culture and wisdom of patriarchal society has to be changed. If society succeeds in this direction, it will not be the older generation, but the new economic system will make it imperative for the society that demands to be advanced and updated in the field of technology.¹⁰⁰ Sudhir Kakar and Kamla Chowdhry (1970, p. 51) mention that as more and more young men move from rural to urban in search of jobs, for higher education and become part of an urbanized mainstream, experience the conflict and anomalies in the changing society. Moreover, rapid social change in the country after macroeconomic changes in 1990's have given the children a different content of socialization that is entirely different from that of their parents had acquired at the same age so this lead to intrinsic differences, and alienation between generations. This general trend is heading towards conflict between generations. Therefore, according to Kakar and Chowdhry youth problem particularly the question of sexuality, intergenerational conflict over consensual values emphasizes for the future researchers to look cultural dynamics profoundly in social institution (family). The subsequent section focuses on higher education, mobility, and discrimination in higher education to enhance the understanding in context of Indian youth.

4. Indian Youth: Emerging Scenario in Education and Mobility

Post liberalization in India, youth studies has focused more on issues of caste inequality, social mobility and question of social justice. In this context, some crucial researches have done to generate insight from below (marginalized groups). We will

¹⁰⁰ See Kakar and Chowdhry, "Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society", 1970, p. 125.

first discuss a general picture of contemporary youth situation in India. Following it, the essential sociological work will be discussed. In India, 58% of the total population is aged below 29 years.¹⁰¹ As per CSDS-KAS (2017), youth report youth population in India is as such:

“In India, about two-thirds of its population is aged below 35 years, and about one-third falls in the age group of 15-34 years. The population of this young cohort rose from 353 million in 2001 to 422 million in 2011, and it is expected to increase further to 464 million by 2021 before it starts declining” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 3).

According to Peter Ronald deSouza et al. (2009), India is at the peak of its demographic dividend. It is an excellent opportunity for the society to convert the unharnessed resource into an asset.¹⁰² There is a tremendous need for the job creation in country to absorb the new workforce of youth population. As discussed in the second chapter, according to Vivek Kaul workforce of one million enters in the country's job market every month.¹⁰³ In the coming years, jobs have to be created to absorb such a sizeable emerging workforce in the country. If the government fails to utilize such a large youth positively in the interest of nation, then it can pose a severe challenge for society. In the coming decade's youth population in a vast country like India is going to pose severe problems for the government. The demand for rights, education, freedom and the most important challenge is of employment for youth stands in front of Indian government. As it is a well-proven fact that unemployed youth can easily be manipulated and they can be diverted from their future goals. As per world youth report (2016, pp. 16-18) mentions that the impact of factors like unemployment, lack of excess to labor rights and social services have a negative impact of youth engagement in long term. All these conditions can have their consequences on development and social inclusion in society. To further understand the issues of youth systemically it is very important to bring the attention of academic work on the issues of youth in Indian society.

¹⁰¹ See census 2011, Government of India. Source- <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-series/C-14.html>.

¹⁰² See Ronald deSouza et al., “Transforming Youth in a Transforming World: Attitudes and Perceptions,” 2009, p. XIV.

¹⁰³ Article “Viewpoint: India's budget sells dreams for votes” by Vivek Kaul. Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42900194>.

As mentioned above that in India 58 percent of the population is aged below 29 years of age.¹⁰⁴ Mere numbers do not answer the aggressive attitude of contemporary youth. Youth realize the strength of their numbers which has never been before. Another reason is in comparison to past today's youth fights for their rights and autonomy. There are multiple factors responsible for the age consciousness like an expansion of higher education in the country.¹⁰⁵ Youth equal or below the age of 24 years account for 40 percent of the world's population.¹⁰⁶ As per the report (2003, p. 2), young people are more educated than they were in the past still there are 133 million illiterate young people throughout the world. For further insights in the context of education in India in the next sub-section the literature related to caste discrimination in Indian higher education will be discussed because education is an essential factor that determines the life of youth because it is an essential medium of mobility.

4.1. The Issue of Caste Discrimination in Indian Higher Education

There has been an expansion of higher education in India, but inequality continues to exist in Indian higher education. NSSO data shows that Hindu upper castes account for almost 37% of urban India population (Satish Deshpande, 2006, p. 2439). In different streams of education, they hold the share of about 66% of all non-technical subject graduates, more than 65% of medical graduated and 62% in agricultural sciences. He further argues that holistically the Hindu upper castes that account for near about one-third of the total population holds two-third of professional and higher education degree.¹⁰⁷ According to Satish Deshpande (2006), the worse affected among all are the Hindu SC's. They account for 13 percent of the urban population, but their presence is less than 4% in most of the fields of higher education

¹⁰⁴ See census 2011, Government of India. Source- <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-series/C-14.html>.

¹⁰⁵ The rapid growth of the college population is an international phenomenon, with Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Czechoslovakia (among the developed countries) equaling or surpassing the increase of the United States.

See Theodore Roszak "The Making of Counter Culture" in ed., Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972, p.40.

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/worldyouthreport.pdf>. Page 2. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Satish Deshpande, "Exclusive Inequalities: Merit, Caste, and Discrimination in Indian Higher Education Today," 2006, p. 2439.

and about 2% in engineering and medicine. To understand an unequal division of numbers in higher education we need to discuss the features of higher education.

The following discussion will highlight the importance of conceptualizing youth in synchronization with nature of social stratification in Indian society (caste inequality) for better optimizing the institutional targets of modern democratic India. It is significant to understand the features of higher education to understand an existing disparities in higher education. Satish Deshpande (2006, p. 2440) explains that services of healthcare, primary education that are considered the basic needs of citizens, higher education do not fall under the category of fundamental rights of a citizen. Anyone by his/her background cannot claim that he has the right to become a doctor, engineer or bureaucrat. As per the norms of fairness, everyone has the right to aspire for these statuses. These criteria make higher education a selective field. Always there will be more aspirants than those can be accommodated for higher education.

Elites (majority from the upper caste) have less interest in the country's schooling system (Deshpande, 2006, p. 2441) As long ago they began to send their children to foreign countries for general undergraduate education. Deshpande argues that middle class (that is the mix of all the upper caste, but majority caste groups belong to the upper strata of the status hierarchy) hardly has any interest in state-owned schools, but they still have interest in the state-owned higher education institutions (colleges and universities). But the elite institutions of country: IITs, IIMs and AIIMS are in high demand by everyone from country's topmost elite to most miserable at the bottom because these institutions offer credentials that are encashable in the 'first world' at the 'third world' prices. Trained people from these institutions hold the credential in himself/herself that is easily portable in any part of the world and this accumulated capital in the form of 'credential or skill' is also encashable. So from this credentialed individual the society that has invested in these individuals may or may not gain necessarily.¹⁰⁸ He further elaborates:

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 2441.

“That is why unlike primary or secondary or even general tertiary education, institutions of specialized and professional education are being subjected to enormous political and social pressure” (Deshpande, 2006, p.2441).

According to many scholars, education has been a fast medium of change, and it has also played a significant role in bringing change in the youth population of India. The problem of higher education policy is that it perceives educational resources for youths in the monolithic category, but Indian society is stratified and unequal on the basis of caste which affects the educational institutions resources and outcome resulting in discrimination among youth to achieve social mobility.

5. Unemployment Challenges Among Youth

Approximately one million job seekers enter the job market in India every month.¹⁰⁹ In the year 2014 around 73 million people in the world were unemployed that is 13 percent of total young people in the world (World Youth Report, 2016, p. 28). Further report mentions that as per International Labour Organization, near about 600 million jobs have to be created for youth in the coming decade to absorb currently unemployed youth and 40 million youth joining labor market each year (World Youth Report, 2016, p. 28). Therefore, in the coming years, jobs have to be created in India to absorb such a sizeable (one million employment seeks every month) emerging workforce in the country. If the government fails to utilize such a large youth positively in the interest of nation, then it can pose a severe challenge for society. In the coming decades demand for rights, education, freedom, and the most important challenge is of employment for youth stands in front of the government. As it is a well-proven fact that unemployed youth can easily be manipulated and diverted from their goals. Unemployment and absence of social services have negative impact on youth engagement in long term (World Youth Report, 2016, pp. 16-18). Next section involves a detailed discussion on youth political participation.

¹⁰⁹ Article “Viewpoint: India's budget sells dreams for votes” by Vivek Kaul. Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42900194>.

6. Youth and Political Participation

Political participation is a significant characteristic of the period that involves the transition of youth to adulthood.¹¹⁰ As per world youth report (2016, p. 12) factors of socio-economic and political environment that prevails in society has a significant impact on youth engagement. Therefore, youth hold high significance in the political domain of culture. Further world youth report (2016, pp. 63-64) suggests that youth participation in the institutional political process at a level of policymaking is low throughout the world. As per youth population of world, their representation in political structures, parliament, at a significant position in political parties and electoral activity is not enough and less in proportion to their numbers.¹¹¹ One of the significant reasons behind low youth participation in politics is the law that regulates youth participation by setting the age limit. In most countries, the minimum age required to contest for parliament election is twenty-five years or more than that.¹¹² Further report (2016, p. 64) mentions that the youth population in the world is 1.2 billion. Despite the fact, their numbers of youth remain to be excluded from the formal political process. Exclusion of vast section of society (youth) from political process raises the question on the legitimacy of political system. Youth participation in the electoral process have declined in the previous decades (World Youth Report, 2016, p. 64). Further, the report shows that voter turnout is lower among youth than the older population and young people are less interested in gaining the membership of political parties. Moreover, youth below the age of 35 are seen in decidedly fewer numbers at the top leadership of political parties throughout the world.¹¹³ Further, as per various international reports and publications by “United Nations Development Programme and Inter-Parliamentary Union, only around 5 percent of parliamentarians

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf
. Page 12. Accessed on June 6, 2018.

¹¹¹

http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf
. Page 64. Accessed on January 16, 2018.

¹¹²

http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf
. Page 63. Accessed on June 7, 2018.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 64.

are under the age of 35, with figures ranging from to just 2 percent in Northern America to more than 10 percent in Africa”.¹¹⁴

According to Peter Ronald deSouza et al. (2009, p. IX), youth in case of India shows the opposite trend in comparison to the global trend of decline of interest in politics. Indian youth show a high level of interest in politics without any drop in it across the generations. The study shows that youth in India hold high trust in democracy, “educational levels and media exposure appear to influence their reflections on democracy and politics” (Peter Ronald deSouza et al., 2009, p. IX). Further, CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 35) youth report reveals that there has been an increase in the number of youth in India who have interest in politics to 51 percent which was 37 percent in 1996 CSDS survey and 46 percent Indian youth have no interest in politics. Elaboration for the high level of interest by youth in politics in India against the global trend of the decline can be what Craig Jeffrey (2012, p. 33) mentions in his work in Meerut district in UP. Jeffrey (2012) argues that Jats in Meerut believe in the ideal of the nation-state. They perceive state as the resource provider, and are keen to shape the local state. Jeffrey (2012, p. 33) also mentions the recent research by Cohn (2004) in Morocco that global middle class dissociates themselves from the state in view to have a global identity. That is the opposite of what Jeffrey highlights in the case of youth in India. Further CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 20) report highlights that with the increasing liberalization and privatization of Indian economy “the expectations from the state in terms of its perceived capacity to create jobs have only grown” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 20). Share of government jobs in future is expected to fall in the economy, but aspirations for government jobs have increased in the last decade. Further report (2017, p. 20) suggests that agitations by Jats in Haryana, Patels in Gujarat and Marathas in Maharashtra are manifestations of job crisis that is increasing in the country.

In case of Indian political system, one of the reasons behind high significance of youth is that a large number of them are first-time voters in elections (Jodhka, 2018, p. 9). It is easy to attract youth towards a particular ideology. Due to their high energy level youth are always ahead in mobilizations and protests. They have the

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 72.

potential and capacity to make protest or mobilization successful.¹¹⁵ According to Jodhka (2018, p. 11), last decade in Indian politics had been turbulent. There was mass mobilization on the issue of corruption. Youth participated in it in large numbers. Also, there has been an emergence of youth leaders in the state of Gujarat and UP from the Dalit and traditionally dominant agrarian community. These young leaders represent aspirations from the ground. Further CSDS-KAS (2017) youth report mentions that there has been a high participation of youth in protests by agricultural communities such as Jats in Haryana, Patels in Gujarat and Maratha in Maharashtra for the demand of reservation. A large number of youth in India who are oriented towards politics than those who are inclined towards particular political parties. This shows there is a space for an alternative political imagination in Indian society. Youth keep on searching the channel to manifest their dissatisfaction regarding social setting around them. As per the world youth report (2016, p. 64), a great medium for showing a discontent from the political establishment by youth is that of protests and demonstrations.

World youth report (2016, p. 70) substantiate the view that worldwide youth have used the protest as a medium to challenge the existing political structures and authority. Report mentions that in the past youth had successfully redefined their role in governance.¹¹⁶ Further, report substantiate the argument that there is evidence that failing of society to successfully include youth in the building of political institutions can result in disappointment and resentment among youth. Therefore, it can accelerate conflict and protest by young population of society. Further, there is a view that emphasize to look at youth dissatisfaction through social context.

Psychoanalyst Kakar and Chowdhry (1970) argues that the roots of protest are linked to the childhood of an individual and are therefore, determined by an individual's relation with his/her parents to a large extent. For psychoanalyst protest by youth is the cry and anguish of his/her childhood whose wishes or desires have been suppressed. The cry is louder and full of pain than the protest by adult who

¹¹⁵ See Jodhka, "The Youth Bulge," 2018, p. 9.

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf
. Page 70. Accessed January 16, 2018.

experiences similar anguish and frustration in the later period of life. With the time protest gets silent because an individual become aware of the reality around him. He starts to understand others who come in the way of his uninhibited realization of pleasure. But, youth is the period when an individual's childhood anguish, conflict, and feelings reappear again. The frustration and protest of childhood that was suppressed by the authority of parents and elders reappears once again on the surface. This repeated feelings and desires get manifested in the form of protest against the whole generation of elders.¹¹⁷ It is difficult to suppress deep down desires of childhood. Nevertheless, such analysis remains limited in highlighting the role of social context in shaping the youth resentment in public spaces.

Another medium of resentment than protests and demonstrations is revolution. In case of revolution, complete attention is diverted from an individual's past to existing social condition in the present. Its primary objective is to spread awareness about the reality and emancipation from the conflicts and denial of childhood phase. Its existence does not depend upon an unaware individuals past but on the conscious social present. It is not oriented towards an oppression in childhood by parents but towards oppression by the society. According to Kakar and Chowdhry (1970, p. 12), the categories of protest and revolution are abstract entities. Most of the vocabulary that is used to describe unrest can be denoted by one or other of these two categories. Protest and revolution are a significant category to enhance an understanding of student unrest.

In today's context, social media has emerged as a significant platform for youth participation. Use of social media has changed the dimension of protests and demonstrations. As per world youth report (2016, p. 67) in the last decade, social media and other web-based tools have also played a significant role in boosting the young people participation in protest and mobilization on various political and social issues. Through the social media such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and social media platforms information regarding protest at one place can spread throughout the world within a short span of time. That can trigger protests and demonstrations to

¹¹⁷ See Kakar and Chowdhry "Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society," 1970:12.

other parts of the globe.¹¹⁸ A large number of youth are connected throughout the world with the help of broadband. Social media has extended the reach and presence of youth in the world. World youth report suggests the number of youth connected through broadband as such:

“The Broadband Commission for Digital Development notes that while 3.2 billion people (43% of the global population) were connected in 2015, Internet is only accessible to 35% of people in developing countries. Moreover, 90% of people in the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) do not have access to any kind of Internet connectivity. Ensuring the active inclusion and involvement of “unconnected” youth as the “connected” world forges ahead remains an important challenge”.¹¹⁹

Increasing internet connectivity has changed the scenario to a large extent. It has increased the reach of youth from the local to global level. The issues related with women and youth rights attract worldwide attention. Increasing internet connectivity and use of social media have impacted the political participation of youth in a significant manner.

Some scholars find it problematic to attach a specific attribute to youth to have a universalistic picture of youth. It would be a mistake to hold the views that youth movements are historically new and youth are naturally of rebellious nature or idealistic (Flacks, 1972, p. 326). Multiple studies show that some segment of youth are inclined towards revolt, protesting social wrong, they are tempted towards new ideas and are ready to take direct actions in the line of ideas. But, it is not correct to hold the view that attributes of rebellious, experimental, and idealistic behavior are general characteristics of young people.¹²⁰ So, youth cannot be defined by a few characteristics.

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf. Page 67. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ See Richard Flacks “Social and Cultural Meanings of Student Revolt: Some Informal Comparative Observations”, p. 326 in ed., book “Youth and Sociology” by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

Flacks review two sociological perspectives to understand student revolt. First is the Marxian theory “that emphasizes the role of class as the revolutionary agencies, has a difficult time assimilating student revolutionary action” (Flacks, 1972, pp. 326-327). He argues that the Marxian theoretical framework was created to understand case increase in revolutionary movement in contemporary society. But according to Flacks (1972) Marxian theory is not sufficient to follow an account of movements in advanced industrial society because of two reasons: (a) is that students do not form a class of their own, and (b) students have the class positions, but some of them belong to privileged strata as well. While in some of the stable developed industrial society as America, the students involved in protests and revolts belong to the families that are economically well off and have high status. Similar pattern is also visible in other countries as well (Flacks, 1972, p. 326). Hence, Marxian perspective is to understand student unrest mainly in the developed nations and elite or prestigious institution throughout the world.

The second theoretical framework that Richard Flacks analyze is that of Parsons. Parsons framework emphasizes less on the revolutionary aspect of student and youth movement and more on their functional characteristics. Crucial thing about Parsons and Eisenstadt is the formation of different groups or movements among persons at the same stage in life-cycle (Flacks, 1972, p. 327). These groupings are understood as the result of the differentiation of family from an occupational structure. This result into a sharp inconsistency between the norms and values that prevail in the family and in society at large. “As youth move out of the family and experience such discontinuities, major problems of socialization are created by the necessity for them to successfully orient toward occupational role” (Flacks, 1972, p. 327). Solution to these types of the problem lies neither with the family nor with institutions of formal schooling. Such problems can be solved with the help of institutions that can mix features of family life and that of an occupational structure as well. “Youth groups, youth culture, and youth movements serve this function of aiding the transition to adulthood by combining relations of diffuse solidarity with universalistic values” (Flacks, 1972, p. 327). Therefore, it is vital for the society and government to support the youth organization to address youth problems.

Further contextualizing, Richard Flacks (1972) argues that Parsons and Eisenstadt's perspective of student movements are more common in the societies where the traditional institution, norms, and authority are losing their significance or are disintegrating due to the process of industrialization. In these types of societies, there is an increasing trend of Western ideas, culture, and process of modernization but families over there continue to stick to traditional norms and customs. On the other hand, in industrial societies, the political, as well as parental authorities, are supportive of change and modernity.¹²¹ Despite this, the discontinuity between family and occupational roles in developed industrial societies may not face the similar intense cultural conflict experienced by the developing countries.

Generally, there are widely accepted belief that in developing countries there is an overproduction of educated youth. Also, the availability of jobs for the educated youth is not in match with training, expectations, and aspirations that they have attained through their educational qualification. Therefore, the prevailing unemployment along with rising frustration due to high aspirations leads to politicization of educated youth in these types of societies.¹²² The nature of political authority in developing societies is authoritarian. Also, political authority in these societies creates a conflicting situation for young students. On the one hand, they believe in an expansion of education and the university system in country with an aim to have technological innovation. While on the other side political regime in these societies suppresses social, cultural and political freedom that is naturally related to the expansion of higher education and technological innovation. Under these types of circumstances, youth enters into conflict with the state and other institutions that are related to political authority in society. More the people in political authority are rigid, and in conflicting relation with democratic, liberal and modern values, and ideas there will be more chances of student protests and movements. That will develop a culture of student activism that is against the people in political authority of a society.¹²³ Another factor according to Flacks (1972) that lead students in developing societies towards protest is the quality of life they live in universities. Living and working conditions in these universities are entirely below the required level. Student-teacher

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 328.

¹²² Ibid, pp. 328-329.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 329.

ratio and quality of education are weak. Necessary infrastructure and facilities are also inadequate. Also, when young people feel that their grievances are not addressed, and they are ignored in governance, it may lead them to violence and other extreme activities.¹²⁴

Further, Flacks argues that factors like cultural disintegration, overproduction of educated youth, poor quality of life in the universities and education institutions result into creation of autonomous student movements in the developing countries (Flacks, 1972, pp. 329-330). These independent student movements in developing societies lack the support of other oppositional forces in society. There is an absence of coordination between groups like farmers, women and different marginalized strata in developing nations. While in the case of the young student's high degree of interaction and being idealistic in life make it only strata in the society that begin the process of opposition against the established political authority. Another advantage that students have is of political freedom in comparison to other groups in society. There are various factors behind political freedom available to young students. (a) Most of the activist in universities comes from an elite background, loftier status families and students are also considered as future of society. (b) Universities have autonomy, so an invasion of police inside the university campus is illegitimate. Due to the freedom available to young student groups in society and protection available to them against the use of force makes them the vital strata of society. Therefore, the use of force against students has potential to discredit regime in political authority. Other advantages that lead to an autonomous oppositional young student movements and protests in comparison to other groups are that students have more opportunities to interact with other students.¹²⁵ Large number of students are concentrated in a particular locality and they have freedom of expressing their political views that contribute towards an independent young student movements as discussed above. In developing, societies students have to struggle for their basic rights and facilities. The

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf . Page 64-65. Accessed June 8, 2018.

¹²⁵ See Richard Flacks "Social and Cultural Meanings of Student Revolt: Some Informal Comparative Observations," pp. 329-330 in ed., book "Youth and Sociology" by Peter K. Manning & Marcello Truzzi, 1972.

entire scenario discussed above helps us to understand why student movements and protest are such a natural phenomena in the developing societies.

Other than issues of basic rights and facilities, the traditional values prevailing in society also trigger the youth protests. According to Richard Flacks (1972, p. 330), the classical student movements and protests are the manifestation of inconsistent or unclear political stagnation and identity crisis for educated youth. Especially, under circumstances when society is facing social and technological change in a way towards the process of modernization. This aspect of youth is often related to it. Youth movements are prevalent in societies where traditional form of authority and culture prevails. Also, nature of the economy is agrarian, less freedom is available for youth protest, demonstrations and organized political opposition, and where democratic, rationalistic and egalitarian values have not been widely celebrated and adopted in the society.¹²⁶ Therefore, to accommodate youth in the society it is significant for the elders of society to accept the liberal democratic values.

The protesters in a small town and educational institutions differ from the activists in elite educational institutions and developed countries. Activists in these elite educational institutions have the background of above-average academic records in school and college education. They come from the background of high family income and occupational status, these youngsters have above average aptitude academic records, and their performance is above the average level in their studies.¹²⁷ Therefore, the youngsters coming from an elite background who have been socialized with democratic, rationalistic and egalitarian values prevalent in their family, schools, and colleges from which they have studied. But on the contrary, they find values that prevail in society are in conflict with what they have learned. This discontinuity between the family values and what they face in the institutions and society lead to the student protests. These movements and demonstrations for the youth with elite background “serve as secondary institutions a way of re-establishing family-like solidarity to ease the achievement of independent adult identities and role orientation” (Flacks, 1972, p. 332). While for youth in developing countries the discontinuity

¹²⁶ Ibid, pp. 329-330.

¹²⁷ Ibid, pp. 329-331.

arises due to the fundamental conflict they face between the traditional authority and values associated with the process of modernity that are prevalent in higher education institutions and cosmopolitan community related to it. Educated youth starts to adopt the democratic, egalitarian, rationalistic and liberal values with the attainment of higher education that is in sharp conflict with societal values in developing countries.

Many developing societies are facing the cultural crisis because of the reasons mentioned above. There has been a significant rise in the number of youth population that finds its fundamental values, ethics, and aspirations in sharp conflict with the values and ethics that prevails in society. The conflict is initiated in the societies that are going through the transformation from traditional to a modern structure. So under these circumstances, youth responds by launching their opposition against the older generation and current social norms, during this process, they attempt to generate the counterculture.¹²⁸ As per world youth report (2016, p. 16) excess to free internet, freedom for protests and demonstration, efforts to maintain peace by the authorities have positive effects on an individual as well as on community. Further report (2016, p. 65) mentions that through protests and demonstrations young people have played a significant role in bringing change in established political structure. During this process of political reform, youth redefined their role in governance and formal political system. Therefore, society has to continuously think about solving the problems related to youth from time to time.

In context of youth political participation in India, world youth report (2016, pp. 69-73) mentions that India is the only exceptional country out of 33 surveyed country where younger people are more likely to vote than older citizens of a country. Further, the report mentions that as per world average youth in the age group of 18-19 years have 43.6 percent of youth who always vote in national elections and world percentage of youth in the same age group who have active party membership is 4.1 percent.¹²⁹ Further report (2016) reveals that while in case of Indian youth in the age

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 336.

¹²⁹

http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf
. Page 70-73. Accessed on June 8, 2018.

group of 18-19 years, the percentage of those who always vote in national elections is 66.2 percent. On party membership report mentions that:

“Party membership is highest in India, where 18.1 percent of youth claim to be actively involved. Again, India is the only country among the 33 surveyed in which 18 to 29-year olds are more likely to participate than older citizens. In Africa and the United States, youth party membership is relatively high (7 and 8 percent respectively), but the gap between 18 to 29 year olds and older adults is much higher in the United States than in any other region”.¹³⁰

Further report (2016, p. 69) concludes from the poor active membership of youth in political parties throughout the world and relatively better in India that:

“Youth are reluctant to commit to centralized and hierarchical political institutions, which they believe do not represent their interests - largely because such institutions are dominated by older people, and quite often by men with a middle or higher income background”.¹³¹

Lastly, report highlights that adequate representation of youth in political parties enhance political engagement of youth with political institutions. Data and above discussion in the section on youth political participation on the basis of various national and international reports, and from the significant literature show that Indian society has a good space for alternative politics and political imagination. Next section focuses on assertion, cultural reproduction and aspirations among *Chamar* and *Jat* youth.

7. Assertion and Cultural Reproduction: Changing Aspirations in Chamar and Jat Youth

Jeffrey et al. (2004) in their study of Dalit young men in north India show that *Chamar* parents and young men perceive schooling and educational qualification as

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf. Page 73. Accessed on June 15, 2018.

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 69.

means to improve the socio-economic conditions in society. Education has improved the situation of Dalit in the rural part of north India, but it has not been able to free Dalits entirely from the caste and class oppression. Formal education remains unsuccessful to undermine the caste and class reproduction in north India. With the help of education Dalit young men gains, confidence and dignity as substantiated by Jaffrey et al. (2004) in their study on the impact of formal education on Dalit young men in north India argue that:

“The study shows that educational initiatives are likely to be only partially successful in raising the social standing and economic position of disadvantaged groups without a substantial redistribution in material assets or economic growth. In highly unequal societies with scarce job opportunities, the schooling strategies of oppressed people may not follow a simple upward trajectory towards growing participation in formal education” (Jeffery et al., 2004, p. 964).

While analyzing the impact of formal education on Dalit young men Jeffrey et al. (2004, p. 967) argue that there has been an improvement in the economic position of Dalit households in north India till the early 1990's to some extent (Sen, 1970). Along with the positive discrimination in government jobs seems to have motivated the ex-untouchable caste groups to invest in education through the formal schooling. Moreover according to Pai (2000) youth from *Chamar* community in Meerut district of UP have successfully used the formal education in getting the service jobs outside rural areas which helps them to escape the relationship based on the economic exploitation. As a result, formal education has generated the new generation of confident *Chamar* young men that played an essential role in spreading BSP ideology among the *Chamar* community and organizing public meeting and rallies.¹³² Also, formal education has opened up the opportunities for Dalits in northern India enabling them to secure government employment. While on the other hand the upper caste groups continue to hold control over the land and have developed the link with the state at local level that prevents the positive effects of education to reach the Dalits. The educated Dalit young men fail to secure white collar jobs because of the absence of their social contacts and money required to pay bribe. Education has improved the

¹³² See Jeffrey et al., “Degrees without Freedom: The Impact of Formal Education on Dalit Young Men in North India,” 2004, p. 967.

condition of Dalit in the rural part of north India, but it has not been able to free Dalits entirely from the caste and class oppression.¹³³ They continue to face the exploitation in one or the other way in day to day life.

Further studying the impact of formal education on Dalits Jeffrey et al. (2004, p. 968) argue that increased formal education has given an opportunity to *Chamars* to emancipate from caste oppression in north India. Education has also given young men of *Chamar* community a sense of confidence and dignity to face upper castes. But unfortunately, the recent generations of *Chamar* young men have not been able to convert their educational attainment into secure employment. The *Chamar* community lacks their access to agricultural land and social networking in the local government institutions. As a result, they depend on the locally dominant *Jats* for paid employment in Bijnor district of western UP. *Jats* resist the threat posed by *Chamar* through dominating the fields of education and jobs. There has developed a crisis of unfulfilled ambitions.

Due to an increase of educated unemployment, *Chamar* parents have started to withdraw from investing in higher secondary and tertiary education of young men. On the other hand the fast rate of subdivision of agriculture land has also increased economic differentiation within the *Jat* caste.¹³⁴ This is visible in the state of Haryana along with other pockets of north India as well. Jeffrey et al. in their study of Dalit young men in north India shows that *Chamar* parents and young men perceive schooling, and educational qualification as means to improve the socio-economic conditions in society and generating ‘cultural capital’: “the possessions, manners and attributes, that tend to be valued in social settings” (Bourdieu, 1984).¹³⁵ The philosophy of Dalit hero Dr. Ambedkar has promoted the potential of education to transform the social and political structures and to create individual confidence and prosperity. Education has improved the condition of Dalits, but their lack of excess to resources and social contacts act as a barrier in converting their educational attainment into secure employment.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 968.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 970.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 971.

While Craig Jeffrey (2012, p. 32) in his study ‘timepass’ on *Jats* of Meerut in UP explains how lower middle-class *Jats* reproduce their power. They follow the dual strategy to defend their class position. First, is that they invest in cultural capital and social networking to defend their class position. Second, is their effort to dominate the local state. Jeffrey further mentions that trend in case of middle-class *Jats* is opposite to that of global scenario. According to Craig Jeffrey (2012), the recent research by Cohn (2004) in Morocco shows that the global middle class dissociates themselves from the state in view to have a global identity. Jeffrey mentions that *Jats* in Meerut believe in the ideal of the nation-state. They perceive the state as the resource provider, and they are keen to shape the local state. Since 1990’s *Jats* have faced two threats for their class and social position. First, is the rise of Bahujan Samaj Party that manifests the voice of Dalits through political change. Second, is economic liberalization that had a negative impact on agriculture production and it also lead to government welfare activities.¹³⁶

Jats face these challenges by investing in education and influencing the local state. They prefer long-term gain over the short term gain. The strategy of ‘waiting’ is helpful in boosting the *Jat* power. While the purposeless waiting among young men creates the foundation for political action.¹³⁷ Jeffrey (2012) further mentions that young people mobilize for the issue of fee rise, corruption, harassment of students, etc. These protests also involve the students from different castes, class, religious backgrounds and sometimes young women are also visible. As per world youth report (2016, p. 14) the failure of government to address the problems and challenges of youth can cause disappointment among them. Further the report highlights that throughout world young people feel isolated and have started to lose trust in authorities and political structures that fail to provide the support required by them in the transition from childhood to youth and from youth to adulthood. Further elaborating on the condition of youth report highlights that youth:

“Stuck in a period of “waithood” (a time of stagnation in the transition from youth to adulthood), growing numbers of young people are initiating protests and demonstrations, demanding change. Such protests have largely been driven by young

¹³⁶ See Craig Jeffrey, “Timepass: Youth, class, and the politics of waiting in India” 2012, p. 34.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 35.

people demanding a greater say in governance and policy development, better economic and employment opportunities, and equal participation in society”.¹³⁸

While explaining political and social unrest in country Deshpande (2006) argues that because in the past for an extended period upper caste and elites of these groups enjoyed the monopoly that is now challenged by historically disadvantaged lower castes and classes. Deshpande suggests that in the past this monopoly existed because of “silent compulsion of economic relations” (Deshpande, 2006, p. 2441) that is a Marxian notion. He further argues that:

“The modalities of merit went with the grain of society so to speak: they “naturally” favored the privileged and in effect handed over elite education to them by default” (Deshpande, 2006, p. 2441).

The monopoly of upper castes is facing challenges from the politically resurgent lower castes and classes. Craig Jefferey (2012, p. 34) mentions that *Jats* respond to the threat to their social and political position posed by the rise of pro-Dalit Bahujan Samaj Party through investing in education. Satish Deshpande explains the logic of this long-standing monopoly of upper castes on education and other resources as such:

“Previously, this monopoly worked through something akin to the “silent compulsion of economic relations” that Marx spoke of. The modalities of merit went with the grain of society so to speak: they “naturally” favored the privileged and in effect handed over elite education to them by default” (Deshpande, 2006, p. 2441).

Jeffrey at al. (2004) in their studies observes that the formal education by *Chamar* young men does not compensate for their disadvantage of lack of money and social capital to secure the government jobs. The effort of urban *Chamars* among Dalits and *Jats* among intermediate castes to acquire better qualifications in private institutions have diminished the educational skill acquired by the rural *Chamars* in the

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http://www.unworldyouthreport.org/images/docs/un_world_youth_report_youth_civic_engagement.pdf
. Page 14. Accessed on June 9, 2018.

Nangal village of Meerut district in UP.¹³⁹ In failing to secure government job these youth consider their educational qualification as worthless. They complain about the socially valued cultural capital they have acquired with education fail to help them. Also, identified as capable enough for the selection of jobs by the officials who are in charge of selection for white collar jobs.¹⁴⁰ Further Jeffrey et al. argues in their work that:

“Education combined with reserved employment has not led to a virtuous circle of *Chamar* development through access to secure jobs. Structural factors, particularly class, prevent *Chamars* from converting educational credentials into economic security. Indeed, young men’s experience of competing for government employment is so negative that it threatens their sense of the confidence and capabilities that education can provide” (Jeffrey et al., 2004, p. 979).

Then, Jeffrey et al. (2004, p. 982) argue that failure by the *Chamar* community among Dalits of Bijnor district in UP to achieve mobility by changing their socio-economic position in society shows the sustaining nature of socio-economic inequalities based on class and caste. They further argue that in the absence of proper material redistribution, *Chamars* inability to develop social contacts will not enhance the economic security of *Chamars*. The reforms brought at the school level will not help them. At the same time Jeffrey et al. (2004, p. 983) accept that through the number of ways skills, attributes and confidence acquired by *Chamar* young men with education enhance their day to day life. Even failure to obtain secure service employment, education provides some dignity to them. All these factors give *Chamar* young men confidence to question the dominance of upper caste groups and defend themselves to some extent from the social and economic exploitation of upper castes.

Nevertheless, the number of studies based on South Asia suggests (Demerath, 1999, Oni, 1998 and Jeffrey et al., 2004) strategy to invest into formal education by the formerly disadvantaged groups do not follow the simple trend of increasing investment in education by time. Instead, they follow the different path and ways by doing the reassessment and review of their strategy by depending upon the returns and

¹³⁹ See Jeffrey et al., “Degrees without Freedom: The Impact of Formal Education on Dalit Young Men in North India,” 2004, p. 979.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

gains from the formal education. The studies show that there are more chances in case of rural people to withdraw themselves with higher rate form investing in education when they fail to achieve. The similar approval by Bourdieu in his observation on education strategies adopted in France in 1960s:

“Formerly excluded from school education, continue to imbue educational qualifications with ‘false value’ even after these credentials cease to provide leverage in employment markets: ‘Relegated agents collaborate in their own relegation by overestimating the studies on which they embark, overvaluing their qualifications, and banking on possible futures which do not really exist for them” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 155).¹⁴¹

Education has been considered as an important medium of mobility. Work of scholars Craig Jeffrey (2012), Satish Deshpande (2006), Jeffrey et al. (2004) show the assertion by historically deprived groups. Youth from deprived groups assert themselves because education gives them the confidence and dignity. But the lower middle-class *Jat* reproduces their power. They defend their class position through investing in children education and by developing the contact with the state at local level. Education also transforms the aspirations of *Chamar* and *Jat* youth. Both consider an educated individual as superior from an uneducated person. Youth from both the communities extend the educated versus uneducated attributes to consumption practices, the way of talking, and clothing pattern. With the help of education Dalit young men gain confidence and dignity but fail to overcome their disadvantage to have enough money to bribe and established social contacts to secure government job. Also, the formal education does not successfully undermine the caste and class reproduction in north India.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 983.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 963.

Chapter - 4

*Haryana Rural Transformation
and Changing Landscapes*

Introduction

This chapter explores the trajectory of rural transformation in Haryana by analyzing the social context of changing youth aspirations. Section initially involves the discussion about historical factors that brought Haryana into existence and its demographic profile. After that discussion extends to trace the shift in the rural economy of Haryana from subsistence to higher (market-oriented) production. Then, debate moves to Green Revolution, its impact on agrarian relation and transformation of attitude towards production activity. Following this, the implication of NCR and urbanization in Delhi on land use in Haryana which further shifted orientation in rural population towards land is analyzed. It follows the elaboration on changing notion of land and commodification of land or process by which land act as financialization of asset. Further, the transformation in youth aspiration in the backdrop of changing agrarian life is analyzed, and significant sociological works are discussed in the context NCR region in Haryana. Lastly, there is analysis on dynamics of aspirations among Indian youth in order to develop understanding about attitude, anxieties and aspirations that helps in grasping the similar behaviour of the youth of Haryana. Further, analysis involve the emerging lifestyle and habits among Indian youth that include living patterns, attitude towards fashion and use of gadgets. In the end, discussion wind up by analyzing the anxieties and aspirations among Indian youth that also through light in the similar context on youth in Haryana.

1. Haryana: History and Demographic Profile

Haryana was formed on 1st November 1966 after partition from Punjab on the linguistic basis. It is located in northern India. Geographically Haryana covers the national capital New Delhi from the three sides, and it shares the boundary with Delhi, Rajasthan, Punjab, and state of Uttar Pradesh as shown in map 1.

The map includes all the 22 districts. Newly formed district Charkhi Dadri is highlighted with a red color star in map.

Map 1.



Haryana shares its capital Chandigarh with the state of Punjab. Main languages spoken in the state of Haryana are Hindi and Haryanvi. As per the 2011 census, the population of Haryana is around 25 million and the future projection of population to 2021 is of 29 million. The census shows that in 2001 its population was 21 million.¹⁴³ At the time of formation, Haryana had only seven districts gradually this number continued to grow. As per 2011 census, there were 21 districts in Haryana, in 2016 Charkhi Dadri was formed as the 22nd district of Haryana. District Charkhi Dadri is shown in figure 1 (by highlighting with a red color star). Population growth of state has been 19.90 percent from 2001 to 2011 while the national average in this period was 17 percent and growth of its population was 28 percent till 2001 census.¹⁴⁴ It is 2.09 percent of the national population. Haryana is spread in the area of 44000sq. Km. As per 2011 population census, the literacy rate in Haryana is 75.55 percent which was 67.91 percent in 2001. It has improved significantly in the period of census 2001 to 2011 census. Out of it, male literacy is 84.06 percent, and that of the female is 65.94 percent. While in rural parts of Haryana literacy rate of males and females as per 2011 census is 81.55 percent and 51.96 percent. The average literacy rate in the state of Haryana stands as 71.42 percent.¹⁴⁵ As per 2011 census, Haryana has the poor sex ratio of 879 female for each 1000 male that is significantly lesser than the national average of 940. In the rural part of the state female sex ratio are 882 females per 1000 males and in case of (0-6 age) were 835 girls per 1000 boys.¹⁴⁶

The religious data on Haryana as per 2011 census shows that 87.46% people in Haryana follow Hinduism. Then Islam is the second most followed religion with approximately 7.03%. In Haryana state, Christianity is followed by 0.20 %, Jainism by 0.21 %, Sikhism by 4.91 % and Buddhism by 4.91 %. Around 0.01 % stated 'other religion'; approximately 0.17 % stated 'No Particular Religion'.¹⁴⁷

Since its formation in 1966 Haryana has made significant progress in agriculture because of the green revolution. Along with other parts of northern India

¹⁴³ <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/haryana.html>. Accessed on May 22, 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/haryana.html>. Accessed on May 26, 2018.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Haryana also benefitted immensely from the green revolution. It has been contributing significantly to the national agricultural production. The state has also experienced the industrial development due to its proximity to Delhi. Rural/urban division in Haryana as per 2011 census is that 65.12 percent of Haryana’s population live in rural areas and 34.88 percent in urban regions.¹⁴⁸ That is slightly more than the national rural-urban division that is 68.84 percent in case of rural and 31.16 percent for the urban as shown below in Table 1.

Table 1 shows rural-urban divide of population in Haryana and at national level.

(in percentage)

Haryana Rural	National Rural	Haryana Urban	National Urban
65.12	68.84	34.88	31.6

Source - Census 2011.

The total numbers of inhabited villages in Haryana are 6841.¹⁴⁹ Due to rapid urbanization in the national capital in recent time, Gurgaon has developed as a metropolitan city in Haryana and Faridabad remains the largest as per 2011 census. It provides ample opportunity in business and employment. It has also turned into the hub of many IT companies, call centers and other service-providing sector. So as a result of it the state has experienced a large number of migrating youth into it.¹⁵⁰ Bijender Kumar (2013, p.137) argues that the agricultural and industrial growth “has given rise to ‘urbanism’¹⁵¹ as well as ‘urbanization’ in almost all the pockets of Haryana” (Kumar, 2013, p. 137). Further, he argues that the whole state of Haryana indicates a considerable amount of urbanism as well as urbanization but simultaneously there exists regional disparity as well.¹⁵² The work of Bijender Kumar covers all the 21 district of Haryana except the newly formed district Charkhi Dadri. Bijender Kumar finds that districts like Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra, Kaithal, Karnal,

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/haryana.html>. Accessed on May 22 2018.

¹⁴⁹ See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism For Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.141.

¹⁵⁰ <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/haryana.html>. Accessed on May 22, 2018.

¹⁵¹ “Urbanism means – to adopting the urban ways of life within the village or suburbs”, Bijender Kumar, 2013, p. 135.

¹⁵² See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism for Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.137.

Sonepat, Jind, Palwal, Rewari, Jhajjar, Sirsa and Hisar shows a high level of urbanism and low level of urbanization.¹⁵³ The possible explanation by him behind these trends of urbanism and urbanization in these districts is that the prosperous agricultural land in the countryside of these districts has boosted the high level of urbanism. Kumar (2013, p.143) calls it a healthier trend as it will discourage the unplanned urbanization in these districts. Also, it will prevent the price rise of land in these areas.¹⁵⁴

Since the formation in 1966 Haryana had small towns and the imagination of urbanization was weak in comparison to Punjab. At the time of partition in 1948, the refugee population settled in those small towns later some of these towns became part of Haryana in 1966. While explaining the process of expansion Sarkar (2015, p. 441) argues that rapid urbanization of Delhi expanded to neighboring districts of Haryana. Further Sarkar states that one of the important objectives of the regional plan for Delhi was:

“To reduce the rapid growth of economic activities and of population in the [then] union territory [of Delhi] by encouraging [the] dispersal of growth to other parts of the NCR [National Capital Region] or to the counter-magnet cities located outside it” (Sarkar, 2015, p. 441).

The districts of Haryana that have the highest percentage of the urban population are Gurgaon and Faridabad. The percentage of urban population of Gurgaon and Faridabad districts are 68.82 and 79.51 percent respectively as shown in table 2. Gurgaon and Faridabad are also the cities with highest number of population in the state of Haryana. The population of Faridabad city (Municipal Corporation) is 1,414,050, and that of Gurgaon city (Municipal Corporation) is 876,969. The population of Gurgaon as a metropolitan region is 902,112.¹⁵⁵ The similar pattern is also shown by the Bijender Kumar (2013, p. 133) in his research for the region that covers the NCR (National Capital Region) districts such as Gurgaon, Faridabad, Rohtak, and Panipat. These districts of Haryana have experienced the high

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 143.

¹⁵⁴ See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism for Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.143.

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/haryana.html>. Accessed on May 15, 2018.

level of urbanism as well as high level of urbanization. These districts have very close physical proximity to Delhi as shown in map 2.

Haryana map highlights districts Gurgaon, Fatehabad, Rohtak, and Panipat (with red collar stars).

Map 2



Further Kumar (2013, p. 143) argues that Gurgaon district has the highest population with the characteristics of urbanism in Haryana that is 70.75 percent as well as the highest percentage of urban population that is 68.82 percent and the same patterns are in Faridabad districts with 50.66 percent and 79.51 percent.¹⁵⁶ Kumar (2013, p. 144) shows that there exists low level of urbanism, as well as urbanization in the districts of Fatehabad, Bhiwani, Mohindergarh, and Mewat, is featured with the low level of urbanism as well as low level of urbanization (district wise rural-urban of Haryana population is shown in table 2). The logic that Kumar gives behind the low level of urbanization and urbanism in these districts is that the agricultural productivity in these districts is low in comparison to other parts of Haryana despite large land holdings.¹⁵⁷ He further argues that:

“Low level of industrialization and dry land farming practices have been proved some of ‘pushing factors’ for keeping the low level of urbanism and urbanization within this southern parts of Haryana” (Kumar, 2013, p.144).

The urbanization in northern parts of Haryana that include districts like Panchkula and Ambala, the outskirts of these districts come in “Shiwalik region and characterized with fragmented topography” (Kumar, 2013, p. 144). These districts manifest a high level of urbanization because of their geographical location nevertheless reflects a low level of urbanism.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism for Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.139-140 & 143-144. & http://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB_Haryana.html.

¹⁵⁷ See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism for Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.144.

¹⁵⁸ See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism for Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.139-140 & 144.

District wise Rural-Urban Population in Haryana.¹⁵⁹ Table 2.

District	Population	Rural Population	Percentage of Rural Population	Urban Population	Percentage of Urban Population
Ambala	11,28,350	6,27,576	55.62	5,00,774	44.38
Fatehabad	9,42,011	7,62,423	80.94	1,79,588	19.06
Jhajjar	9,58,405	7,15,066	74.61	2,43,339	25.39
Karnal	15,05,324	10,50,514	69.79	4,54,810	30.21
Mewat	10,89,263	9,65,157	88.61	124106	11.39
Panipat	12,05,437	6,50,352	53.95	5,55,085	46.05
Sirsa	12,95,189	6,50,352	75.35	3,19,248	24.65
Bhiwani	16,34,445	13,13,123	80.34	3,21,322	19.66
Gurgaon	15,14,432	4,72,179	31.18	10,42,253	68.82
Jind	13,34,152	10,28,569	77.1	3,05,583	22.90
Kurukshetra	9,64,655	6,85,430	71.05	2,79,225	28.95
Palwal	10,42,708	8,06,164	74.07	2,33,430	25.93
Rewari	9,00,322	6,66,902	74.07	2,33,430	25.93
Sonipat	14,50,001	9,96,637	68.37	4,53,364	31.27
Faridabad	18,09,733	3,70,878	20.49	14,38,855	79.51
Hisar	17,43,931	11,90,443	68.26	5,53,488	31.74
Kaithal	10,74,304	8,38,293	78.03	236011	21.97
Mahendragarh	9,22,088	7,89,233	85.59	1,32,855	14.41
Panchkula	5,61,293	2,48,063	44.19	3,13,230	55.81
Rohtak	10,61,204	6,15,040	57.96	4,46,164	42.04
Yamunanagar	12,14,205	7,41,376	61.06	4,72,829	38.94

Source: Census 2011.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Note: Table 1.1 includes only 21 districts of Haryana. Dadri that is the 22nd district of Haryana was formed in 2016.

Arguments in the above section substantiate the view that there has been a high level of urbanism with the low level of urbanization in the countryside of cities in the state of Haryana. Except for the districts like Gurgaon, Faridabad, Rohtak, and Panipat that are near to Delhi and these regions experience a high level of urbanization and urbanism as shown in table 2. According to Kumar (2013, p. 144), these pattern prevents an unplanned urbanization. While the southern part of Haryana faces the challenges of low agricultural productivity, low level of income and have a low level of urbanism. Therefore, according to Kumar (2013, p. 144) government must implement the agricultural and rural development schemes in this southern part of Haryana in order to promote balanced growth of urbanism and urbanization in this region.¹⁶¹ While Kumar (2013, pp. 144-145) in his work suggests that for the northern region of Haryana government needs to focus on the development of infrastructure, increasing carrying capacity, better irrigation facility to raise the level of urbanism along with the urbanization. Rural Development Report of 2014 also throws light on the backwardness of the Mewat region. The special package is needed for the region of Mewat to improve literacy rate, reduce population and backwardness. All these measures can improve the conditions in Mewat region of Haryana.

Discussion in the above section shows the rural transformation in Haryana not only in terms of economic quantification but most importantly the aspirations for an urban way of life. Further, this chapter will explore the role of economic policies such as Green Revolution, the impact of rapid urbanization of Delhi and its expansion to neighboring districts of Haryana, the growth of non-farm economy in the state of Haryana-transforming the land into an asset for financial market speculation.

2. Haryana's Rural Economy form Subsistence to Higher Production

The nature of Indian economy which started crawling after independence was agrarian. Till today majority of its population engage itself into agriculture for their livelihood. The kind of rural-urban transformation which has occurred in the western

¹⁶⁰ http://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB_Haryana.html.

¹⁶¹ See Bijender Kumar, "The Role Urbanism For Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis", 2013, p.144.

part of the world as a result of which rural started withering away, and most of the rural society got urbanized. This process of urbanization could not produce similar results in the case of India. In India with the increase in urban population, the rural population has also increased at a high pace. It does not seem feasible to urbanize the whole rural India or move the rural population to urban. As urban areas in India has their own problems and limitation. Cities in India lack the planning in terms of infrastructure, and economic opportunity is also inadequate for the large chunk of the migrating population. At the time of Independence Dube (1961) India's 70% to 80% population lived in villages. Even after 15 years of independence India struggled to achieve food security. So therefore food security was the top priority for India after independence, as past experience of Bengal famine haunted the country. It is estimated that around four million people died of hunger in British ruled India which also includes present-day Bangladesh.

In late 1960's country moved towards attaining the food security through green revolution. Due to green revolution in late 1960's and 70's northern pockets of India mainly Haryana, Punjab and Western U.P experienced a tremendous growth in the agriculture sector. As a result of green revolution country's production of food, grains increased rapidly which helped the country to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. Sarkar (2015, p. 440) argues that from the late 1960's central government implemented the schemes under green revolution in some districts of Haryana. As a result, the economy of these districts started transforming. Government made the availability of cheap credits to the farmers and established agricultural markets (Sarkar, 2015, p. 440). Landowners in the state could gain control over the credit flow at local level and benefit from the government subsidies. Therefore, "they could use the credit more productively, generating surplus, while the poorer landless peasants still borrowed money for consumption" (Sarkar, 2015, p.440). After implementation of these schemes, farmers in Haryana as well as in other areas of the operation started using high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and pump to extract water from the ground to carry out irrigation for new types of crops.

Due to advancement of agriculture under green revolution, the condition of landless laborers did not turn to worse but majority of the benefits went to land-owning farmers and they became prosperous.¹⁶² Further Sarkar (2015) argues that the cultivation of new crops like long grain Basmati rice in Haryana helped the farmers in the state of Haryana to increase their income in comparison to what they used to get from the other crops. Therefore, all these changes made landowning caste communities the rich farmers.¹⁶³ Major landowning caste in the state is *Jat*. Further, Sarkar (2015, p. 440) mentions that by 1970's the *Jats* use their prosperity got from Green Revolution to gain political dominance. Slowly they reached the stage that not only represented their caste and class but also became representative and spokesperson of the entire village. After that, they also gain dominance at local institutions and obtain the positions and jobs in government offices.¹⁶⁴ Then Sarkar mentions the Gunter Tiemann's claim that:

“The villagers attested, that the Jats had started seeking employment in the army and the police by the late nineteenth century to cope with devastating droughts and crop failures” (Sarkar, 2015, p. 440).

But, after two decades of Green Revolution agriculture started facing distress. Its share started falling in national income. Jodhka (2014, p. 28) argues that the share of agriculture has dropped to 15% of national income. Increasing cost of production along with slow increase in the price of agriculture produce kept on reducing the income of farmers. For the financial requirements, farmers have been depended on the non-institutional credit sources. For this farmers are attached to the *arhatiyas* (commission agents) in the grain market. Non-institutional source of credit in 1951 was 92.7 percent of which money lenders provided 69.7 percent.¹⁶⁵ In 2002 non-institutional sources of credit had come down to 38.9 percent of which money lenders were 26.8 percent.¹⁶⁶ Institutional credit mechanism does not fulfill the need of

¹⁶² See Swagato Sarkar, “Beyond Dispossession: The Politics of Commodification of Land under Speculative Conditions”, 2015, p. 440.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ <https://sol.du.ac.in/mod/book/view.php?id=1267&chapterid=942> (Campus of Open learning: University of Delhi). Source of citation is “All India Debt and Investment Survey and NSSO”. Accessed on April 20, 2018.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

farmers so, to meet the household, and agriculture expenditure farmers depended on the *arhatiyas* based in *mandis* (markets for agriculture produce). These money lenders become important for farmers because farmers need money lenders to meet their emergency financial needs and also for their frequent occurring monetary need in day to day life. Also, farmers income is seasonal and they get it at the end of harvest (mostly twice in a year). Money lenders charge a huge amount of interest almost double than what banks charge. Therefore, farmers are unable to pay back the borrowed amount. It is one of the main reasons behind the farmer's suicides. Similar reasons are shown by multiple reports and scholars behind farmer's suicides that:

“In 2015 alone 12,602 people engaged in agriculture (out of these 8,007 were farmers/cultivators and 4,595 were agricultural laborers) have committed suicide. ‘Bankruptcy or Indebtedness’ and ‘Farming Related Issues’ are reported as major causes of suicides among farmers/cultivators, accounting for 38.7% (3,097 out of 8,007 suicides) and 19.5% (1,562 out of 8,007 suicides) of total such suicides respectively during 2015”.¹⁶⁷

These Mandi based *arthiyas* or commission agents have played such an essential role that within years they have developed as the single largest source of non-institutional credit. “Economic liberalization since the early 1990s had negative impact on agriculture production” (Jeffrey2010, p.34). It added to the crisis which agriculture started facing even before the 1990s. As a result, all these economic crises in agriculture have pushed people in rural areas to move out of agriculture to non-farm economy.

Structure of rural economy is no longer synonymous with agriculture. Most of the official data show that the majority of the people in rural India depend on agriculture but out of these households some have shifted to non-farm activities in the informal sector. Within the rural economy, there has been a decline in the number of people engaged in agriculture. During 1993-94 – 2004-05 the number of rural households dependent on agriculture as the primary source of their livelihood

¹⁶⁷ <http://ncrb.nic.in/StatPublications/ADSI/ADSI2015/chapter-2A%20suicides%20in%20farming%20sector.pdf>.

declined from 68% to 58%¹⁶⁸. “Non-agricultural activities account for almost two-thirds (65%) of the rural Net Domestic Product (NDP) in 2009- 10 as compared to 37% in 1980-81” (Reddy et al., 2014, p. 1). Further Jodhka and Kumar (2017, p. 14) argue that there has been an increase in the percentage of workforce employed in non-farm economy from 19.2 percent in 1983 to 37.6 percent in 2011-12 while on the other hand, the workforce employed in the agriculture has fallen in the same period from 70 percent to 48.9 percent. There has been a significant increase in the non-farm employment in the rural settlements. “According to the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) data, 54% of unincorporated non-farm enterprises were located in rural areas”.¹⁶⁹ As per 2011 census, the number of census towns has increased to 3,894 it was 1,362 in 2001 census.¹⁷⁰ The definition of census town as per 2011 census includes the criteria that “at least 75 percent of the male main workers engaged in non-agricultural pursuits”¹⁷¹ to be eligible for the census town. Further Himanshu, Joshi and Peter Lanjouw (2016) in their survey of Palanpur village describe the need for the people to search employment outside the village and change in the economy as such:

“Growing population, declining per capita land ownership and reduced demand for labor due to the advent of farm mechanization have led to continuous attempts by residents to search for job opportunities outside agriculture not only in Palanpur, but also outside the village in places as far as Delhi and Ambala” (Himanshu et al., 2016, p. 46).

According to Himanshu et al. (2016), the common perception among the villagers in Palanpur is that jobs outside village are more remunerative than in it. Living standards of the people in village those who work outside have also improved. This acts as an inspiration to others who want to move out of the village for the work. The trend of non-farm diversification is not unique to any particular village or area. Instead, these kinds of trend are shown by studies in different regions of the country. According Lindberg report (2012) on the villages surveyed in Tamil Nadu, shows that

¹⁶⁸ See Jodhka, “Changing Face of Rural India”, 2014, p. 29.

¹⁶⁹ See Jodhka and Kumar, “Non-farm Economy in Madhubani, Bihar: Social Dynamics and Exclusionary Rural Transformation”, 2017, p. 14.

¹⁷⁰ http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2011.pdf. Page 12. Accessed on May 20, 2018.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 11.

69% of the agrarian households had at least one member working in the non-farm sector in 2004.¹⁷² According to Himanshu et al. (2016), the majority of villagers in Palanpur found employment in expanding non-farm economy in the construction sites, textile industry, and in providing trade and services, etc. Similar trends are shown by Harriss and Jeyaranjan (2014) on the basis of their study of two villages of Iruvelpattu and Gangaikondam. Many Tamil Nadu based studies show that non-farm diversification has taken the form of self-employment and in commuting to nearby urban areas on a daily basis.

Due to non-farm diversification marginalized communities has experienced the economic and political mobility as well. According to Jan Breman process of non-farm expansion is also visible in South Gujarat and nature of jobs available in the non-farm sector is informal.¹⁷³ Also, to Himanshu et al. (2016), this pattern of non-farm diversification is visible in states of Haryana and Punjab, where labors are moving out of agriculture in rural areas. This process is termed as ‘*de-peasantization*’ by Singh and Bhogal (2014), “Between 1991 and 2011-12, 14.4% of farmers in Punjab have left agriculture” (Himanshu et al., 2016, p. 48). Another important reason behind the movement of labor out of agriculture can be the mechanization of agriculture, crisis in agriculture which makes agriculture non-profitable and non-viable for small, marginalized farmers and laborers. Work of S. S. Jodhka (2014) has shown that “the process of diversification has been going on for all classes of households, but Dalits were the group with highest proportion of regular workers among all social groups”.¹⁷⁴ Jodhka’s study in two villages also shows that these laborers continue to reside in villages but work in nearby small towns and urban areas. The reasons for these rural laborers staying in rural areas while simultaneously working in nearby town is the low cost of living in rural areas. Further Sarkar (2015) in his ethnographic work in Sonapat district of Haryana argues that:

“The new technology required more labor than conventional farming, but gradually the technology matured and various jobs became redundant; the demand for labor

¹⁷² This information of Lindberg report is taken from Himanshu et al. 's work “Non-farm Diversification, Inequality and Mobility in Palanpur”, 2016.

¹⁷³ See Himanshu et al. 's “Non-farm Diversification, Inequality, and Mobility in Palanpur”, 2016.

¹⁷⁴ This has been taken from Himanshu et al. 's work “Non-farm Diversification, Inequality and Mobility in Palanpur”,2016.

declined. The Jat landlords used to employ the Dalits (people from the lower caste) in their native village, but political mobilization and the state's affirmative action have opened up alternative livelihood opportunities for the Dalits. The agrarian and rural sociality took a decisive turn" (Sarkar, 2015, p. 445).

With the rise of non-farm economy, traditional economic institutions like *jajmani* have withered away. Service providing castes are no more dependent on land owning castes. Therefore rural economy and social life have been drastically transformed making way for new social imaginations (urban aspirations) getting hold in the rural population.

2.1. Transforming Notion of Land in Rural life of Haryana

Being the agrarian economy land plays a vital role in determining the social and political landscape in the rural part of the country. Swagato Sarkar argues that "the land is one of the registers used to understand the transformation taking place in India" (Sarkar, 2015, p. 438). The role of land has also changed with the change in the economic and social landscape of the village. Land is now no more central to the articulation of social and political relations. The factors such as expansion of the non-farm economy and various government schemes like MNREGA have changed the role of land in village life. People from low caste and poor families have the opportunity to get jobs in non-farm sector, which in turn free them from old relations of dependency on land. Sbriccoli argues that "land has lost its central importance as the most important productive asset and as the place for the articulation of social and political relations" (Sbriccoli, 2016, p. 14). Today, nature of relation in which the laborers enter with the employer are completely different from what it used to be earlier. Sbriccoli (2016) mentions the work of Chand and Srivastava that explain the nature of this change as:

"Traditionally, the labor-employer relationship in agriculture was of master-servant type wherein a landowning farmer considered himself the master and the hired labor his servant. The labor class has resented this feudal treatment and has therefore started seeking employment either within an employer-employee framework or via labor arrangements of a contractual nature where they work on piecemeal basis for a fixed wage which does not

involve a master-servant relationship. This requires a complete change in the attitude of the farmers towards hired labor, which albeit is changing slowly” (2014, pp. 52–53).¹⁷⁵

Earlier land was the direct expression of power and status. It played an essential role in shaping the political landscape of village society and ownership of land was directly related to the caste membership. But with the change in economic landscape reducing the dependence of poor and marginalized on land and landowners has changed the relations of land with social and political structures. Land is no more central in deciding political and social relations. Moreover, Tina Otten and Edward Simpson (2013) in their work revisit of Bisipara that was earlier studied by F. G. Bailey show that relationship between landless and landowners have been altered because of the expansion of the economy in the form of trade and universal education. People consider themselves the citizen of state rather than the just exclusive member of village community.¹⁷⁶ They further argue that those who have gained economic independence from the village are less bound by the rules and norms of the village.

Swagato Sarkar (2015, p. 445) in his ethnographic work in Sonipat district of Haryana elaborates by mentioning, that previous generations of Jats were dependent economically on *sahukars* (money lenders) against the amount borrowed for consumption and production. Most of the time they lost their mortgage to the *sahukars* as they fail to pay the high rate of interest charged on the borrowing. After the Green Revolution “the state intervention and the accumulation of surplus in agriculture have broken the hold of moneylenders” (Sarkar, 2015, p. 446). Sarkar (2015) further argues that the rapid urbanization in Delhi has expanded to Sonipat district of Haryana which made the government acquire land. Availing the opportunity real estate developers, investors and landowners also participated in the commodification of land in Haryana. Due to “conversion of land from ‘*means of production*’ to a ‘*condition of production*’”¹⁷⁷ and “*financialization of land*”¹⁷⁸ has lead to change in the attitude of the agrarian communities. Earlier selling of land was associated with shame and was considered as inability of the families to meet

¹⁷⁵ See Tommaso Sbriccoli, “Land, Labour and Power: A Malwa Village, 1954–2012”, 2016, p. 14.

¹⁷⁶ See Tina Otten, Edward Simpson, “F G Bailey’s Bisipara Revisited”, 2016, pp. 31-32.

¹⁷⁷ See Swagato Sarkar, “Beyond Dispossession: The Politics of Commodification of Land under Speculative Conditions”, 2015, p. 439.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 444.

necessary expenditure of marriage. But in today's context, everyone tells openly about his intention of selling the land. This indicates the changing sociality in the society of Haryana.¹⁷⁹ Further Sarkar (2015) argues that:

“The green revolution not only introduced new farming technology and inputs, but also socialized the landowning farmers in the market economy and forced them to learn a new calculative logic to manage production” (Sarkar, 2015, p. 445).

After that Sarkar explains the change that has taken place in the society of Haryana in the form of change in land use and socio-economic transformation due to rapid urbanization. Further Sarkar (2015, p. 446) argues that people in rural part of Haryana approach occupation of farming in a techno-strategic sense, assess the market for profitability which he calls more as ‘contractual ethic of the market’ that has replaced the notion of ‘pre-capitalist moral economy’.¹⁸⁰ People have shifted their orientation toward inputs of production in an agrarian economy by comparing, measuring and judging its utility on the criteria of profitability. People, over there are ready to dispose of input of production (migrant labor) that is not compatible to their calculation for profit. As discussed above there has been an emergence of new attitude among the landowners who do not relate the selling of land with the shame and see land as an asset that possesses the financial value. Hence land is ready to be commodified, and people are prepared to sell it for higher financial gain. Thus landowners have completely shifted their notion towards the agricultural land that is altering their belongingness with the village.

For Sarkar (2015) the spatial integrity of village that existed in the imagination of the inhabitants of the area has also been dislocated. Imagination of home is no longer embedded with the village. Contact between the farmers and laborers has also been minimized to a large extent. People travel very frequently between their village, town, and cities. In the future, its frequency is expected to increase, and the pace of change will further increase.¹⁸¹ Therefore, shifting the notion of land from the rent that is calculated by its productivity that reaches the level of its selling price

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 446.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, pp. 447- 448.

determined by the speculation prices that turns land into financial asset (Sarkar, 2015). All the changes in political economy of land also have its impact on the society and create a new sociality changing the scenarios based on the use of land for agrarian communities in state of Haryana. The identity of Haryana is getting replaced with the change in nature of economy due to expansion of NCR (National Capital Region) and still there does not seem to be any resistance to this change. Instead, there is acceptance to the new sociality. Next section, will elaborate on youth aspirations that reflect the transformation in rural Haryana.

3. Youth Aspirations as Reflection of Rural Transformation in Haryana

This section attempts to understand the aspirations of youth in context of Haryana. The sociological relevance of studying youth is in its richness of revealing the value structure most aspired and its long-term social consequences helping scholars to prognosticate the larger social tendency. It helps the policymakers to frame social conditions desired for greater objective of national and social progress. The relevance of values and its productive relation with youths in society is of important interest for researchers and policy formulators. In this regard, the work of Arjun Appadurai (2004, pp.29-30) emphasizes the role of culture in shaping the aspirations of people or community willing to overcome the material deficiency. For him, it is the task of the policymakers to investigate the cultural context of poverty and social attributes for development. It is in the cultural logic that the future and past can be understood holding relevance to communities and path towards transformation. Hence the question of aspiration should be looked at as cultural phenomena that help us to locate structural process giving it reproduction and sustenance. Enriching the discussion Jodhka (2018) highlights in his work on Indian youth the significance of social condition in shaping the youth as such:

“Young people are part of the larger society. They grow up in families and inherit social identities along with the privileges and disadvantages tied to their social contexts and identities. Their attitudes, anxieties and aspirations are reflection of the larger social realities and the patterns of change” (Jodhka, 2018, p. 11).

Further Jodhka argues that youth are also shaped by their social condition that includes factors like class position, caste and religious identity as well as region. On the other hand, the technological innovation has given exposure to youth about the outside world. Technological innovation has not only brought people near to each other on the virtual platform, but also it has integrated labor market across the boundaries of nation that even without any physical migration.¹⁸² Works of Jodhka (2018) and Richard Flacks (1972) are significant in understanding the behavior of youth in Metropolitan cities such as Gurgaon and other large urban cities like Faridabad and Rohtak in Haryana. Further Jodhka (2018, p. 11) highlights that youth living in Metropolitan cities who have strong economic background have freedom to choose their marriage partners. Their opinion matters while making decision regarding marriage within the caste and class. They also hold the liberal view on sexuality. They are inclined towards the humanistic values and are ready to work for poor and marginalized through the medium of politics and civil society.¹⁸³ Work of Richard Flacks (1972) on American youth that is also discussed in the third chapter gives similar instance, it speaks about the youth from high status groups, income and intellectual family background that they generally tend to fight against the injustice prevailing in society because they have learned the liberal and democratic values in society.

Further bringing significance of social and economic inequalities in shaping the trajectory of youth, Jodhka (2018) argues that youth from rich background in metropolitan and youth from marginalized tend to follow the distinct trajectory in their life. Socio-economic background of an individual continue to determine the destiny of the individual.¹⁸⁴ A similar instance is shown by Jeffrey et al. (2004) in his work on Dalit young men in northern India. They argue that the efforts of Dalits to overcome caste and class reproduction by investing in education fail as they fail to achieve secure employment. Jodhka (2018) argues that youth from marginalized background do not get the job within formal sector. Therefore, they get employed in informal sector as a security guard, a laborer at the construction site in metropolitan cities because of their poor schooling. They live in poor condition with their fellow workers most of the time inside the villages in metropolitan cities. Stage of youth is

¹⁸² See Jodhka, "The Youth Bulge", 2018, p. 11.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p.12.

fragile therefore, they can be quickly mobilized by any political parties irrespective of their ideology. Also they can be easily diverted towards violence and other illegal activities.¹⁸⁵

Further Sarkar (2015, p. 447) in his work in Sonapat district of Haryana shows that farmers are concerned more about the future of their children than their farm. They send their children to schools instead of fields. Parents of current generation of farmers were illiterate and lacked the awareness about education. But, they send their children to the private schools in nearby towns. Work by Osella and Osella (2000, p. 141) in their work in Kerala on *Izhava* community highlights the symbolic significance of education that:

“Sending children to expensive private schools and paying for autos and or use of the universally recognisable school bus, is an obvious way to demonstrate family prestige” (Osella and Osella, 2000, p. 141).

Younger generations of farmers in Haryana are almost alienated from the occupation of agriculture, and they are not even interested in learning it. Therefore, the current generation of farmers want their young children to look for an alternative source of livelihood. They also do not want their next generation to fall back on agriculture. They as well as their children aspire for secure jobs in government or private sector or some business but do not wish to continue in agriculture.¹⁸⁶

The work of Jodhka is insightful in understanding the youth from the farming community who are aspiring for the urbanism in Haryana as discussed by Bijender Kumar (2013) in his work. Jodhka (2018) examines two segments of youth with different backgrounds. First is the youth in the metropolitan city from middle and upper middle-class background and second is the marginalized aspirational poor. Both of these segments tend to experience different trajectory in their life. According to Jodhka (2018), the second segment of youth often belongs to the traditionally dominant caste communities. They have poor quality of education. They aspire for

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ See Swagato Sarkar, “Beyond Dispossession: The Politics of Commodification of Land under Speculative Conditions”, 2015, p. 447.

urbanism and want to move out of the village and agriculture as mentioned by Swagato Sarkar. They own the land but don't want to continue farming as the profession. They want to get benefit from the rapid urbanization in Haryana and want to shift to urban areas as they aspire to enter the segment of the middle class. Jodhka further explains the demand of reservation by the youth from the traditional dominant caste as such:

“They find it hard to break-open the symbolic boundaries of social and cultural capital that need to be transgressed to enter the urban middle-class space. They look up to the state for a share in its affirmative action quotas” (Jodhka, 2018, p. 12).

However, some of these youth manage to get some dignified employment in towns. While majority of them end up doing jobs in the informal sector and those left return back to the village or fall back on agriculture. Similar scenario is discussed in the the chapter where work by Craig Jeffrey (2012) and that of Jeffrey at al. (2004) in northern India show how youth from agrarian community of *Jat* and *Chamar* from Dalit fail to get secure employment and have started to withdraw from investing in education of their children. Further, this can be substantiated by the argument of Sarkar (2015) in context of *Jats* in Haryana that after facing urbanization and finding the agriculture as a non-attractive, non-profitable occupation they or their children will always have land. It may be far from their native place, and they may give on rent if they are not cultivating it. This is so because they are aware of the future that many of their children will not be successful in securing salaried job or business. So under these circumstances, they will fall back on land and simultaneously will attempt to earn from side business in the non-farm economy.¹⁸⁷ While women among these agrarian communities often perform better in education than the young men but they lack the choice in terms of marriage and occupation. If some of them attempt to break the norms of community in determining their choice of marriage then they have to face the repercussion of breaking the rules sometimes it can be in the form of social boycott and physical violence.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ See Jodhka, “The Youth Bulge”, 2018, p. 12.

4. Dynamics of Aspirations Among Indian Youth

Further insights can be drawn from CSDS-KAS (2017) report on the attitudes, anxieties and aspirations of young Indian population. Report covers the age category of 15 to 34 years. Earlier the survey was conducted by CSDS in 2007. After a decade survey aimed to study the rapid economic, political, socio-cultural and technological changes that have taken place in the country (CSDS-KAS, 2017, p. 3). The findings of the report represent the aspiration of the youth from all over the country this is helpful in understanding the attitudes, choices and aspirations of youth from Haryana as well and mainly of the area that has experienced the high level of urbanism.

There has been a change in the profile of Indian youth in last one decade. The 2017 CSDS report shows that occupational profile of youth in India have changed in comparison to survey that was conducted in 2007 by CSDS and KAS. The CSDS-KAS report suggests that the 32 percent of the youth respondent's profile is student this number was 19 percent a decade ago. The significant argument that is also discussed in the previous section that (Jodhka, 2018) that social background matter in shaping the choice of youth. As per CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 13) the profile of youth as a student vary in the country among youth from the upper caste, Dalit and Adivasi their numbers are 42, 25 and 16 percent respectively. And the number of youth who have completed the graduation as per the CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 14) report among upper caste youth, Dalit and Adivasi are 69, 41 and 20 percent respectively. Work of Peter Ronald deSouza et al. (2009) show that "Dalit and Tribal youth have higher aspirations in life as compared to those from Forward Castes and OBCs".¹⁸⁹ Further, work of Satish Deshpande (2006, p. 2439) that is also discussed in third chapter talks about inequalities on the basis of caste in higher education. Deshpande mentions that as per NSSO data share of urban SC's in higher education is much lesser than that of Hindu upper castes.¹⁹⁰ Further, he highlights the resources required to produce merit on the basis of which admission to higher education institutes are done as such:

¹⁸⁹ See Peter Ronald deSouza, "Indian Youth in a Transforming World: Attitudes and Perceptions", 2009, p. vii.

¹⁹⁰ See Satish Deshpande, "Exclusive Inequalities: Merit, Caste and Discrimination in Indian Higher Education Today", 2006, p.2439.

“Three broad kinds of resources are necessary to produce the results in competitive exams that qualify as indicators of merit: (a) economic resources (for prior education, training, materials, freedom from work, etc); (b) social and cultural resources (networks of contacts, confidence, guidance and advice, information, etc); (c) intrinsic ability and hard work” (Deshpande, 2006, p. 2443).

Therefore, the work of scholars discussed above substantiates that the social background of youth that includes social, cultural and economic capital determine the trajectory of youth destination, choices and aspirations. Despite, of macroeconomic changes brought by the government in 1990s the free market economy does not attract youth towards it.¹⁹¹ CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 13) report reveals that 65 percent of the Indian youth aspire for the secured government job if they are given a choice. While this number was 62 percent in the survey done by CSDS in 2007. Second preference of youth as survey reports is to have their own business 19 percent of the youth in study preferred it. Only 7 percent of the youth prefer to do job in private sector.¹⁹² Further, Jodhka (2018, p. 6) argues that socio-economic background plays a significant role in determining the choice of youth regarding the work. The work of Jeffrey et al. (2004) in northern India discussed in second chapter, and that of work done by Swagato Sarkar (2015) in Sonipat district of Haryana suggest that farmers, as well as their young children, want to have secure salaried employment. As per CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 13) report even after more than two decades of economic liberalization Indian youth are not attracted towards the private sector. As discussed above survey reveals that two out of every three young Indian prefer government job if they are given a choice. They have an intense preference for the government job. Further survey explains on the issue of unemployment the aspirations among youth for government job have not gone down in last decade despite increasing privatization and reducing the role of government. They expect government to create jobs. The survey mentions that:

“As the government gets downsized in the coming years, there will be even greater competition for the fewer jobs that are available. The agitation by *Jats* in Haryana, *Patels* in Gujarat and the *Marathas* in Maharashtra are somewhat symptomatic of the underlying job crisis that is brewing in India” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2016, p. 20).

¹⁹¹ See Jodhka, “The Youth Bulge”, 2018, p. 6.

¹⁹² CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 13.

Similar patterns of preferences and aspirations for government jobs are shown in the work of various scholars Craig Jeffrey in his work in western U.P. and Swagato Sarkar in his work in Sonipat district of Haryana.

The issue of reservation in government jobs and educational institutions is very hotly debated among people and on different platforms of media. CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 31) report highlights that the opinion of youth in the country on the issue of reservation that majority of the Indian youth except Hindu Upper Castes youth support the SC, ST and OBC reservation in government jobs and educational institutions. On the important issue of reservation survey also reveals that there is also “a desire among the young respondents to go beyond caste as the only basis of reservation. Many were found to be in favor of the idea having reservations only on the basis of economic status” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017 p. 31). Report (2017, p. 31) suggests that on asking the basis of reservation 40 percent of the youth, respondents hold the opinion of economic status should be the basis of reservation while 14 percent youth respondents preferred the caste as the basis of reservation. Interesting point that gets revealed in CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 31) report is that economic background of a person who avails the benefit of reservation matters as the way they perceive the reservation for their community. Survey reveals that:

“Youth belonging to economically well-off sections within SC-STs, OBCs, and the dominant farming castes were found to be slightly more opposed to reservations for their community than those who are less well-off within these communities” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 31).

Work of various scholars and CSDS-KAS report discussed in the above section highlights the significance of the role that economic background of India’s youth plays in shaping their aspiration and opinions on important social issues.

4.1. Emerging Lifestyle and Habits Among Indian Youth

Patterns of living arrangement among Indian youth are significantly different than that of youth U.S and the majority of European countries. CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 81) youth report highlights that 65 percent of youth in the age group of 15-34 years

live with their parents. While Pew Research Centre Study in 2014 found that in America 34 percent of youth in the age group of 18-34 years live with their parents that are nearly half of the number that exists in case of India.¹⁹³ As per EU statistical agency Eurostat in 2014 among 28 European Union's member nation near about 48.1% of youth in the age group, 18-34 years live with their parents.¹⁹⁴ Further CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 82) youth report mentions that living arrangements differ on the basis of employment and occupation as 62 percentage of employed youth, 89 percent of employment seekers and that of 92 percent of young people those who are students live with their parents.

Then, CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 81) youth report shows aspirations of youth in terms of their attitude towards fashion and use of gadgets. Further, report highlights majorities of Indian youth are fond of wearing stylish clothes, footwear, and aspire to have the latest mobile phones. They also like to go to the restaurant, cinema and cafe regularly. Work of Peter Ronald deSouza et al. (2009) suggests that in India "young men are more fashion conscious as compared to young women" (deSouza et al., 2009, p. VII).¹⁹⁵ As per report (2017, p. 83) this tendency is more among the urban youth who are living in big cities and there is a positive correlation between usage of social media and style consciousness. This also supports the argument of Bijender Kumar (2013) who shows that there is a positive correlation between the 'urbanism' and 'urbanization' in four districts of Haryana namely Gurgaon, Faridabad, Rohtak and Panipat that are near to national capital Delhi and comes in NCR (National Capital Region).¹⁹⁶

Further, as per the CSDS-KAS report, there has been an increase in the percentage of youth those who own the gadgets like mobile phones, smartphones, computer and laptops. CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 90) report shows that in 2007 around 34 percent of youth owned mobile phones and 8 percent had a computer and laptop.

¹⁹³ The source of this study is CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 81.

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/05/24/in-the-u-s-and-abroad-more-young-adults-are-living-with-their-parents/>. Accessed on June 18, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ See Peter Ronald deSouza, "Indian Youth in a Transforming World: Attitudes and Perceptions", 2009, p. VII.

¹⁹⁶ See Bijender Kumar, "The Role Urbanism For Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis", 2013, p.141.

While the CSDS-KAS (2017, pp. 89-90) report shows that ownership of mobile has risen to 81 percent out of which 43 percent youth have smartphones and that of computer and laptop has increased to 24 percent. But the large numbers of youth who own smartphones, computers and laptops need not necessarily have access to internet. Therefore, as a result, the percentage of youth respondents who do not have exposure to social media is 50 percent. Craze of TV news and newspaper is more than the social media among the youth. The TV news viewers have risen to 57 percent, and newspaper readership has increased to 53 percent both these were 48 and 49 percent in 2007 CSDS survey (2017, p. 91). While the percentage of religiosity among Indian youth is quite high and 78 percent of the youth respondents frequently pray (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 92).

Detailed discussion on lifestyle and habits mentioned in CSDS-KAS (2017) youth report along with work of Bijender Kumar (2013) on Haryana and that of Peter Ronald de Souza et al. (2009) on youth enrich the view on preferences, choices, and aspirations of Indian youth. Including youth in Haryana mainly in districts like Rohtak, Sonapat, Gurgaon, and Faridabad that are in proximity to Delhi. Indian youth manifest the mix of Indian as well as western culture in terms of their opinions, choices and aspiration. While adopting the new technology in the form of new gadgets, smartphones, computer and laptops they also hold high faith in religion. They are fond of visiting restaurants and cinema hall regularly, and a large number of youth continue to perform a religious activity such as praying. “For many of today’s Indian youth, praying and purchasing or religion and materialism seem to go hand in hand and there is no contradiction between the two” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 94). While getting the exposure to western culture through the increased usage of internet Indian youth adopt only those lifestyle, habits and aspirations that are compatible with their circumstances and whatever suits them.

4.2. Anxieties and Aspirations among Indian Youth

Young people can manifest anxiety in multiple ways. From anxiety about exams, jobs, career, health and pressure from family and society. When individual experience the anxiety for a long continuous period then it can lead to mental disorder

and affect the individual as well as people around us. A recent study was done by researchers in the United States which collected its data through the technique of random sampling of people from 21 to 100 years old shows:

“That people in their twenties and thirties reported having the highest levels of depression, anxiety, and stress, plus the lowest levels of happiness, satisfaction and wellbeing compared to older people who were found to be the happiest. In India too, today’s young generation exhibits similar tendencies” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2016, p. 99).

CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 99) youth report found that Indian youth are highly anxious and experiences worry and stress be it school going young person of 15 years or that of 34 years of age all have the burden of worries. Report shows that 56 percent of Indian youth are highly anxious, 26 percent falls in the moderate category, 14 percent youth in the survey reported to be not much anxious, and the percentage of those youth who reported to be not anxious at all was just 5 percent. The point of worry is that very few among those who experience anxiety visit doctor for treatment. According to Peter Ronald deSouza et al. (2009, p. 109), anxieties of youth are mainly related to their socio-economic status, education level and their place of residence whether it is urban or rural. Further, they argue that the youth living in rural areas of country relate themselves to the immediate environment and the experience they face in their daily life. On the other hand, youth in metropolitan region tend to experience and face the different type of anxieties and aspirations. Youth in small towns, growing cities are on the edge of change. They have not entirely broken their ties with rural, and they aspire for urbanization and urbanism (urban way of life)¹⁹⁷ that reflect in their anxiety and aspirations.

Further, the findings of CSDS-KAS (2017) youth report can be discussed to enrich the understanding of anxieties and aspirations experiences of youth. Then, survey suggests the anxiety level among the Indian youth is higher in the big cities in comparison to rural areas in the country. CSDS-KAS (2017, p. 102) youth report highlights that youth who reported to be high or moderate anxious was 87 percent in big cities, while this number was 85 percent in small towns while in the rural areas 76

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p.135.

percent reported being feeling anxious. Major issues and factors that lead to anxiety among youth were found to be the health of their parents, personal health, family problems, continuing family traditions, employment, etc. Further CSDS-KAS youth report shows the relation between them that:

“Anxiety levels also seems to be dependent on educational and economic status with the more educated and economically better-off sections among the youth reporting much higher anxiety than the rest” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 117).

While, youth who are less educated are more anxious regarding the uncertainty of future into those who have access to higher education.¹⁹⁸ In the age group of 15-17 years school emerged as the significant stressor among the young people. Further, report (2017, p. 105) shows that worry about education among school-going youth is also related to the education level of their father for example:

“It was found that the higher was the father’s educational qualification, the higher was the likelihood of their teenage or adult child to be worried a lot about studies” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 105).

While the things that matter least to the Indian youth as per the report were sexual harassment and marriages.¹⁹⁹ Youth in the country have started to face the problem like depression, loneliness, worthlessness and suicidal thoughts.

Aspirations of youth are linked to their socio-economic status, level of education as well as the place of residence (deSouza, 2009, p. 99). All three variables determine the choice of youth in terms of jobs and career. Similarly, work of Jodhka (2018) as discussed in the previous section also highlights the significance of social background of youth in terms of their choices and destination. Further, the work of Ronald deSouza et al. (2009) elaborates about the aspiration of youth from Dalits, Tribal communities and youth from the Forward castes as such:

¹⁹⁸ See Peter Ronald deSouza et al., “Indian Youth in a Transforming World: Attitudes and Perceptions”, 2009, p. 109.

¹⁹⁹ http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_48472-544-2-30.pdf?170508130556. Page 9. Accessed on May 19, 2018.

“That the youth from Dalit and Tribal communities appear to have aspirations for a more fair and just life in which they have the opportunities to reach their full potential. In the case of the Forward Castes, the aspiration levels could be relatively lower because of the fact that they are already in comfortable socio-economic conditions and thus do not greatly aspire for a better life as much as those from the disadvantaged sections” (Peter Ronald deSouza et al., 2009, pp. 99,104).

Coming back to point again that is important here according to Ronald deSouza (2009) is that aspirational level among youth of small town and emerging cities is higher than those who are living in the rural region, big cities or metropolitan region. It is related with “promise of opportunity” to which they are exposed that in turn tends to raise high level of expectation, hope and aspirations among the youth. Further, Ronald deSouza et al. argue while explaining the elements that lead to developing the aspirations among youth as such:

“That the aspirations are in significant ways relative to the ‘worldview’ of any individual. They are a by-product of social encounters, peer interactions and the window with which one views the world and the future” (Peter Ronald deSouza et al., 2009, pp. 106-107).

As mentioned above by Peter Ronald deSouza (2009) that aspirations are related to the worldview of an individual so being near to Delhi the districts Gurgaon and Faridabad of Haryana has experienced the high number of urbanization that is 68.82 and 79.51 percent respectively as shown in table 1.1 as well. And this is almost double than the state percentage of urbanization in Haryana which is 34.88 percent.²⁰⁰ Gurgaon and Faridabad districts have experienced the highest level of urbanism in Haryana that is 70.75 and 50.66 percent respectively (Kumar, 2013, pp. 139-140). According to Kumar (2013, p.135) “urbanism means – to adopting the urban ways of life within the village or suburbs”, which show that rapid urbanization in the districts of Haryana has also lead to aspirations among youth and other age groups for the urban way of life, usage of urban goods, material and gadgets. Similar observation has also been made by other scholars in Sonapat and Rohtak districts of Haryana.

²⁰⁰ http://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB_Haryana.html. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

Hence, work of various scholars discussed in the chapter indicates that youth in India are on the verge of change. They represent the diverse aspiration and anxieties from the grass root level. It is essential for the policymakers to understand different segments of youth. The demographic dividend in India is an asset if it is rightly utilized. It can turn into a liability for the country if the huge numbers of youth are not provided the employment. In the backdrop of all this, youth in state of Haryana are experiencing the high level of urbanism along with high level of urbanization. Geographical proximity of Haryana to Delhi plays a vital role in rapid urbanization of state that has lead to growth of urbanism (urban way of life).. In the backdrop of this, youth from the traditionally dominant agrarian communities remain unsuccessful in overcoming the disadvantage of lacking the social and cultural capital to materialize their aspirations. They are unable to fit themselves into the new economic system imposed from the above. Their aspirations are not in match with their social-economic position. Therefore, this makes the youth anxious. So, as a result, they expect from the state their share in affirmative action policies. Through which they hope to improve the socio-economic position. Moreover, discussed above in the chapter that socio-economic status of youth play a significant role in determining the choices, aspirations and destiny in life of youth.

Chapter - 5

Conclusion

This thesis captures the changing youth aspirations in Haryana in the backdrop of the socio-economic and political transformation of rural Indian society. The present study takes a historical overview of rural studies in India and makes a simultaneous observation of important historical-institutional interventions that have fundamentally transformed the very conception of rural life. It is significant that the transformation is understood through the concept of youth in expectation to capture the important aspirational shift happening in the rural life of India. To achieve its objective, the present study begins with analysis of rural studies in India.

The second chapter of thesis provides the detail analysis on rural transformation in socio-economic and political aspects. Rural Indian society cannot be seen in the evolutionary process that is determined to transform into urban. Along with the increase in urban population rural population have also increased. As per 2011 census, the rural population of India in 2001 was 74.2 crores that have risen to 83.3 crores in 2011.²⁰¹ Similarly, number of villages have also increased from 6,38,588 in 2001 to 6,40,867 in 2011.²⁰² Therefore, to understand rural through the evolutionary process is western influence in Indian academics.²⁰³ According to Dube (1961, p. 3), multiple factors that determine the structure of village such as size, population, land area, caste and ethnic composition. While Srinivas (1969, p. 3) argues that physical proximity not only in terms of physical, but also the network of communicability that a village touched with city influence village life. Due to improvement in communication and transport infrastructure, lot of people have started to work in urban areas, but continue to live in rural settlement. Governments of India and China have followed the policies that are biased toward rural and favored urban-centric growth. Therefore, concentration of development and resources towards urban have increased the development gap between rural and urban.²⁰⁴

Number of people who are exclusively dependent on agriculture in rural has fallen to a large extent (Jodhka, 2017). Due to crisis, in agriculture people have started

²⁰¹ http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2011.pdf. Page 5. Accessed on June 5, 2018.

²⁰² Ibid, p. 13.

²⁰³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ou7U5HWD2jI&feature=share>. Accessed on June 29, 2018.

²⁰⁴ See Fan et al. "Rural and Urban Dynamics and Poverty: Evidence from China and India", 2005, p. 1.

to move out of agriculture and rural as well. Rural-urban interaction in economic and cultural aspects has increased to a large extent mainly due to change in nature of economy from agriculture to industrial. Effectiveness and influences on rural are visible with the adoption of modern urban goods as part of life among the rural population. In developed regions of the country, urban influence has entered into various aspects of life from material to aspirations as shown by Bijender Kumar (2013) in his work related to urbanism in Haryana. Increasing income in rural has also encouraged the interaction between rural and urban. Further, it has brought the changes in the culture of rural. Factors such as income and job outside agriculture in nearby urban area determine urbanism (urban way of life). Urban manufactured goods have completely replaced the goods manufactured in the village.

As mentioned above changes such as decline of agriculture, disintegration of traditional power and economic institution “have generated a sense of individuation in the village society and in the absence of viable economic opportunities and social support structures it has generated a sense of anxiety, a kind of “*ontological insecurity*” (Giddens, 1991)”.²⁰⁵ To enhance the understanding of internal and regional diversity on rural India, there is a need for further research on rural Indian society.

Discussion in the second chapter helps us locate challenges in defining youth. Prominent work of Manning & Truzzi (1972) help us to see interlinks between youth studies and sociology. For them collaborating the category of youth and discipline of sociology helps to “draw on the behavior of youth to produce insights into social life in general” (Manning & Truzzi, 1972, p. 1). Definition of youth has been fluid and volatile as a result there is no single definition of it. Due to desirability for youthfulness category of youth has expanded in both directions upward as well downward in all types of societies. Simonsen (2005, p. 8) argues with the time concept of youth gained importance its acceptability as an autonomous category with its norms, values and culture also increased. In the academic world, there began the studies to see how the social change in different ways is related to youth. In the

²⁰⁵ See S. S. Jodhka, “Emergent Ruralities: Revisiting Village Life and Agrarian Change in Haryana”, 2014, p. 17.

decade from 1960's to 1970's, western world experienced the drastic social change brought on by the youth. For Bourdieu (1993, p. 94) division between young and old is nothing, but the division of power. "Youth and age are not self-evident data but are socially constructed, in the struggle between the young and the old. The relationship between social age and biological age is very complex" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 95). Bourdieu finds it problematic to apply the youth as a term for the different section of masses who do not have any commonality among them.

Also have found in the discussion how the conception of youth in Europe has shifted from multiculturalism to concept of angry young man in 1950's, criminal gangs of youth in 1960's to challenges faced by the youth of migrant parents in the 21st century. Biology and cultural factors are most significant dimension in developing the conceptual clarity on the concept of youth. Eisenstadt (1972, p. 15) informs that the basic biological process of maturation is almost similar in all societies, while cultural definitions of youth vary from one society to another. He further argues that cultural definitions are the result of the division of labor in society. Roles are given to youth to produce order and complement relationship in society. Social factors play a significant role in shaping the youth. Work of psychoanalysts Sudhir Kakar and Kamla Chowdhry (1970, p.3) show in their study on urban youth that youth has always been the crucial stage in human life. Further, they argue that biological maturity in an individual is accompanied by the specific psychological crisis that has to be resolved before an individual attains adulthood through psychological and social maturity. Also, attributes of youth vary in traditional and modern societies in terms of role allocation and the basis of division of labor.

On the issues of sexuality and choices, not much has been questioned by youth in India except in big cities to some extent. Youth from upper middle class living in large urban cities have the freedom to make choices in choosing their partner for marriages, but things have not moved much in the rural part of the country. Earlier institutions of early marriage and prostitution contributed towards sexual stability. There is a need for developing an alternative to these institutions as the age of marriage have increased with time due to socio-economic changes. Regarding marriage, choices youth have attempted, but have not been successful in breaking the caste boundaries. CSDA-KAS (2017, p. 51) report shows that 59 percent of youth

living in rural areas of India have the patriarchal mindset, while this number is 52 percent in cities and least is 37 percent in big cities.

Fast rate of social change in today's time initiates the change in social order that lead to increasing parent-youth conflict. In different periods of time, the atmosphere of socialization for different generations of youth have been different. Therefore, parents get old fashioned, and youth turns out to be rebellious, and clashes start occurring very frequently within the confined circle of family. Moreover as Davis (1972, pp. 94-95) argues that due to rapid social change intrinsic differences lead to arising of extrinsic differences at the same stage of life from the differential cultural content by the successive generations that turn into conflict among generations. The logic of conflict between the parents and child is not only of the time period, but also related to the content of socialization of youth.

Further, research highlights the demographics from western part of the world as well as from India. It highlights education as an important medium of mobility. It analyzes the case of *Jat* and *Chamar* youth. The work by scholars such as Craig Jeffrey (2012), Satish Deshpande (2006), Jeffrey et al. (2004) show the assertion by the historically deprived groups. Youth from deprived groups assert themselves because education gives them the confidence and dignity. But, the lower middle-class *Jat* reproduces their power. They defend their class position through investing in children education and by developing the contact with the state at the local level. Education also changes the aspirations of *Chamar* and *Jat* youth. Both, consider an educated individual as superior from the uneducated person. The youth from both the community extend the educated versus uneducated attributes to consumption practices, the way of talking, and clothing pattern. With the help of education, Dalit young men gain confidence and dignity, but fail to overcome their disadvantage to have enough money to bribe and social contacts to secure government job. Also, the formal education does not successfully undermine the caste and class reproduction in north India.²⁰⁶ Significant amount of discrimination exists in the higher education on the basis caste.

²⁰⁶ See Jeffrey et al., "Degrees without Freedom: The Impact of Formal Education on Dalit Young Men in North India", 2004, p. 963.

An interesting dimension is added in youth studies that are of political participation of youth in India. Economic independence and political participation are significant characteristics of the time period that involve the transition of youth to adulthood. As per world youth report (2016, p. 12) factors such as the socio-economic and political environment that prevails in society have a significant impact on young people in terms of their engagement. Youth political participation in India shows opposite trends in comparison to the global trend of decline of interest in politics. Indian youth show high level of interest in politics without any decline in it across generations (Desouza et al., 2009, p. IX). In India, significance of youth as political category got attention in electronic and print media in the 2009 Lok Sabha elections because of their numbers (Kumar, 2014, p. XXII). Last decade in Indian politics has witnessed several protests by youth such as anti-corruption movement in the national capital, the emergence of AAP as a new political party, agitation by youth from agrarian communities such as Jats in Haryana, Patels in Gujarat and Marathas in Maharashtra for inclusion into OBC category. Lastly, there is elaboration on the changing aspirations among *Chamar* and *Jat* youth.

Further thesis analyzes rural transformation in Haryana and highlights the social dimension towards changing youth aspirations in the state. Initial discussion informs the historical and demographic view of the state. The analysis is extended towards the significant progress Haryana has done in agriculture since its formation in 1966 due to implementation of the policy of Green Revolution. The state has also experienced tremendous industrial growth due to its physical proximity to the national capital. Due to rapid urbanization in Delhi, the state of Haryana shows a significant amount of urbanization and urbanism (urban way of life), but parallel to these changes, regional diversity have also emerged in the state (Kumar, 2013, p. 137). Districts with the highest urbanization in the state are Faridabad (68.82%) and Gurgaon (79.51%). The boundary of both of these districts touches Delhi. Further, in some regions of Haryana there has been a high level of urbanism with the low level of urbanization in countryside of cities except districts Gurgaon, Faridabad, Rohtak and Panipat that are near to Delhi. These types of patterns prevent the unplanned urbanization in the state. The chapter shows that southern part of Haryana faces challenges of low agricultural productivity, low level of income and have experienced

a low level of urbanism. According to Kumar (2013, p. 144) government must implement the agricultural and rural development schemes in this southern part of Haryana to promote balanced growth of urbanism and urbanization in this region.²⁰⁷ While Kumar (2013, pp. 144-145) in his work suggests that for the northern region of Haryana government need to focus on the development of infrastructure, increasing carrying capacity, better irrigation facility to raise the level of urbanism along with the urbanization.

Due to agriculture distress, people in Haryana similar to other parts of the country have started to find their livelihood in expanding non-farm economy. Traditional economic institutions such as *jajmani* have withered away. Service providing castes are no more dependent on land owning castes. Transformation in the rural economy and social life of state have made way for new social imaginations. Sarkar in his work on Sonipat district explores that due to “conversion of land from ‘*means of production*’ to a ‘*condition of production*’ and ‘*financialization of land*’ (Sarkar, 2015, pp. 439 & 444) has lead to change in the attitude of the agrarian communities. Further, Sarkar explains changing sociality in Haryana that “the green revolution not only introduced new farming technology and inputs, but also socialized the landowning farmers in the market economy and forced them to learn a new calculative logic to manage production” (Sarkar, 2015, p. 445). In the state, there has emerged a new attitude among the landowners who do not any more relate selling of land with the shame and see land as an asset that possesses the financial value. Hence, the land is ready to be commodified, and people are ready to sell it for higher financial gain. Thus, landowners have completely shifted their notion towards the agricultural land that is also altering their belongingness with the village. Moreover, the spatial integrity of village that existed in the imagination of the people in rural has also been dislocated.

Then, research engages in understanding the youth aspirations in context of Haryana. In this section, Arjun Appadurai (2004, pp. 29-30) emphasizes on the role that culture plays in shaping the aspirations of people or community willing to

²⁰⁷ See Bijender Kumar, “The Role Urbanism For Judicious Growth of Urbanization in Haryana-An Analysis”, 2013, p.144.

overcome the material deficiency. While Jodhka (2018) argues that youth are shaped by their social conditions that include the factors such as class position, caste, and religious identity. Further, Jodhka (2018, p. 18) concludes that the socio-economic position of the origin of an individual continues to determine the destiny of an individual.

The younger generation of farmers in Haryana are almost alienated from the occupation of agriculture, and they are not even interested in learning it. So, therefore, the current generation of farmers want their young children to look for an alternative source of livelihood. They do not want their next generation to fall back on agriculture. They as well as their children aspire for the secure jobs in government or private sector, or some business, but do not wish to continue the agriculture.²⁰⁸ Works of Jeffrey et al. (2014) in northern India and of Swagato Sarkar (2015) in Haryana show that farmers and their young children aspire to have secure salaried employment. CSDS-KAS (2017) report elaborates on youth aspirations for government jobs as such:

“As the government gets downsized in the coming years, there will be even greater competition for the fewer jobs that are available. The agitation by Jats in Haryana, Patels in Gujarat and the Marathas in Maharashtra are somewhat symptomatic of the underlying job crisis that is brewing in India” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 20).

Discussion in the chapter shows that the majority of Indian youth are fond of wearing stylish clothes, footwear, and aspire to have the latest mobile phones. They like to go restaurant, cinema, and cafe regularly. “Young men are more fashion conscious as compared to young women” (Deesouza et al., 2009, p. VII). Work of scholars Bijender Kumar (2013), Peter Ronald deSouza et al. (2009), Swagato Sarkar (2015) and CSDS-KAS (2017) report enhance the understanding on preferences, choices and aspirations of youth in Haryana mainly of districts such as Rohtak, Sonapat, Gurgaon and Faridabad that have physical proximity to Delhi.

²⁰⁸ See Swagato Sarkar, “Beyond Dispossession: The Politics of Commodification of Land under Speculative Conditions”, 2015, p. 447.

Indian youth are highly anxious, and the anxiety level among Indian youth is higher in the big cities in comparison to rural areas in the country. Major issues and factors that lead to anxiety among the youth were found to be the health of their parents, personal health, family problems, continuing the family traditions and employment (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017). Anxiety level among also depend on education level. Youth who are less educated are more anxious regarding the uncertainty of the future in comparison to the who have access to higher education.

Relating to aspirations among youth Peter Ronal deSouza (2009) argues that aspirations are related to the worldview of an individual so being near to Delhi the districts Gurgaon and Faridabad of Haryana has experienced the high number of urbanization that is 68.82 and 79.51 percent respectively as shown in table 1.1 as well. That almost double than the state percentage of urbanization in Haryana which is 34.88 percent.²⁰⁹

Indian youth manifest the mix of Indian as well as western culture in terms of their opinions, choices, and aspiration. While adopting the new technology in form of new gadgets, smartphones, computer and laptops they also hold high faith in religion. They are fond of visiting restaurants and cinema hall regularly, and a large number of youth continue to perform the religious activity like praying very often. “For many of today’s Indian youth, praying and purchasing or religion and materialism seem to go hand in hand, and there is no contradiction between the two” (CSDS-KAS Report, 2017, p. 94). While getting the exposure to western culture through the increased usage of internet Indian youth adopt only those lifestyle, habits and aspirations that are compatible with their circumstances and whatever suits them.

²⁰⁹ http://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/DCHB_Haryana.html. Accessed on June 19, 2018.

Findings of the study

Discussions in chapters have brought significant observations regarding youth study and rural transformation in India. The shift in nature of the economy in rural Indian society has drastically transformed rural population imagination with village life. The land has become a strategic resource for urban aspirations or urban way of life. It seems that village as a habitat for its habitants is becoming more as strategic stay till they have not got space in urban areas. Relation among social groups (different caste groups) has lost traditional functionality (*jajmani* system) but has retained unequal identities of tradition. Youth in rural areas aspire, struggle and express anxiety for their pursuit of urban amenities and lifestyle. Youth identities in rural areas remain distinct from being coherent. Importance of rural identity for youth is dwindling in today's time. The sense of being different from urban is not easily reflected in the youth's behavior and aspirations. The significant structure in which youth population finds a new relation which denies rural-urban divide in their political participation and issues of social justice.

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