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SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

UNDERSTANDING MINORITIES - A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

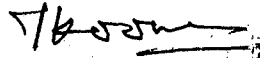
NIRMALA SRINIVASAN

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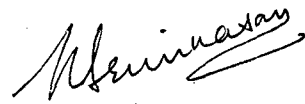
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D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the material in this dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university.



(Dr) T.K. OOMMEN
Supervisor



NIRMALA SRINIVASAN

Yogendra Singh
Chairman
Centre for the Study of Social Systems

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UNDERSTANDING MINORITIES - A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION:

The struggle of minorities for identity and self-determination is a widespread phenomenon in contemporary times. The growing discrepancy between the democratization of nation-states on the one hand, and the politicization of racial, ethnic nationalities on the other hand provides a serious threat to the integration of political systems, stability of social systems and the peace of humanity in general. Further, the problem has come to assume international importance as a result of racial and ethnic nationalism transcending the political boundaries of states. The perennial sociological debate over equality of MAN and Hobbesian dilemma of stability of society has direct bearing on the minority issue, making it a central field of interest for sociological enquiry.

The post war period marked the beginning of some systematic work devoted to the understanding of the problem of minorities. The restoration of civil rights in USA drew serious academic attention to the racial question. In general, the Anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany the demise of colonialism, and the birth of nation-states provided historical antecedents for the development of minority sociology. The Majority - Minority confrontation manifested itself in a variety of political situations, differing from each other in degree and kind. The common empirical factor in all of them was the potentiality of conflict which at times erupted into violent situations such as Negro lynching in U.S.A. or the communal riots in India. In addition to the scientific and pseudo-scientific meanings associated with it, the term minority is charged heavily with emotional and political overtones causing the exodus of human population from one part of the world to another and at times even the death of a few millions. The intensity of the situation is best summarized in the following UNESCO report on race relations. "The problems of racial discrimination and ethnic fragmentation have emerged rapidly into the centre of our concern. Although racial and ethnic strifes have been long-term troubles, the present era charged with nationalist emotions seem to be more strongly afflicted with them. From crises in American Cities, to immigration to UK., civil wars in new colonies, apartheid conflicts in South and S.E. Asia, the problem of racial discrimination and ethnic

stratification have become increasingly acute. There is widespread difference in interpretation as well as in policy recommendation. So to advance our understanding, we have to have a greater knowledge of different situations." ¹

THEORETICAL PROBLEM STATED

Minority position involves or believed to involve some kind of discrimination in one or more of four areas of life, economic, political, legal and social. This is accomplished through a set of attitudes, patterns of behavior, systems of values and stereotype, ideological pressures, last but not least through physical means or force. Majority - Minority relations invariably contain some conflict, although this may take varied forms and operate on different levels. To understand minority groups from sociological perspective, we start with reality called the minority situation, ², and to study this situation, derivation of a set of concepts and variables and examining the isomorphism between these concepts, and term 'minority' would be some of the necessary procedures involved.

✓ What we do in the study of minorities in more or less what Durkheim suggested should be the sociological steps in any investigation, that is, "to investigate first of all by what characteristics one might recognize the thing so designated, then classify its varieties, investigate by methodical inductions what the causes of its variations are, and, finally compare these results in order to abstract a general formula". ³

Circumscribed by the self-imposed limitations of a dissertation paper, we may not be able to scrupulously follow the Durkheimian method, especially with regard to the method of induction from direct field studies. So through the logic of probabilistic inferential method, we start from the epiphenomenal realm of sociological theories on this area of study. The critical enquiry into the field proceeds with a series of questions; who are the minorities? How are they different from the Majority? and what are the forces that maintain these differences?

Definition of term 'minority' involves conceptualization of its structure and process in social relations. The academic effort in this respect has had an uneven intellectual growth in this field of sociological theory. A sociological approach to minority relations was first adopted in U.S.A. and so much of the early theorising was devoted simply to descriptive accounts of white - non-white relations in that country. In the course of intellectual discussions over the methodology, the question of the validity of their theories and findings to analogous situations was raised. In essence, much of the debate was related to the definition and scope of the term 'minority'. Some sociologists restrict the field of study by making distinction between the study of Racial minorities as different ^{from} ^{of} that ^{of} the non-racial minorities generally known as cultural minorities. Their arguments rested partially on the presence of genotypical and biological content of Race relations as explanatory theories of Minority conflict. But with the scientific explosion of the myth of 'racism' their arguments collapsed into polemics.⁴

Yet some others drew the line of demarcation between Racial Sociology and Minority Sociology on basis of differences in the composite structure and relations between racial and non-racial minority situations.⁵ The distinction in the stratificatory systems of the two situations resolved their theoretical position in favour of a dichotomous approach. Consequently we find a kind of uneven growth in the body of social science literature on the subject of minorities. But these isolated approaches helped to highlight the gaps in the theoretical knowledge which was subsequently completed with the formalization of the concept of ethnicity as a frame of group identity, may it be racial groups, cultural or caste groups. "An ethnics group is a distinct category of the population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own. The members of such a group are, or feel themselves are bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture."⁶ It is true that systems of race and systems of ethnic relations have much in common, but multi-racial societies are in the nature of the case more rigidly ascriptive ones than most of the multi-ethnic societies. The popular tendency to express the rigidity of racial system in the idiom of caste has a long tradition of academic controversy.⁷ Ethnic differences might be based at least partly on race as in the case of Malays, Chinese and Indians in Malaysia or might exist in racially homogenous but culturally diverse as in case of India. What is of importance to us is not the symbols of distinction between race, caste or ethnicity per se, but the sense of solidarity and in-group

feeling such symbols arouse among individuals to constitute ethnic collectivities. Such a sense of in-group feeling usually articulated in terms of an ideology is strengthened if the community is marked by a distinctive physical feature, but this is not a necessary condition at all. When the patterns of conflict between Social Groups is expressed with ethnic identity as a frame of reference to exercise the superiority of one over the other it is characteristics of majority - minority confrontation. Thus, " the term national minority is applied to a distinct ethnic group with an individual national and cultural character living within a state which is deminated by another nationality and which is viewed by the latter as the particular expression of its own individuality".⁸ In this paper the term ethnicity is used mainly to differentiate group identities between culturally differentiated segments of the society particularly those obtaining at the level of minorities vis-a-vis the majority groups.

Our approach to the problem of defining sociological field of minority relations includes the study of (a) the differentiation, inequality and pluralism between groups, and (b) the theoretical understanding of minority discrimination in various types of minority situations by highlighting the similarities and differences if any in the structural base of the phenomena and finally (c) explore the possibilities of studying both racial and non-racial minorities within a single conceptual framework. Hence the choice of the minority groups in this essay ranges from the racial minority like American Negroes, religious minority

like the Indian Muslims and Parsis and an ethnic minority like the Anglo-Indians.⁹ To the extent that social relations of all these minority groups engender a potential source of conflict because of their nationality, they may be referred to collectively as 'political minorities' with nation-state as a frame of reference and as 'ethnic minorities' with cultural identity (in terms of race, language, religion and other ascriptive factors) as a frame of reference. Such a collective terminology is very essential for the line of comparative reasoning that shall be adopted as a method to formulate a general conceptual framework for study of all minorities.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The field of minority study is a vast subject. The vastness is not on account of the voluminous literature on the subject but due to the complexity and universality of the phenomena in the contemporary world. Minorities differ from each other in their historical origin. They display certain symbolic differences with the Majority group in terms of colour, religion, culture and nationality.¹⁰ The degree of these symbolic differences being a salient variable of the majority-minority phenomena, it was once thought that these symbolic differences demand a historicist, specific approach to various kinds of minorities that is, the study of linguistic minorities was considered to be different from that of racial minorities, a belief that was hypothesized on the basis of space-time uniqueness of the subject matter.¹¹

In addition, the interaction of a particular minority group with the Majority is also affected by certain situational

variables specific to each context.¹²

The structure of Majority-Minority relationship also varies with the social structure, autonomy and viability of social system.¹³ Although in most of the sociological study of minorities, the statistical factor of percentage is not considered important, some sociologists use the numerical variable (that is, the size of each minority group) to demonstrate the diverse patterns of Majority dominance over Minority.¹⁴

In Europe, minorities are usually defined as cultural nationalities, but in America, the term is predominantly used for racial minorities to emphasize on the physiognomic aspect particularly of the Negro situation. Minority is not a traditional cultural group by itself but evolves with the process of economic and political differentiation. For example the re-organisation of the Indian States on the basis of language and declaration of Hindi as national language led to emergence of linguistic minorities in India. Similarly with the abolition of slavery and restoration of civil rights to all citizens resulted in the minoritization of the American Negroes wherein racism became an instrumental force of Black-White relations. With the establishment of democratic states in the post-war period yet another kind of minorities were born on the horizon of history, namely, the national minorities. "A minority becomes a national minority only when its national aspirations conflict with those of the State."¹⁵ The political, territorial cultural and physical aspects of the phenomena of minority inhibits the definition of the term in precise, universal manner.¹⁶

The primary concern in this paper is to identify a set of concepts and variables that are generic to the various types of minorities already mentioned. In this process, stress is laid on the structure of Majority-Minority relationship and not on the symbolic differences per se. Consequently, the theoretical propositions have been hypothesised taking the structural characteristics into account, in addition to the symbolic features. It is the content and not the form alone that constitutes the essence of a general theory on minorities.¹⁷

The origin of the term 'Minority' coincides historically with the establishment of democratic nation-state underlying the ethos of political modernization.¹⁸ The term becomes an anachronism in a social system that legitimises hierarchy and inequality. To the extent that a majority of contemporary political systems acknowledge political liberty and territorial integrity as corner-stone of democracy the nation-state becomes a convenient frame of reference for study of various types of minority groups. This enables us to methodologically delimit the study to contemporary cases as distinct from other kinds of social minorities that have been existing since the dawn of human history. The essay is divided into 4 parts. Part-I is an appraisal of the contributions of social sciences besides sociology, to the study of Minorities. At the outset, it is to be noted that as far as Sociology, Anthropology and social psychology are concerned, there has not been a rigid demarcation of conceptual boundaries. 'Minority' is said to be constituting a set of attitudes and behaviour and has been

conceptualized by these disciplines in terms of twin concepts of prejudice and discrimination. An effort has been made in this paper to identify the subject of Minority under the exclusive domain of Sociology.

In Part II reference has been made to some principal sociological theories of minority groups. After a critical examination of the same, an alternate theoretical model has been formulated in Part III. Part IV is a discussion on the relative merits of traditional concept of minority for policy formulations. Part V seeks to examine the continued relevance of the concept of 'Minority' used in its conventional sense. An attempt has been made to reformulate it as a conceptual paradigm of study rather than a mere term as used in ethnographic sociology. As it stands now, the conclusions of the analysis indicate the presence of dichotomous views on the definition, problems and policies confronting the Minority issue. However, the belief of the writer in this regard has been subsumed under the general concept of man (to be acknowledged by contemporary social sciences) having an important bearing for the understanding of minority groups as well. This is the rationale behind the Post Script at the end of the essay.

We may now summarize the major themes of the paper :

- (I) To attempt at a precise definition of the term 'Minority' common to racial and religious groups by isolating common structural variables.

(2) To determine whether the study of minority requires special conceptual repertoire or whether the phenomenon can be understood as part of sociological theories on inter-group relations in society as a whole.

(3) To discuss the implications of the rival notions of 'Minority' for policy matters concerning the minority issues in different parts of the world.

PART ISOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE STUDY OF MINORITIES

The contributions of various branches of Social Sciences, besides sociology, has enriched the sociological understanding of 'Minority' besides familiarising us with the field. "Racism" prompted anthropological enquiry into inter-ethnic behaviour across national frontiers. History provides us with rich fund of raw data for development of theoretical models. The biography of every minority group is intimately linked with its national history but more so with certain historical forces of the world as a whole. The classic case is the relationship between Black Nationalism (in America) and its origin in the economic structure of European colonialism. Thus although the Minority in question may be spatially and temporally confined, there is a historical continuum in terms of space and time underlying their contemporary state of "Being". The task of accounting for the differential development of peoples of the world became one of the central concerns in the philosophy of history. In recent times, historians like Arnold Toyenbee attribute the sudden spurts in the progress of culture to the role of "creative minorities".¹⁹ It is beyond History, that the contributions of other social sciences becomes crucial to a Scientific understanding of minority concept.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Whenever anthropologists have turned to the study of minority groups, other than 'primitive' enclaves they have been concerned either with ethnic contacts or race relations.

The major thrust of anthropological work has not only been ethnographic but also "ethnocentric" to the extent they insisted on deterministic models of integration as a pre-requisite for the existence of Minority groups. The most significant contribution of American anthropology has been to establish the difference between the biological and sociological aspects inhered in the term race and racism respectively. This paved the way for the building of theoretical models of acculturation and pluralism involved in the process of integration of minority group members into the mainstream of national life.²⁰ The conceptual bias of anthropology is in favour of interpreting Minority phenomena in terms of culture conflicts.

As far as the Indian minorities are concerned, we have some outstanding works such as the study of Muslims Castes by Ansari and Mishra.²¹ Ahmad's study on Muslim Castes in different parts of India focus on the internal and external aspects of caste and the principle of caste hierarchy and its institutionalization within the Islamic fold.²² Gaikwad's study of Anglo-Indians and Kulke's work on Indian Parsis start with the premises of cultural anthropology but ultimately develop into sociological analyses.²³ Besides these studies on political minorities, extensive study has been undertaken on tribal and caste minorities in India, ever since the British period. As a result, many of these studies come under the intellectual sway of colonial rationality. Hutton and Ghurye present extensive descriptions of Indian races, castes and cultures.²⁴ Tribal planning in India is an outstanding example where administrators, social workers and social scientists have pooled in their resources together for the betterment of the tribal peoples and their integration with national culture. The isolationist, assimilationist and

integrationist approaches constitute the essence of anthropological approaches to tribal studies in India.²⁵

There is an unmistakable notion of cultural determinism underlying the anthropological definition of term 'minority'. Being envisaged as a pure culture category, then with the change of cultural context as a result of acculturation, do ~~one~~^{we} infer that the term is empirically irrelevant? The American Negro in spite of holding similar life styles, values and norms as the white, is still subjected to differential treatment. This has more than proved the fact that minority discriminations transcend beyond the cultural realm.

By reducing the totality of Majority-Minority relationships to one of culture contact or ethnic conflicts, anthropology works on a logically inadequate premise, since both culture and structure are inextricably interwoven into the texture of the society. The emergence of social anthropology has partially managed to fill this gap.

CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

In the second half of 19th century especially in the post-war period, the epidemic of 'Nationalism' and the cult of nation-state provided a new impetus to the study of minority groups by political scientists. They interpret Majority-Minority rivalry as a struggle for identity within a system that legitimises equality of all individuals inhabiting a definite national territory. Their principal focus is on the question of equal participation by all citizens in the political process of the nation, irrespective

of cultural and ethnic diversity. Some studies have also been done on the electoral pattern and voting behaviour of minorities in India as well as in USA.²⁶

The overwhelming concern of Indian political scientists has been with the politics of Hindu-Muslim communalism as a barrier to Democratic process of nation-building.²⁷ Ranjit Gupta associates the separatist attitude of Indian muslims to their religious and cultural differences from the Hindu majority.²⁸ Underlying this belief is the implicit notion of antithesis between traditional religious values and modern political systems. To the extent, muslim separatism is an inevitable consequence of their Islamic origin, he suggests special legal protection for minorities. It is, however, vague as to how legal measures can resolve cultural antagonism that has grown over the years as a part of India's national heritage.

In most of the studies on Hindu-Muslim politics in India, the notion of the term 'minority' is reflective of the western intellectual and British colonial interpretation. This is evident in the description of all Hindu-Muslim issues as one of communal conflict - reminiscent of an intellectual relic of the British anthropological tradition. By borrowing western models and concepts en toto without taking into account the specific historical condition of the society is responsible for the ideological bias and academic plagiarism in Indian Minority Literature. A strong counter-view has been proposed by one of the foremost Indian political scientist Rajni Kothari.²⁹ According to him ethnic or cultural identity

of various groups does not impede political integration. Because, the politicization of these groups through constitutional, factional, coalitional politics, secularizes their traditional base of communal existence. Hence he hypothesizes that politicization of minorities helps national integration. On this basis, he advocates the applicability of caste-politics framework for study of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other religious minorities of India. Kothari summarizes his view in the following words; "politics in India have served to provide a 'Model' for the integration of the various diversities and cleavages into a common framework, led to an interplay between parochial demands and systemic outputs".³⁰ Apart from these studies, some works on the electoral participation in constituencies with sizeable muslim population have also been undertaken with a view to indicate the differential pattern of support and factional identities with the community.³¹

To some extent, this communalist and separatist approach to muslim politics has been replaced by the notion of elite-mass politics as being common to the political behaviour of all the Indians.³² Thus the muslim problem has been viewed not as a generalized monolithic one but as a process of stratification with a larger context i.e. the Indian polity. Obviously, a sociological approach better informs our understanding of minorities than confining the study to questions of political identity alone. Then the focus shifts from one of political identity to identities within inter-group power framework.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND STUDY OF MINORITIES

Of all the various branches in Social Sciences, Social psychology has taken a tremendous lead over the other branches in the sophistication of research techniques for collection of data on minority attitudes and behaviour vis-a-vis the Majority. The most frequently studied concept is prejudice the correlates of which include factors such as anxiety, frustration, authoritarianism, rigidity, withdrawal, alienation and aggression. Gitler has challenged the interpretation of prejudice as a psychological variable replacing it with a sociological theory of prejudice and discrimination.³³

Empiricist psychology assuming that there are measurable tendencies to human actions, is able to put forward "explanatory" concepts as to the presence or absence of such tendencies in human population. In this context, the study of aggression complex of Southern Negroes by Dollard³⁴ and Klineberg's study of ethnocentrism and Negro stereotypes may be cited as classic examples.³⁵

Some other studies have directed their attention to delineate personality factors of Minority Group members. The monumental work of Adorno and others in constructing traits of authoritarian personality has provided some provocative leads since 50's.³⁶ The concept of "MarginalMan" coined originally by R.E. Park drew the attention of social psychologists to the study of marginal personality.³⁷ This was originally developed in U.S.A. on the basis of research among jews and other white immigrants as well as Negroes. Studies on identity crises (of immigrants, of national minorities) and, on Innovative personality may be considered

as offshoots of the marginality studies. Golovensky offers an extensive discussions and critique of the concept of marginality.³⁹ The marginal status of the Indian Parsis has been held responsible for their innovative role to function as an agent of social change in India.⁴⁰ Kulke's monographs on this subject may be considered as an appropriate illustrations of theoretical intimacy between sociology and social psychology in the study of minority groups.

The competitive strength of the theories in social psychology as an alternate explanation of the phenomenon of minorities proves a valuable antidote to the oversocialized conception of man. However, the age-old controversy between Freudians and Neo-freudians on the determinants of personality system holds good for the field of minorities also. In spite of the refinement of research tools and measurement techniques, it has been difficult to establish causal linkages between minority status, the perception of the individual and the personality system. For instance, the ~~paraneid~~ complex of the Jews cannot ~~personality~~ be derived from the ontology of Zionism just as the marginality of the Parsis need not necessarily have resulted in their innovativeness. Scholars have debated for a long time, the relative merits of psychological causation of social theories. Homans has argued in favour of the completion of macro-level theories with psychological assumptions.⁴¹ Blalock holds a diametrically oppsite view that, besides providing some insights into motivations affecting group interactions, the micro-level variables (of social psychology) ~~of~~

need not be part of the formal structure of the Minority theory.⁴² However, so long as the psychological theories rest on questionable assumptions, such as the relationship between motives, attitudes and behaviour, its inherent weakness cannot contribute much to an explanatory theory of minorities.

SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY AND THE FIELD OF MINORITIES

Using ethnic nationality as a frame of reference, Social demographers have focussed on the study of migrations patterns, growth rate, reproductive rate, and fertility rate of cultural segments of the population. Kulke examines the effect of migrations and urbanizations on the percentage of population and its growth rate of Indian Parsis. Starting with Brian Spooner's theoretical contributions to demographic anthropology, we have diverse themes on the subject such as the politics of population growth etc.⁴³ Some demographers highlight the regional complexities of Muslims problems in India by employing techniques of regional demography.⁴⁴ Demographic behaviour of minority groups can provide novel insights into their political behaviour, especially with regard to the growth rate of population in a Democratic system that rests on communal representation and numerical proportions. The greatest asset of demography of minorities is the massive amount of quantified data, which in turn may be used as statistical support for sociological studies. (Refer Appendix, Tables 1 and 2 for the population and urbanization figures of the Indian religious groups).

So far, the field of minority studies has been enriched

by a plethora of concepts, models and theories contributed by social science theories and applied research. Sociology in its unique capacity as an inter-disciplinary study of man faces a challenge by seeking to unfold certain similarities constituting the general patterns of human development. The study of minorities is of crucial significance to sociologists since it demonstrate a very striking aspect of social dialectics - though spatially or culturally bound, "Minority" is a ubiquitous phenomena of almost all democratic nation - states. Our perspective should transcend beyond cultures, societies and nations to discover the universality of the phenomena. This is germane to a sociological understanding of "minority" as a concept of society.

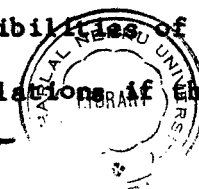
In the forth coming section the focus is on the interpretation of the term 'minority' in some leading sociological theories on the subject. Critical review of these theories have helped to isolate certain specific variables as identifiable factors of minority groups. While there is exhaustive literature in the realm of Negro sociology, the study of Indian minorities have been rendered difficult owing to the paucity of sociological literature and data in the field.

MINORITY SOCIOLOGYTHEORETICAL REVIEW

The sociological approach to the study of minorities focus on the patterns of inter-group relations of Majority-Minority in terms of ethnicity, class and power as its frame of reference. In the opinion of Freeman, "the most important general conclusion appears to be that the greatest promise for an understanding of race and other inter-group relations and for devising effective approaches to the problem lies in working on the assumption that all group relations take their form, change and are ultimately understandable and controllable only in the setting of the total social structure".⁴⁵ The concept of the social system taken in a fairly wide sense has been used either implicitly or explicitly ^{as} and an explanatory variable of the different types of majority - minority situations. One group of these theories is focussed on the stratificatory structure of the society. The other draws attention to pluralist structure or pluralism i.e. the tendency of social systems to be divided, if not vertically, atleast not simply into the kind of the horizontal strata which the stratification theorists seem to imply. For instance, John Rex draws the distinction between the race relations of capitalist societies and the minority relations of new colonies/metropolitan societies, mainly in terms of the political and economic institutions that determine the value systems and stratifications systems of the two.⁴⁶ Further, he also sees the possibility of pluralist societies developing a kind of race relations if the vertically

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differentiated cultural segments merge to constitute horizontal strata similar to the industrial societies. The hegemony of the racist ideology, the systematic exploitation of the coloured minorities makes the stratification system more viable than that of the unincorporated colonial minorities of metropolitan societies given their pluralism. He attributes this to the fact that the Negro is very much a part of the cultural and structural segments of the white society although he is at the bottom of the ladder. On the contrary the colonial minorities stand outside the stratificatory system and are incorporated if at all, at a higher level of the social hierarchy. The absence of racist practices are other additional factors for the relatively lesser degree of conflict present under plural situation. Although his analysis is undoubtedly an important contribution to the sociological aspects of minority relations, his dichotomous interpretation of the minority situation in terms of race and plural type sounds rather naïve. The macro-perspective provided by the system of stratification based on coercive values of economic and political institutions is, a fortiori, a convenient starting point for a higher order theory of minority conflict and struggle which is not forthcoming in his analysis. We have discussed John Rex' contribution in detail mainly to highlight our own approach to the field. However, the major theoretical emphasis in sociology has been to clarify the term "Minority" as an empirical tool of enquiry.

The existing theories may be broadly classified into;

- (1) Theories of integration
- (2) Conflict theories sub-divided into the Marxist theories and "Power Theories".
- (3) Interactionist approach.

A major section of the theoretical work in minority sociology have drawn their concepts and tools of enquiry from the repository of general sociological assumptions about society. Therefore, the sociological perspectives on Majority-Minority relations fall under the theoretical hegemony of either the equilibrium model (of Integrationist School) or, the conflict model of the social structure. The interactionists theorists, by using the social action frame of reference, isolate variables relating to both kinds of social images.

The major distinction between the Marxists and the Non-marxist (both structural-functional and the Power theories) interpretations of minority tests in the following points :

- (1) The two schools differ in their thesis on the genesis of Minorities. The marxists trace the origin of all minorities to the exploitative structure of capitalism and Imperialism.⁴⁷ To the non-marxist integration theories the genesis of minorities is associated with (a) the process of migration, war, conquest;⁴⁸ (b) differentiation of social structure from simple to complex productive systems.⁴⁹ According to the Power theories of the conflict school, the distributive imbalance as a mechanism of maintaining status hierarchy between ethnic groups generates conflict typical of minority phenomena.⁵⁰

(2) Further, to the Marxist tradition, ethnicity as a variant of minority identity was an epiphenomenological irritant in the analysis of class conflict. To the western anthropologists especially of spencerian school, minority was an inventory of culture traits devoid of its economic structure. Not until the imminent demise of classical European colonialism did western social scientist begin to analyze critically the structure of colonialism in the context of racial, cultural and national minorities.

INTEGRATION THEORIES

The integration or the consensus theorists approach the field of minority relations from dual standpoints. Firstly, their primary orientation being the maintenance of social order, they investigate social imbalance (if any) arising out of intergroup relations such as the majority-minority confrontation by abstracting the various stages and levels of adaptation of the minority groups into the majority social structure. Secondly, the differences in the levels of integration of the different ethnic minorities is explained not in terms of social or structural factors but in terms of cultural factors that differentiate the segments of the social structure into minorities and majority. The value bias in favour of consensus and stability necessarily forbids their interpretation of disequilibrium caused by minority presence in terms of structural inconsistency. Hence the teleological concepts of their theories. This approach characteristics of the Structural-functional school in Minority sociology implicitly define "Minority" as sub-cultural enclaves expressed in terms of colour, caste, race, religion or other culture traits that are unique and historically

specific.

Mac Iver brought the concept of Integration and Assimilation into sociology. Endorsing the spencerian evolutionary arguments, he maintains that differentiation is a kind of integration in itself especially in complex societies, where process of assimilation and accommodation achieve integration. Assimilation is a complimentary process of integration which is defined by him as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life".⁵² The cultural bias of the concept is obvious.

So far the most precise definition of the term integration in minority sociology is that of David Aberle. He says, "by integration, we refer to the capacity of the society to operate as a somewhat integrated totality without degeneration into frequent open conflicts or breakdown into a series of independent smaller systems to mention two types of departure from integration!"⁵³ The truistic nature of the definition is partially responsible for the weakness of the theoretical propositions of this school.

The first American attempt at a theory of race relation is Lloyd Warner's theory of colour-caste.⁵⁴ According to this theory, American Society includes both class and caste dimensions in its stratificatory system. While examining its relationship to the absorption of ethnic minorities (in the series on Yankee City studies), Warner discover the rigidity imposed by ethnic factors on the assimilation of various minorities into the stratificatory system in general. The studies showed that most European minorities moved up the hierarchy over two or three generations except for the Negro

population. In the case of the latter, inspite of class mobility (measured in terms of occupational standards) there were other barriers which split the Negro-White stratification system into two;^{it} was a caste barrier. The white acceptance and their free association with other ethnic minorities explains the absence of caste barrier in the case of the latter and hence their partial or complete absorption into white social structure. Thus Warner's analysis of caste element in Negro-White relation isolates this variable as a source of tension and imbalance in maintaining system equilibrium. He contends that the persistence of the caste barrier even in the context of increasing social mobility of the Negroes may tilt the stratificatory barrier vertically resulting in the Equal but separate status of the Negroes. (Refer Fig.2 (A) & (B)). Rex's modification of the Warner Model rejects the caste interpretation of racial minorities in favour of class analysis.⁵⁵

R.E.Park approaches the problem of minority integration through the cyclic process of conflict, competition, accommodation and assimilation.⁵⁶ Lieberman's modification of Park's Model suggests that race relations developed differently in societies where a Migrant Population has imposed its order from the way they develop in situations conceptualized by Park's cyclic model.⁵⁷ Thus, he hypothesizes that it is migrant status and not migration per se that determines pattern of conflict. Lieberman draws attention to variables of the social structure to account for the dynamics in the Majority-Minority relations.

Warner's Yankee City series combines both synchronic and diachronic factors in conceptualizing ethnic hierarchy in American class structure.⁵⁸

R.E.Park and Ruth Benedict may be considered among the earliest students of Minority relations especially of racial types.⁵⁹ Relating the genesis of minority to migrations, war and conquest from time immemorial, Park believes that the phenomena of minority struggle is not unique to modern complex societies. This apparently truistic conclusion can only have meaning in the light of his definition of a minority situation; he holds that all relations of cultural or racial minorities with the dominant people may be described as types of race relations.⁶⁰ By failing to identify the structural forces that makes an ethnic group exercise various types of dominance over another, Park's notion of the term 'Minority' is characterized by very naïve and truistic interpretation.

In equating race relations to class conflict, Benedict's concept of minority situation is confined to relatively modern period of history. She conceptualizes Majority-Minority conflict in terms of ethnocentrism as expressed in racism. But the term "ethnocentrism" need not necessarily relate to social situations based on colour, caste or culture and hence the inadequacy of the conceptual framework.⁶¹

The Integrationist notion of Minority suggests that :

- (a) Minority groups being sub-cultural enclaves in society are atypical members and hence,
- (b) in order to maintain structural balance, these members need to be integrated into the mainstream of society either through acculturation or assimilation. These concepts serve to identify the process of de-minoritization of ethnic groups and their absorption into the value system of the majority. [Is deminoritization only a cultural process ?]

Clearly the difficulty in sustaining the integrative hypothesis is very obvious. Firstly the logic of their arguments collapses into tautology in the sense that they fail to show the causal linkages between ascriptive status and minority status. It runs something like this :

'Minorities are so because they are atypical and culturally different as a consequence (function of) this atypicality, they are not incorporated into the major cultural system. So the process of assimilation and acculturation are functional to preserve the stability of the social system.'

Besides the circuitous logic, the arguments seem to justify ⁴ the existing pattern of inequality based on the criteria of ethnic superiority of one over the other and it even rationalizes the majority attitudes towards minorities in terms of their assimilatory or acculturating policies towards the latter. Apart from this catch at theoretical level and the conservative bias in its value orientation, the integrated theorists seem to be hazy about the notion of minority. In short, they have revived the anthropological conception but presented in a new form. Further, at the operational level, one is confronted with the problem of measuring the kind and degree of integration. The most serious limitation of the Integration theories is the failure to define the term minority. And, even the few definitions that are present are formulated on the basis of teleological concepts. Louis Wirth's definition may be cited as an example. He defines a minority " as a group of people , who because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from others in the society in which they live for different and unequal treatment and who, therefore, regard

themselves as objects of collective discrimination.⁶² (Emphasis added). The dubious role of Power and cultural factors in determination of minority status, whether it is the cause or consequence of collective discrimination renders his definition very simplistic.

Parsons treats the problem of ethnic differences as a factor which modifies the stratification system rather than as something which that system can explain.⁶³ Simpson and Yinger believe it is more useful to study minorities in terms of social classes (occupational groups) rather than castes.⁶⁴ Their apparent integrative bias is seen in their conviction that it is social mobility and not class struggle that will ultimately liberate the minorities and give them equal identity with the majority. But Warner's Yankee City findings contradict this notion in the context of Negro-White status equality.⁶⁵ Also, there appears to be an implicit emphasis on the evolution of social systems from one based on ethnicity to that based on class, which is not, however, substantiated by research in this field.

Among the Indian Sociologists, Ghurye's work on the Hindu-Muslim tension constitutes the intellectual core of the orthodox approaches.⁶⁶ The term 'integration' is used in a broader sense to include the psychological and structural aspects of social life as well. Given this multi-dimensional definition of the concept, he relates the present state of anomie and alienation of Indian muslims to their traditional bias and values. There is an unmistakable notion of minority being an "anti-culture" leading to the anomic conditions of the society. With extensive reference to historical data on the cultural, social and political life of Hindus and muslims he maintains that Hindus and

Muslims have been historically parallel structures and cultures lacking in any form of symbiotic relationship. Investigating Hindu-Muslim communal riots from within the paradigm of social tensions, Ghurye concludes that political integration is only necessary but not sufficient condition for the absorption of muslims into the mainstream of national life. His explanation of Hindu-Muslim tensions is mainly related to the dysfunctionality of traditional values to the process of national integration. Besides the characteristic functionalist orientation, his method of historical explanation serves as a heuristic device in the process of theorising on the problem at hand. Imam and Dixit exploit the same historical source data to reject Ghurye's hypothesis of communal parallelism.⁶⁷ These theorists claimed that the historical unity of Hindu-Muslim social structure in India was impaired by forces generated within colonial and post-colonial political structures of India. These rival views expressed in majority-minority relationship of Hindu-Muslims is partly due to the limitations of historiography and partly to the conflicting perspective on the notion of minority structure.

Subsequently, the emergence of pluralist societies such as the American "melting pot" compelled a re-examination of the concepts of acculturation and assimilation and challenges the functionalist chauvenism of viewing minorities as "sub-cultures". Etizbni's re-evaluation of the ghetto study conducted by L. Wirth suggests a pluralist integrative rather than the assimilationist tendencies among the ethnic minorities especially in the 3rd or 4th generation - which was overlooked by Wirth's model.⁶⁸

The pluralistic notion of the concept of minorities is also dominated by integrative bias of the orthodox school in minority sociology. The phenomena of pluralism is a predominant feature of the

composite colonial societies such as India. Societies of this sort appears to be precariously placed in the event of the withdrawal of the major colonising power. In the absence of de facto agreements to divide power between the ethnic nationality of such societies, a very loosely knit stratification system emerges out of this, resulting in the political dominance of one nationality overall the others which is a typical case of minority-majority situation. The innumerable sociological possibilities following the viability of the plural system, render the acculturation frame work inadequate for study of minority relations.

The pluralist school in minority sociology implies the notion of social differentiation of structure as yet another kind of system maintenance and stability. The foremost exponent of this school, Pierre Van Den Berghe conceptualizes the phenomena of Minority prejudice and as a product of the social evolution from simple to complex societies.⁶⁹ The evolutionary assumption of his structural differentiation theory makes it possible to encapsulate the different types of minorities within a single conceptual framework. Van Den Berghe does not undertake to explore the term 'minority' but it is implicit in his Ideal-type postulates on majority-minority phenomena. His findings dispute the orthodox assumption of minority integration as a consequence of acculturation and substantiate his arguments with a thesis of pluralist integration. Racism and Acculturation are mutually exclusive - this is his major conclusion following prolonged research on minority relations in South Africa, South East Mexico and Fiji Islands. His second major contribution to minority theories is to provide an analytical framework for the concept of prejudice.

By identifying race prejudice as a norm of industrial society, he rejects the racist notion of it being an end in itself. He cites

two Ideal-types of Prejudice toward Minorities based on the dichotomous models of simple production system and the complex industrial system. "Our general contention is that manifestations of racial prejudice have historically polarized around two ideal types which we shall call paternalistic and competitive".⁷⁰ Paternalistic prejudice is a characteristic attitude of the numerically small dominant members towards the larger minorities under the agrarian and plantation type of social structure; the values and norms of behaviour (including racial, religious of ethnic relations) are consistent with the status hierarchy, since consensus prevails to legitimate the prejudicial attitude of the Majority. The other ideal type of situation is one of competitive prejudice exercised by numerically large majority over a small minority in a typically industrialized economy. The relative "openness" of these societies brings about a fundamental inconsistency between its productive base (determined by market conditions) and the value of the paternalistic type. In order to maintain social stability, it is necessary to have cohesive value system. Thus to counteract the competitive potentiality of the minorities under the new system, the Majority resort to competitive prejudice of which the racial prejudice is a striking example. In other words, Van Den Berghe holds the competitive prejudice is a structural pre-requisite for the functioning of industrialized society and thus rejects the cultural notion of prejudice as a dislike of the unlike.

However his statement "...physically distinguishing characteristics are generally seized upon to perpetuate groups differences and establish the superiority of the group over the other."⁷¹ seems to contradict his materialistic interpretation of Racial prejudice. Confusion is worse confounded in his subsequent statement "The argument that racial prejudice is a recent development limited to Western Societies and intended to rationalize the economic exploitation of subject peoples, is only a half-truth".⁷² It is not very clear whether he is

trying to isolate class and Race as two different variables in the Social structure of Majority-Minority interaction. He seems to be broadly hinting at the semi-caste-class hypothesis of Minorities putforward by Harris;⁷³ and hence inherits the internal inconsistencies of that theoretical schema; Van Den Berghe's analysis would have otherwise been a sound logical construct but for its occasional flirtation with the genotypical elements of the orthodox school in Minority studies.

The twin concepts formulated by him for a prognostic study of minority situation are cultural pluralism and social pluralism. These concepts highlight the theoretical perspective and the researchers value premises inherent in the process of theory-building. He believes that cultural pluralism or the famous 'melting pot' theory of cultural co-existence is not a sufficient condition for social integration unless the social barriers (in terms of discrimination segregation etc.) or social pluralism in group interactions is abolished. He believes that the concept of pluralism embraces both ethnicity and race puts them in the broader context of the total society.

Van Den Berghe is one of the staunch protagonists of the pluralist school in Minority Sociology. His notion of racial and ethnic minorities becomes clearer with the Pluralist hypothesis than with his Ideal type formulation on the concept of prejudice. The non-racial and non-ethnic dimensions of Minority statuses are better clarified by the concept of pluralism than that of competitive prejudice. The social pluralism model of minority groups projects an image transcending the ascriptive plane to the conomic and political aspects of the minorities.

Nevertheless, these concepts of pluralism and Acculturation (and Assimilation) dominating the integrationist orientation are not explanatory to the extent that they fail to explore dynamics of Social structure. Underlying these concepts is the notion of minorities as ethnic

sub-cultures, with some ascriptive handicaps. "The mere fact of being generally hated because of religious racial or nationality background is what defines a minority group".⁷⁴ The duality of the phenomena both cultural and structural complicates conceptual clarity and hence the definition of the term. For example, Does pluralism mean cultural freedom ? or ethnocentrism ? If latter, then is it consistent with social integration ? As Harris and Wagley observe "Pluralistic minority groups engender hostility and conflict, yet assimilation may sometimes, seen counter to the vested interest of the dominant group, which often has something to gain by maintaining a minority as a distinct and subordinate group.....Only through some measures of conflict, will the disabilities minority be removed"⁷⁵ From this statement the role of conflict is dubious because one is not sure whether it is the cause or consequence of the pluralism. More interesting is the fact that there need not be a unilinear relationship between pluralism or acculturation on one hand and integration on the other. Proposition following these concepts will suffer from lack of internal consistency (as evident from the above quotation by Harris and Wagley) which is the fundamental pre-requisite of a sound theory. Hence the inevitable limitation of the caste-class hypothesis of minorities, put forward by Harris.⁷⁶ At the same time, the definition of Minorities as semi-caste-cum-class groups is to make trustic statements under the pretence of theory. Identifying Minorities as caste or/ class group is not tantamount to explanation of their minoritiness. Finally, the substitution of pluralism for acculturation is suggestive of a kind of anthropological Romanticism that dominates much of Minority Sociology in America. Biased in favour of plural ideals and norms, the doctrine of pluralism sounds intellectually less ethnocentric than that of acculturation.

Conflict Theories and Minorities : The conflict model of group interaction as applied to the Majority-Minority situations differ from the equilibrium model in both formal and substantive aspects. The equilibrium

model based on the notion of structural-functionalism leaves much to be desired methodologically as well as epistemologically. The conflict model is an alternative casting of the sociological analysis. Henderson, one of renowned supports of the conflict model of Minority responses ^{Le} observes, " It is my belief that the development of theory in this field of sociological endeavour has been substantially handicapped by a uniform application of notions that form the operation of the equilibrium model. This has had the consequence of directing analytical efforts away from the conflicting nature of relations between the races."⁷⁷

Marxist Approach : The classical school in the conflict approach is the Marxist interpretation of race struggle. Although the subject 'Minorities' is not included in the Major Intellectual structure of Marxism, the marxist paradigm of class exploitation and class struggle were employed by Lenin and Stalin in their theories of ethnic nationalities and nation-state.⁷⁸ A systematic exploration of the field of Race relations based on the Marxist model was first undertaken by Oliver Cromwell Cox.⁷⁹ He conceptualizes the dominance of Majority over the Minority as one of Capitalist Class exploitation and thus projects the image of minority as belonging to the Proletarian class. "But the fact of crucial significance is that racial exploitation is merely one of aspect of the problem of proletarianization of labour, regardless of the colour of the labourer. Hence racial antagonism is essentially political class conflict".⁸⁰ In order to substantiate his the thesis, Cox attempts at a conceptual clarification of Race as a sociological category. His methodology starts with the process of elimination of certain concepts as inadequate explanations of racial phenomena. These are "ethnocentrism" and "intolerance" that not confined only to race antagonism but in general to in-group-out-group hostility. Finally, the term "racism" is indicative of an ideology, the substitution of rationalization for that of material social fact.

He elaborates the ideological element of racism by distinguishing 'Race' from 'Caste'. In his opinion, the cognitive element in Race is based on physical traits unlike that in Caste which is cultural distinction. It is on this basis that he explains the paradox of a White Negro. From this follows his firm conclusion that race prejudice is a manifestation of an ideology "to stigmatize one group of inferior so that the exploitation of the group itself or its resource or both may be justified".⁸¹ In a capitalist society like U.S.A. racial prejudice takes the form of bourgeois exploitation of the Negro Class. The limitations of his theory relate to the relegation of 'caste' to the abstract realm of culture overlooking its exploitative structural manifestation, and also to the deterministic interpretation of racial minorities as class minorities - This hypothesis by restricting his theory to the capitalistic social structure reduces its level of generality and hence of its explanatory import, and even within the capitalist economy, all Negroes are not proletariates just as all proletariates are not Negroes. Even if he means to bring about the white - Negro working class unity, the physical interpretation of race (as perceived by the people) controverts his own argument, resulting in inconsistent theoretical schema.

A logical corollary to the Marxist hypothesis is that with the onset of socialist revolution and establishing people's democracy, "Minority" would be a defunct sociological category. However, the historical course of events took a different turn, where in the Minorities have become ubiquitous phenomena outliving capitalism Nationalism and even socialism : Ethnic, National and economic boundaries ~~not only~~ collided with each other. thus rendering facts inconvenient for an absolute 'class' analysis. The fault obviously does not lie in history but in the reduction of history to interpret only one aspect of the 'reality' ignoring others. For example, the jews who suffered under German persecution and Russian

anti-semitism became successful Diasporic minorities in the New World. But in their own Jewish State of Israel established on the cult of Zionist Nationalism, a substantial section of the people suffer deprivations of the sort usually identified with minorities.⁸² The marxists would respond to this with the theory of "internal colonialism". But we cannot overlook the logical and empirical possibilities of (1) internal colonialism existing in "classless" societies, (2) The structural impact of ethnic conflict articulated by the policies of national minority under democratic systems. The contradictions between doctrine of classless society^{and} formation of national minorities has been excellently dealt with by J.S. Roucek in his article on the "Soviet treatment of Minorities".⁸³ In his view, the process of Russification in U.S.S.R. has reversed stalin's thesis of proletarian culture constituting an assimilatory mechanism for integration of the non-Russians into the national culture. He notes that this relentless process of russification has been carried out with all the resources at the disposal of a totalitarian regime. R.E. Pipes highlights the differential impact of the Russificatory measures on the various classes in Soviet Union.⁸⁴ He finds the resentment for Russians deepest among the lowest classes in the rural as well as urban working class groups; the intelligentsia (or elites within these minority groups) have both nativistic as well as modernists among them. For the latter, he observes that the net effect of Soviet Russificatory measures is not so much Russification as Westernization.

A.R. Desai ranks foremost among Indian Sociologists advocating class approach to the study of Hindu-Muslim communalism in India.⁸⁵ His contention that religious rivalry between the two communities should not be incorporated in the structure of theory rests on Marxist notion of false consciousness underlying religious belief. He also suggests that the concept of Minority is superficial to a scientific study because of the presence of elite ideology of both nationalists and social scientists

giving scope for Western bias in both.

Some writers rely upon the Marxian interpretation of racial struggle so heavily that they have developed a theory of prejudice on these lines. This theory of prejudice has received serious attention with the publication of Myrdals classic work on American Negroes.⁸⁶ He believes that the prejudice factors against Negroes as caused by multiple factors (economic, political, institution and ideological) resulting in a cumulative cause-and-effect chain reaction. The cumulative causation model, however, imposing it may sound, is at best descriptive and not explanatory because of its circuitous logic. At best, his work may be reckoned as a wealth of empirical data besides offering strong resistance to Marxian theory of Race relations in America.

The specific kind of inter-group relations that emerge out of bourgeois exploitation and the possibility of class formation in the marxian sense, which straddle across ethnic identities is an empirically limited situation. The presence of separate Black and White labour Unions in U.S.A. are self-explanatory; and it is simplistic to wish away such a reality as "false consciousness". However the Marxist class approach, by virtue of its Macro-historical perspective offers strong possibilities of viewing the Minority situation on a world scale. By considering at a broader level than the vulgar interpretation of economic determinism, it serves as an analytic tool for the study of stratification systems in complex societies. In this respect, it merits more serious attention of the scholars than Non-Marxist polemics and Marxist obscurantism.

POWER THEORIES (NON-MARXIST APPROACH)

Under this approach, social power is used as a frame of reference in conceptualizing minority situations. The social interactions between the Majority and Minority articulated within the power-structure of the

society is also sometimes understood as Dominant-Minority relationships. Foremost among the power theorists are Shermerhorn, Blalock and Philip Mason; Yinger and Simpson provide an exhaustive analysis of the concepts of prejudice and discrimination as indicators of social conflict or social tension.⁸⁷ Discrimination and prejudice, the two most frequently studied concepts, are germane to an understanding of the conflict situations typical of Majority-Minority type. These are used in a diagnostic sense unlike the prognostic interpretations of Marxist conceptual repertoire.

While prejudice is considered an attitude of either the individual or groups, discrimination is a system of relationship between the groups and not an isolated individual act. Thus it becomes sociologically more meaningful than prejudice. There is no question of a cause-and-effect relationship between these two concepts because they mutually reinforce each other, neither do these concepts indicate conflict and tension unless they are correlated with other variables such as the effective legal control of Minorities etc. At the same time, they serve as potential weapons of conflict in an inter-group frame of Majority-Minority interactions. There have been numerous efforts to discover by comparative study, the extent of prejudice and discrimination among persons of various class positions (By "Class Position" is meant the socio-economic statuses usually used in American Sociology).⁸⁸ For example, the anti-semitism of American Negroes is deeper than a mere hatred for the Jews. It in fact springs out of the rivalry of the low-class Negroes towards the Upper-class Jews who normally serve as house owners and service professionals to the local Negroes, many of whom are concentrated in the lower classes. These facts amply demonstrate the sociology of Anti-semitism, besides its social-psychological implications.

Finally, the Power Theorists do not perceive of Majority and Minority as polarised into the two economic categories of the exploiting/exploited, but in terms of a hierarchy that constitutes the core of the paradigm of

Super-ordination and subordination in the inter-group arena.

Ballock's approach to the study of power relations between Majority and Minority marks the beginning of rigorous methodology and refinement of techniques in this area of study.⁸⁹ Within the universe of Majority - Minority power context, Ballock identifies two distinct levels of analysis viz The Macro-perspective as determined by Power interaction between the two groups and a Micro-perspective defined by attitudes of the individual members of the Minority or the Majority groups occupying various status positions in the social structure. He seeks to formulate a general theory of the minority relations by integrating the two levels within a single conceptual framework of the arena of power.⁹⁰ In simple terms, his principal thesis is that power contest of the two groups is determined by total resource and total mobilizations of resources. Mobilization determines the distribution of power on one hand and the motivation to act, which in turn conditions the psychological reactions of the people to situations of power contest. With this dynamic framework, Ballock is able to refute the notion of Discrimination and Prejudice as blanket concepts of minority situations. His analysis proceeds as follows :

Besides ascriptive statuses, the size of the minority group in question, has a double impact, i.e. :

- (a) it determines the distribution of total resources as a dimension of Power (Sociological effect).
- (b) It stimulates the Majority to mobilize (either by discrimination or by differential rewarding etc.) which in turn motivates minority responses (Social Psychological).

A familiar example is the Negro-White relationship in terms of ascriptive, (ethnic) and numerical variables. The Negro percentage being less than that of whites, the threat provided by Black power is only at

a competitive level and can be minimised through rewards and punishment. In such a case, the motivation to discriminate or the degree of discrimination is negligible. On the contrary, if minority percentage is more than that of majority, then he believes, " the power threat by a numerically large minority group can obviously be expected to be related to motivations to discriminate."⁹¹ Here, this is contradiction in terms by defining a numerically large group as a minority. As the micro level, the size of the group conditions the perception of its members in their life chances vis-a-vis the majority. Thus by working out a linear as well as non-linear relationship between Discrimination and Minority size, Blalock proves the inadequacy of identifying any group as a Minority always on the grounds of discriminatory behaviour towards it. It is not discrimination as such, but the degree of discrimination as a variant of the minority numbers that determines the status of minoritiness of a social group. In a similar note, he also questions the validity of causal linkage between discrimination and identification of a minority. He asserts " The problem of distinguishing between racial prejudice and class attitudes arises because of the fact that ethnic and racial backgrounds are among the defining criteria of class position; it will indeed be difficult to separate the two phenomena empirically."⁹²

The fact that class theories offer equally strong arguments for minoritiness of an ethnic group, provides fresh insights into the field. In the Indian context it is interesting to note how far the persistence of stereotypes such as the 'Innovative' Parsis and 'Fanatic' Muslims can be partially explained by the socio-background and size of the these two communities.

A small number of parsis enjoying a relatively more powerful position to manipulate social resources prove to be 'Innovative' as compared with the muslims whose constant struggle for resources through protest against all kinds of exploitations (a term usually misinterpreted as "discrimination" labels them as fanatic."⁹³ The point overlooked by Blalock however, is that the numerical strength alone is not a sufficient condition for registering

effective protest in the absence of organisation of the members of the group. An important hypothesis that emerges from Blalock's theory is :

The minoritiness of any ethnic group is determined by the resource power in relation to its size as compared with the Majority.

Besides the dynamic factor of his analysis, Blalock's hypothesis exposes the fallacy of defining 'Minority' on existential, empiricist basis characteristic of the doctrinaire approaches.

Schermerhorn formulates a concrete definition of minority group based on ethnic-cum-power variables.⁹⁴ The power relations between any two ethnic groups of the super-ordination and subordination type assumes two patterns viz. (1) the elite-Mass-dominance, and the, (2) the Majority-Minority dominance.

The distinguishing factor between the two patterns of dominance is the size of the subordinate groups. The Power schema of Schermehorn's theory is shown in Diagram-I:-

<u>DIAGRAM - I</u>			
<u>DOMINANT GROUPS</u>			
	<u>POWER</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	
Group 'A'	+	+	Majority
Group 'B'	+	-	Elites.
<u>SUBORDINATE GROUPS</u>			
Group 'C'	-	+	Mass subjects
Group 'D'	-	-	<u>Minorities</u>

Thus the pattern of dominance crystalizes into a specific type called Majority-Minority situation in the inter-group arena of power exclusively because of the size of the subordinate groups. In simple terms, the subordinate status of any group as a Minority emerger due to its smaller size vis-a-vis the dominant group. Based on this number

theory of minorities, Schermerhorn formulates the first formal definition of the term minority in this field of study. He states "A minority is any group smaller than half the population of a society whose life history and culture differs significantly from the remainder; this group, in the process of social change becomes differentiated from the surrounding population so as to assume status of subordination,..... The dominant group consequently regards them as not belonging and restrict their share of social rewards",⁹⁵(emphasis added). The numerical element in the process of minority group formation as underlined by the above definition over simplifies the reality. It does not explain anomalies that we face as in the case of South Africa where the numerical large Black population is subject to white dominance symbolised by the policy of apartheid; the possibility of conceptualising White-Black relations as of South Africa in terms of both elite-mass category and Majority-Minority Category simultaneously, points to the weakness of Schermerhorn's variables.

The foregoing discussions conclusively point out that ethnicity and the size provide only necessary but not sufficient condition for the identification of minorities. The additional variable is the dimension of power.

Between Blalock and Schermerhorn, the stress laid on the numerical factors also varies. In the former case, a minority can be smaller or bigger than the majority; but the larger the size, greater the discremanatory-prejudicial attitude of Majority and hence greater the degree of minorityness. For Schermerhorn it is the number per se that determines a minority

Any discussion on the power-cum-number theory of minorities is incomplete without mentioning Philip Mason's contribution to this field of enquiry.⁹⁶ Mason identifies three types of dominance in Majority-Minority power relations, viz. Domination, Paternalism and Competition

exclusively on the basis of statistical distribution of numbers in each group.⁹⁷ (Refer Diagram 2)

DIAGRAM - 2

PATTERNS OF MAJORITY DOMINANCE OVER MINORITIES

CATEGORY	PATTERNS OF DOMINANCE		
	DOMINATION	PATERNALISM	COMPETITION
Numerical prop. of Majority-Minority situations.	South Africa (1960) 1:4	British India 1:3000	Britain (1968) 50:1
	US South (1960) 4:1	Nigeria (1952) 1:2000	US (North) 15:1

Note: The numerical proportion is taken from the population figures in each country by the author.

In conclusion, the Power theorists maintain the distinction of Minority Group from the Majority on the basis of the triadic variables of the ascription, number and distribution of Power

Among the Indian sociologists, an explicit power framework has not been made use of in the analysis of minority issues. Even Churye's lengthy work on the Hindu-Muslim question in India proceeds from the conventional assumption of cultural antagonism as the sole cause of tension between Hindus-Muslims.⁹⁸

In another recently published book on the subject, the author has conceptualized the Hindu-Muslim communalism as a struggle for power.⁹⁹ One of the Major contention of the author is "Muslim communalism did not arise as a reaction to Hindu communalism nor was it religiously inspired. It was an independent political movement which developed as an antithesis of Indian nationalism".¹⁰⁰ Being an historically oriented investigation, the author does not dwell on theoretical issues involved in the isolation of variables, definition of concepts etc.

INTERACTIONIST APPROACH

Under this approach, the focus on relations between the majority and minority group is from the paradigm of goal-orientation. The possible

ways of interaction between the two groups, such as one of conflict, tolerance, accommodation or even assimilation etc. are believed to be in direct proportion to the degree of goal-conformity by the two groups. In other words, greater the conformity of the two groups to identical goals, greater their harmonious relations with each other and vice versa.

Within this paradigm of goal-orientations, a taxonomic classification of Minority Types has been formulated by L. Wirth¹⁰¹ - corresponding to this is the Majority typology formulated by Simpson and Yinger.¹⁰² In a crude sense, this approach may perhaps be identified with symbolic interactionist approach, in sociological theory.

The following typology briefly summarises the Majority-Minority classification out of the paradigm of goal-orientation, as put forward by Wirth, Simpson and Yinger :

<u>Wirth's Minority Types</u>	<u>Yinger's Majority Types</u>
1. Pluralistic (through tolerance)	Pluralistic (through accommodation)
2. Assimilationist (through acculturation)	Assimilationist (through acceptance)
3. Secessionist (through separatist movement and ideology).	Segregationist (or Population Transfer) (through physical separation)
4. Militant (through domination)	Continued Subjugation (through exploitation)
5. -	Extermination (through annihilation and physical destruction).

Within each category, the different types are not considered to be mutually exclusive. However, the sociological forces underlying the dynamics of minority group formation are not explored by the authors resulting in highly descriptive account of empirical conditions. To say that Majority-Minority relations can be one of conflict as well as cooperative is not to say any thing at all.

MINORITY SOCIOLOGY : CRITICAL EVALUATION

At present there exists a definite sociological consensus, on the identification of minority groups based on ethnicity, size and subordinate status in the power hierarchy. Further, we also note that the patterns of inter-group relations marked by coercion, discrimination and subordination might exist which is explicable independent of a notion of racial differences between the interacting groups. The theories reviewed in this section suggest that minority relations are explicable within both structural and cultural framework, particularly those concern with stratification in terms of ethnicity, class and power criteria. In our view, whatever perspective and terminology we use, the analysis of majority-minority conflict is a vast and complex field of study that can not be completely absorbed into stratification theory as such without taking into account the causal significance of the role of ideas, beliefs and value systems in moulding the structure and process of interaction. The explorations into the knowledge orientation of the members concerned such as the Phenomenologists' definition of social reality, is a very strong alternative to the stratification theory in minority sociology.¹⁰³ In this respect, the Marxian thesis on the existential determinism of human consciousness and ideology, as an additional dimension of study, may perhaps yield cross-fertilization of different schools of thought on the study of minority groups. The conceptualization of "Minority Situation" in the theories mentioned so far range from behavioural empiricism of structural-functional sociology, existentialism of Marxist sociology and positivism of the power theorists. The purpose of critical evaluation of these theories is to point out certain limitations at the level of theory and methodology.

Blalock's Propositional approach (as he calls his theoretical method) is by far, the most systematic work in minority sociology.¹⁰⁴ However, this

should not prevent^{us} from pointing out certain limitations of the approach. Firstly, by analysing Majority-Minority relations on empirical base, his analysis is ahistoric and hence has limited explanatory value. Nevertheless by taking into account an innumerable system of variables both at the Macro-Micro levels, Blalock achieves to successfully postulate middle race theories on Minority relations.

The conceptual and analytical problems posed by the dual aspects of minority phenomena (being atonce ascriptive/biological and sociological) adds to the subtlety and complexity in formulation of general theories of an universal space-time validity. Consequently either we have theory fragments and sketches built on observable and descriptive data, or, those that suffer from unwarranted claims to generality with no empirical validity.

Besides theoretical, certain methodological draw-backs also deserve our attention. The variables of ascription, subordination and numerical proportion as indicators of Minority status, are not exhaustive enough to cover all empirical situations. In the Indian context, we find the paradox of the Parsis who inspite of strong ethnic identity and restricted size (91,266 according to 1971 census) are in no way placed in a subordinate social status. This is evident from Eckhard Kulke's monograph on the Parsi community in India.¹⁰⁵ Hence^{it} is inferable that subordinate status in the social hierarchy need not be a necessary condition for minority status. Most of the academic and official definition of a minority group overlooks this fundamental aspects of the Minority existence within the social structure of majority-minority interaction. The minority groups may occupy various positions in social and power hierarchy of a society depending on factors both endogenous and exogenous to the system. This is particularly true of most modern multi-ethnic nation-state that were born out of the womb of colonialism, wherein, a hierarchy of minorities developed within the majority

social structure as a frame of reference. Apart from the symbolic and numerical differences between the Minority Groups themselves or vis-a-vis the Majority, the socio-political hierarchy of groups statuses are crucial variables in the definition and conceptualization of the term Minority. Accordingly a minority can be dominant or dominated in terms of its power positions within the Inter-Minority hierarchy. It is also equally possible for an economically powerful minority to be juxtaposed against a politically powerful majority. This sociological variety encompassing majority and minorities within a single stratificatory system ultimately shows that minorities ^{are not} be only culturally segmented but also structurally differentiated from each other. This point may be hypothetically illustrated as shown in diagram 3 with reference to the Indian case :

DIAGRAM 3

IDENTIFICATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN MAJORITY-MINORITY
DISTRIBUTIVE HIERARCHY IN INDIA

Name of Ethnic Group (Cultural or Political Minorities)	% to Population (in Census of India Reports)	Power Posi- tion.	Social Category	
			Dominant Minority	Dominated Minority
1	2	3	4	5
Muslims	11.21 (1971)	-	-	+
Anglo-Indians	0.25 (1951)	-	-	+
Parsis	0.15 (1971)	+	+	-
Jains	0.47 (1971)	+	+	-
II				
HINDUS	82.72 (1971)	+		MAJORITY

Notes on Diagram 3

The term 'Power Position' (Col. 3) is used in a broader sense to indicate the resource control at the disposal of each ethnic community in relation to its number. Different methods have been used for measuring power position of a group. Broadly speaking we may use the technique of social indicators (such as educational status, economic class position, political or official positions in Political parties or beauracracy, control

over mass media) etc. and obtain relevant data.

Census of India does not give separate population figures for Anglo-Indians. They are included within the Christian Group. However, the data in Col. 2 has been obtained from the Gaikwad's monograph on the community.¹⁰⁶ Refer(Appendix I Table 3 for occupational profile of Anglo-Indian community).

As far as the Hindus are concerned they do not come under either the dominated or dominant category as indicated by Col. 4 since they are the 'majority' and hence used in the diagram on as a frame of reference to highlight the hierarchical relationship of the cultural/political minorities (Col. 1) to the Hindu Majority.

From the foregoing analysis, we may categorically state that a minority is always numerically smaller than the majority; it can be dominant or dominated in the distributive hierarchy of the Society. Similarly, the dominated or the deprived minority may or may not be numerical larger than the dominant minority but is ethnically different from it, Finally, whether dominant or dominated a minority is both ethnically different and numerically smaller than the majority. Thus we see a progression of variables from different levels of the Majority-Minority hierarchy in determining the status of a any social group as a minority. Based on this argument, we may identify three main types of Majority-Minority situations represented in Diagram 4 :

DIAGRAM 4

TYPES OF MAJORITY-MINORITY SITUATIONS

Type	Size	Power	Ascriptive Labels	Category
1	2	3	4	5
1. Ideal Type (Single Majority Vs. Singal Minority).	+	+	A	Majority)
	-	-	B	Minority)

	1	0	2	0	3	0	4	0	5
2. Singal Majority Vs. a number of Minorities, some dominant, others dominated (e.g. USA, India).			+		+		A		Majority
			-		+		B		Dominant Minority.
			-		+		C		Middle Minority.
			-		-		D		Dominated Minority.
3. Situations in which Minority-Majority is akin to Elite Mass Relations (e.g. as in South Africa)			-		+		A (Whites)		Dominant Minority.
			+		-		B (Blacks)		Dominated Majority.

The focus of this essay is on the second type of Majority-Minority situation shown in Col. 1 of Diagram 4. In this case, the term 'Middle Minority' in Col. 5 is a very fluid empirical situation wherein the minority might be dominating in one sphere (say political) but dominated in another sphere (say economic) resulting in a kind of status discrepancy in its power position which is indicated by \dagger (In Col. 3).

We may re-instate our definition of Minority as a sociological category. Any Social Group may be identified as a minority primarily on the basis of its restricted size; additionally it becomes dominant or dominated depending on the relationship between the numerical proportion and resource control as compared with other cultural groups in the society (or Nation-State to be more concrete).

To the extent, descriptive and empiricist theories define minority and conceptualize Minority relations on basis of obseravable data (in terms of number and ~~political and~~ cultural factors) they are doomed to suffer from methodological fallacies. The explanatory status of such theories are also very limited.

Last but not least, the epistemology of minority sociology is chiefly responsible for its theoretical naïvete. The perception of Minority Group in terms of ethnic identity or ascriptive homogeneity is conditioned by the

cohesive image of social collectives. This is a highly questionable theoretical notion in the light of the dialectical forces that penetrate into cohesive systems of the social structure. These dialectical forces can be generated from within the ascriptive or ethnic structures, Class, or Power structures, or, may be initiated in one and spill over to other aspects of social life. The cumulative effect of this is the process of dialectical movements of interacting structures. In order to discover the cohesiveness of any group it is, therefore, essential to identify the sociological forces that integrate and disintegrate any group and secondly to also identify the structural aspects or the areas of Unity and diversity. Thus, the process of Westernization of the Brahmins alienated them from the non-Brahmins (in South India) especially those in the lower rungs of the Caste hierarchy.¹⁰⁷ Although these processes were conceptualized in purely cultural terms by Srinivas, its effect on the economic, political and other status aspects of the community hardly needs any elaborations. In fact, Sanskritization of lower caste Hindus is not only a pre-condition as Srinivas believes but also an antithesis to the Brahmins phenomena of westernization which finally synthesized into the Brahmins-Non-Brahmin politics in South.¹⁰⁸ Misra's account of the Muslim communities in Gujrat mentions similar historical process that operated within Islamic communities of Gujrat.¹⁰⁹ In fact, he notes that at the elite level, there exists an acute conflict between Modernists (Westernized Muslims) and the Traditionalist (Orthodox Muslims) over the mechanism of mobilization of the community for political identity within the state. The Islamization of lower caste muslims as an avenue for cultural mobility, similar to Sanskritization of the Hindu Caste Minorities is a very striking case of structural similarity. The inherent contradictions within these processes synthesize into communal or intra-communal politics. In this context, it is interesting to re-call process

The Russification referred earlier in this Section. We can quote any number of such illustrations. Related to this point/that religious /is identity need not imply homogeneity in all other structural ramifications. It is logically and empirically possible for structural contradictions to cut through religious identity as well as across ethnic frontiers. The fact that Islam provides a common platform for worship of 'God' need not necessarily amount to commonness in other structural spheres. Religious identity, class homogeneity and political unity are mutually exclusive facts of social life; however, it is possible for one to be articulated in terms of the other.

Subjectively speaking, the perception of an individual as a member of any cultural ethnic or religious group is analytically separable from its other status perceptions in terms of class positions, social ranking etc. Hence the stratificatory forces that penetrate social structures horizontally besides vertically, are capable of creating other group identities in non-ethnic spheres of life. The relationship between Class awareness and religious perceptions of an individual-whether they are mutually contradictory or complementary - needs to be abstracted directly from field investigations and cannot be assumed a priori. However at this stage, the persistence of internal contradictions in terms of Class, Status, or Power within the ethnically identified groups is an indisputable sociological fact. This serves as a potential source of conflict at both intra-group and inter-group levels in terms of normative orientations, belief systems and values. The fact that 'colour' provides a feeling of fraternity to all the Negroes does not preclude the possibility of intra-group rivalry between the Black Professionals and Black Worker. Similarly 'degree of discrimination', both objectively and subjectively differs from say, a Muslim lawyer to a Muslim farmer. In the case of the latter, the material deprivation in addition to

cultural deprivation amounts to total exploitation of the peasantry. Ahmad's analysis of the impact of land legislations on the rural population of UP muslims amply illustrate the differential impact of wider societal forces on different layers of agrarian class structure.¹¹¹ This in turn, influences the formation of the rural classes of UP muslims as a whole.

Similarly, Frazier's study of Black Bourgeoisie discloses that the black professionals-as a result of social mobility - are doubly alienated, i.e. from their own black proletarian masses and also from the white professionals.¹¹²

When we speak of a minority group, it does not imply in any sense, uniformly structured behaviour and responses of all the members of the group. Thus to employ terms such as "alienation" or "discrimination" as blanket concepts to reflect minority statuses or identify minority groups is erroneous methodology. The deductive consequences of such conceptual schema (e.g. using "discrimination" to conceptualize Majority-Minority situation) do not correspond with recognised facts. In fact, it is interesting to explore to what extent a Parsi industrialist and a Muslim intellectual feels discriminated at all and even if so, whether the degree and kind of discrimination is same as rest of the community in the Indian context.

Diversity and Dynamism are inherent characteristic of minority structures-a phenomena that is condition by the dialectical linkages between Minority social structure and the larger society. To assume homogeneity as a sociological premise for theory formulation has, therefore, resulted in projecting static and ahistoric vision of reality.

Most of the sociological theories on minority (including the marxist approach) start with the questionable assumption of the monolithic, homogenous, cohesive ethnic identities overlooking the internal contradictions

within the groups. The writer is not disputing the presence of communal cleavages between Hindus and Muslims but only questioning the popular assumption that Hindu-Muslim rivalry is different from Hindu-Hindu or Hindu-Non-Hindu hostility, and as such, need separate conceptual enquiries. The shift infocus from differences to similarities is a fundamental step in transforming minority sociology to sociology of minority. This shift is not only philosophically different from the former but there are moral differences between the two perspectives. The ethics of sociology is not to assume a priori the particularistic identities between man and man but verify the logical base of such assumptions with empirical references. The Hindu-Muslim rivalry may be different from the Hindu-Hindu conflict only in degree and not in kind- this does not warrant the reductionism of the former exclusively to religious antipathies. This calls for a kind of intellectuals iconoclasm in the field of minority sociology.

One of the principal themes in this paper is to break the myth of monolithic minority as a step towards discovering the structural similarities that bind the members of minority and majority together within the reality of the nation-state. The same arguments that hold for the forces of unity and diversity within the minority also holds good for the majority. Thus beneath the apparant differences, certain identities in the existential statuses of majority and Minorities giving rise to new kinds of collectivities, are indisputable; and unless these are unravelled, we cannot break the dichotomous perspective of majority-minority nor the myth of homogeneity of these categories as individual groups. The paradigm of social stratification of the nation-state as a whole seems to be the most logical starting point for a Unitary frame of reference.

The perspective of the total society is like a prism through which are perceivable refractions of group interactions. The principle of social

stratification determines these group interactions in terms of class, status and power at three levels - intraminority, inter-minority and Majority-Minority. Vander Zanden suggests that majority-minority relations whether based on ethnicity, class, status or power should be studied within the total society as a monolithic structure.¹¹³ The apparently homogeneous and cohesive image of either the minority or the majority cannot be extrapolated unwarrantedly to build a general theory of inter-group relations as the Majority-Minority phenomena. Sociological diversities in the social structure cuts across horizontally through the vertically bifurcated cultural groups involved in the Majority-Minority situations.

So far, the social scientists have identified sound paradigms of study but have failed to test the isomorphism between the empirical reality and the theoretical assumption to validate the concepts therein. "Racial and ethnic groups are frequently stratified, and at the same time, they are never the only bases of stratification in complex societies. Thus, both race and ethnic relations have to be understood in the context of a broader system of stratification".¹¹⁴ It is from this holistic perspective we shall try to explore the myth that minorities are different from the majority and hence need to be studied separately. The alternate model attempted in the next section proposes to study both from a unified perspective within the paradigm of social inequality characteristic of stratified social order. In the opinion of Raymond Mack, the sociological ethic for studying minorities is two folded; to challenge inequalities at all levels and to establish certain general laws of human relationships in a comparative cross cultural framework.¹¹⁵ Such a notion informs the sociological epistemology and theory in this paper also.

PART IIISOCIOLOGY OF MINORITIESCONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

Hitherto, social scientists have formulated theories based on homogeneity, identity and stability of groups in inter-ethnic context. But our point of view is a direct antithesis to the existing approaches; while the former may be termed as Minority- Sociology, the new approach may be known as the Sociology of minorities. The difference in terminology is not of semantic interest and is proposed to be clarified in the course of this section.

Zafar Imam summarizes the methodological drawbacks of the conventional outlook in Minority studies in India as follows : "In the first place our social scientists have hitherto employed the traditional, colonial analytical framework of over emphasizing the heterogeneity and ^{le} diversity of the multi-level sub-units comprising the bigger unit, Indian Society; so much so that the sub-unit becomes the Unit in itself and the Unit is lost in the fragmentation, even confrontation of sub-units.¹¹⁶ The process of structural de-differentiation as Gouldner calls it gives autonomy to an unit within its broader frame of existence.¹¹⁷ Hence the identification of any sub-group should be within the social structure of the nation as a total unit in itself.

Dialectical -Reciprocal Model of Social Stratification

The principles of social stratification forms the theoretical infra-structure of the paradigm of distributive inequality. It is not our direct concern here to get bogged down to the controversies pertaining to alternate explanations of distributive inequalities underlying stratification of societies.¹¹⁸ In our present study, we refer mainly to inequalities in distribution of resources both material as well as

non-material resources such as power, (social power), control over Mass media etc. used in the same sense as employed in Blalock's power schema discussed in the previous section.

Our approach shall conceptualize the stratificatory dimensions of the paradigm of social inequalities in terms of Distribution (social resources distributed among the members of the society), Domination (a rising out of the instrumentality of unbalanced distribution of social resources) and Deprivation - a syndrome of inequality explained by the Three 'D's. Each of these concepts in turn are determined by a host of interdependent variables but the major factor is the unequal distribution of social resources. This generates the structure and process of Dominance and Deprivation resulting in definite and concrete categories of human groups, the relationships between whom may be determined by the different types of distributive systems viz. egalitarian and inegalitarian. The division of social resources polarizing social groups into two ethnically differentiated groups of dominant and deprived classes is an ideal type. Social distribution cuts through ethnic and primordial units and across them causing cleavages all along. Under the inegalitarian distributive order, the division of resources between the dominant few and the deprived many normally assumes a pyramidal hierarchy characterised by a dialectical relationship between dominance and the resource structure synthesizing into the phenomena of deprivation as indicated by the base of the pyramid. Individuals comprising such distributive hierarchy are related through the system of social distribution as a whole; the status of each individual is determined by his relations to the structure of resource control and manipulation. What is significant is the criss-crossing of the vertical ethnic categories in terms of race or religion with the horizontal layers in terms of dominance-deprivation as a complete model of stratification. In addition to dialectical linkages, "dominance" and "deprivations" also

have reciprocal ties as discussed below.

For example, the dominant individuals perceiving potential threat to their status by the deprived groups may reciprocate through new systems of resource manipulation and control which may affect the different layers of the pyramid in different ways. In this context, deprivation acts not only as a sociological variables but also functions to condition responses psychologically. This in turn may initiate series of attitudes and patterns of action towards the different groups. Thus the term reciprocity is to be considered both as a "stabilizing mechanism" as well as a "starting mechanism" of social relationships.¹¹⁹ In this respect the cultural differentiation between the groups may constitute the ingredient element of the resource structure to achieve dominance of one group over the other. 'Deprivation' is a highly differentiated concept in sociological theory. In addition to being a dependent variable of majority-minority interactions, it can also serve as an independent variable of social structure. Relative deprivation of life chances and opportunities strengthens individual's orientation to the objective conditions of the social structure, and perception of the same.¹²⁰ Any concept of minority should take this dimension into account to judge the irregularities between the status perceptions of minority members and objective conditions of society.

The operation of the dialectical-reciprocal model of the paradigm of distributive inequality is conceptualized in terms of domination (over social resources) and deprivation (of the same) in our present analysis. The terms 'dominations' and 'deprivation' can be further differentiated into structures or areas of domination and deprivations such as economic or political etc. This renders the operationalization of the terms in the model easier with reference to situations obtaining at the level of the reality. These concepts help to determine the categorization and classification of social groups into hierarchy/ layers of which the majority-minority system /ical

constitute as an integral part. This may be diagrammatically illustrated once again on a hypothetical assumption from Indian and American situations. (Refer Diagram 5) :

DIAGRAM 5

ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE DISTRIBUTIVE HIERARCHY OF INDIA AND U.S.A.

Distributive Hierarchy	MUSLIMS			HINDUS			PARSIS			A. INDIANS			NEGROES			WHITES		
	Caste	Class	Power	C	C	P	C	C	P	Sects	C	P	C	C	P	C	C	P
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Upper	15	2	6	150	100	150	-	6	3									
Middle	55	5	24	350	200	350	-	10	8									
Lower	80	143	120	500	700	500	-	4	9									
TOTAL NO.	150	150	150	1000	1000	1000	-	20	20									

(In Sub-Columns of Diagram 5 above - C, C, P stands for CASTE, CLASS & POWER as shown in Columns 2, 3 & 4. In Col. 11, 12 & 13, A-INDIAN stands for ANGLO-INDIANS.)

Notes:

The figures mentioned in the above diagram (Col. 2 to 10) have been assumed in proportion to the size of the total population of the communities concerned and are not based on factual data. In order to operationalize the model diagrammatically shown above, the first step is to obtain the percentage distribution of the total population by ethnic/religious groups which is given in most of the census reports. (for example, we have assumed total number of muslims, Hindus and Parsis as 150, 1000 and 20 respectively in our hypothetical illustration more or less corresponding to the percentage distribution of these religious groups in the population of the country as a whole) Then we proceed to compute the distribution of population into the hierarchical strata indicated by Col. 1 in terms of domination-deprivation hierarchy in the resource structure of the society as already discussed for diagram 4. This is further sub-divided in terms of the principal criteria of social organisation of each ethnic group in particular, in terms of caste, class and power. Thus for example, in the

absence of caste divisions among the Anglo-Indians, we can use the criteria of religious sects which creates sub-ethnic identities within the Anglo-Indian community. Besides providing scope for quantitative support to our theoretical formulations such a tabulation enables us to identify cultural/political or national minorities on a world scale. Methodological individualism of minority sociology is replaced by methodological holism in this perspective defined as Sociology of Minorities.

This shift in the sociological focus on 'minorities' is the most salient feature of the new approach and has been discussed in detail with figurative illustrations under Appendix I, Figure 1 and Figure 2. Apart from providing fresh insights into comparative study of Majority-Minorities spanning the three tier distributive hierarchy, the new perspective enables us to define and identify a sociological minority.

As a consequence of the dialectical pressures of social structure, we find common existential issues confronting Muslims, Parsis, Hindus alike, but varying only in degree from each other and also within each. The kind and degree of confrontation is directly proportional to the numerical distribution of the community vis-a-vis its resources base, which in turn is a variant of the total population and total resources base of society as a whole. Viewed thus, we find that it is not absolute number of an ethnic/cultural group that decides its minoritiness (as Schermerhorn believed), but the relative distribution of its members into the dominant and deprived positions of the social pyramid. Hence "Dominant" and "deprived" individuals are present among Hindus as much as among Muslims or Negroes.

Secondly, by numerically determining social positions of various cultural groups in terms of their distribution into the Caste, Class, Power hierarchies, we are also in a position to solve certain paradoxes. The concentration of Parsis in the upper layers of the hierarchy is relatively more compared

with either Hindus or Muslims. Thus Hindus may not be absolute 'majority' in spite of the numerical lead it has over the other religious groups precisely because of the larger concentration of Hindus in the Mass base as compared with say, for example, the Parsis. Hence the paradoxical case of Parsis as Indian minorities and Hindus as Majority!

This model is presumably a heuristic device or theory construct to observe reality and the strength of the model lies in its approximation to reality. In summary, a Sociological minority is not an observable category of reality but a theory construct of society. The terms domination and deprivation serve as both descriptive and analytical concepts to study the origin, maintenance, and change in the structure and process of majority-minority relationship.

Among the Indian social scientists Zafar Imam strongly expresses the need to focus on muslim problems as a part rural issue on a wider spectrum of agrarian problems in India as a whole.¹²¹ In addition to Caste, Class and Power criteria, the rural-urban dichotomy is an important aspect of the society especially in a predominantly rural country like India. (Refer Appendix 1, Table 2 for Urbanization rate of populations of India).

Unlike the Parsi community which has more than three-fourth's of its total number in urban areas, the Indian Muslims are basically a rural community like the Hindus, with 73% of its population in rural areas according to the 1961 census report; and even this rural community is any thing but a homogeneous group. "And between the impoverished peasant and the urban middle class is the rural landlord (Muslim landlord?) counter-poised between the folk and urban context via the medium of production and exchange, the laws of the land governing them. Obviously, stereotypes are modified by the regional context in which they appear and the unconscious struggle between rural and urban identities, to say nothing of the cleavages between high and low, privileged and unprivileged in Caste

and other forms of social stratification common to village, town and city".¹²² (emphasis added). On the basis of field study of muslim economic stratification in a UP Town, Imtiaz Ahmad highlights ~~the~~ diversity of muslim issues as a consequence of the rural-urban ~~the~~ characteristic of the community. It is on these grounds, that he condemns the policy of special welfare measures planned for muslims en toto. A further modification of this point is related to the pervasive culture of poverty that embraces the masses of the country as a whole whether Hindus or Muslims. Rather than the naïve compartmentalization of our outlook and policies on deprived classes within each community, it is more practical to device welfare measures on a unified basis. In short, what we are pleading for is a de-nationalization of sociology for India.

Similar to the rural-urban cleavages among the Indian minorities, the Negroes of the ante-bellum South afford a visible contrast to those in the North of USA. This is a particularly revealing fact of Negro Sociology that merits the reconsideration of the praxis of Black Proletarian Revolution. Daniel Thompson, approaching this problem of Black Nationalism, discovers the heterogeneous conception of Black Nationalism., among the Black bourgeoisie, the black professional of stable middle class and, the masses (among the impoverished classes).¹²⁴ He emphasizes class heterogeneity more than colour homogeneity to highlight black experience vis-a-vis the White social structure.

Mattison Mines reports from his field study of the Muslim merchants of Tamil Nadu indicate the regional variety of the muslim phenomena in India.¹²⁵ The presence of tradition-modernity dialectics within the elite strata in terms of ideology and values is symbolized by the rift between the Ulema and the Muslim merchants who dominate the economic and political structure of the region as a whole.

Furthermore, ideological cleavages can also operate vertically between the elite and masses within the same community causing potential base for conflict, the reverberations of which are felt in other structures also. This is the crux of the argument presented by Paul Brass in the analysis of North Indian Muslims as a political community.¹²⁶ In his view, it was the ideological manipulation of the muslim masses by their own elites that divided the sub-continent of India. In this process language and religion (used as social resources by dominant members) served as disintegrative mechanism of Hindu-Muslim politics.

For all its apparent ethnic unification, even a small community like the Anglo-Indians are characterised intra-group strifes. In his monograph on Anglo-Indians, Gaikwad observes "Although superficial glance at the community might give an impression of homogeneity and impactness, the certain degree of heterogeneity can be observed. This heterogeneity is due to the presence of a number of factors including many ethnic elements, religious sects, occupational groups, economic classes and cliques in society which cuts across one another."¹²⁷ More significant is his conclusion on the psychological insecurity experienced by the community as a whole following economic insecurity during the post independent era of Indianization. He sums up by noting that the entire community perceived a serious threat to its cultural identity following this economic and psychic insecurity. Since a greater number of Anglo-Indians are located mostly within the lower rungs of the urban occupational structure, the bulk of the community experiencing economic deprivation became a serious problem for the community as a whole. (Refer Appendix I), Table 3 & 4 for the occupational break-up of the Anglo-Indian communities studied by Gaikwad).

A similar account of the identity crises that confronted the Indian Parsis is furnished by Kulke's monograph.¹²⁸ It is his strong belief that ethnic identity is inconsistent with political identity of

the Parsig community as a whole resulting in the divergent views on the question of/nationalism. It is implicit from the data presented ^{INDIAN} that the pro-nationalist and ante-nationalist cleavages within the Parsi Upper and Upper Middle classes had a direct linkage with their vested interest in social hierarchy. The cumulative effect of which was to surface the identity crises of the community as a whole.

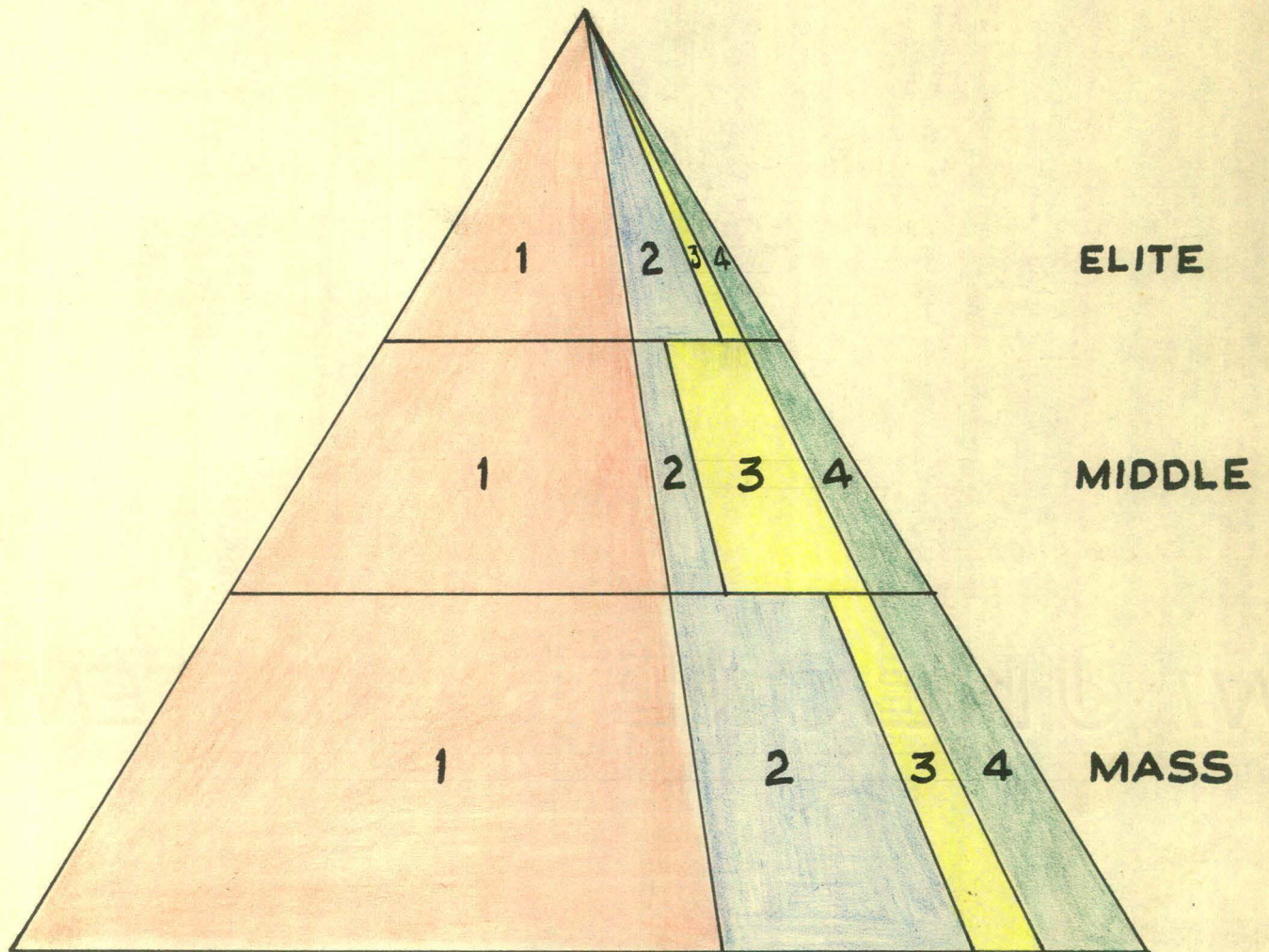
The numerous empirical illustrations cited above demonstrate the logical and methodological linkages resulting from the dialectical relationships at intra=minority, inter=minority and majority=minority levels of the social structure. This observation is represented in Fig. 1, once again taking the hypothetical example from the Indian context.

As per Fig. 1 we find the co-existence of Indian society not only in cultural aspects but more importantly so in structural aspects too. This hypothetical = inferential conclusion is indicated by the multi-coloured segments within each layer along the elite=mass divisions. The dimension of each segment within the vertical hierarchy has been hypothetically worked out on the ratio of percentage distribution of the religious groups in total population and their social distribution in the resource hierarchy as indicated by the coloured pyramid. The pluralistic feature of our majority=minority situation has been contrasted with the American white= negro hierarchy taking Warner's model as a frame of reference. ¹²⁹

This is shown in Fig. 2. Corporate pluralism of the Indian case as shown by Fig. 2(C) that is the replica of Fig. 1, is an interesting contrast to the Parallelism of the American situation as shown by Fig. 2(B). The term "Corporate Pluralism" is used by the writer to refer to the multi-ethnic segments of elite=middle and mass layers of the society.

FIGURE 1

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE DISTRIBUTIVE HIERARCHY IN INDIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE



- 1** HINDUS
- 2** MUSLIMS
- 3** PARSIS
- 4** ANGLOINDIANS

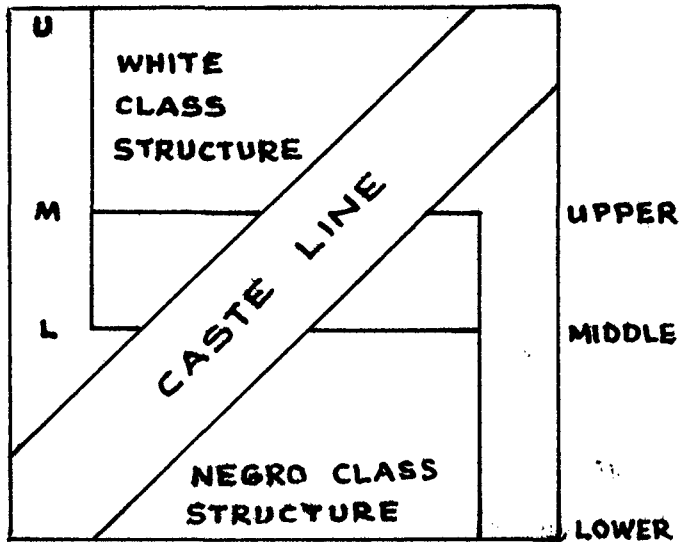
FIGURE 2

MAJORITY-MINORITY SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN INDIA AND U.S.A.

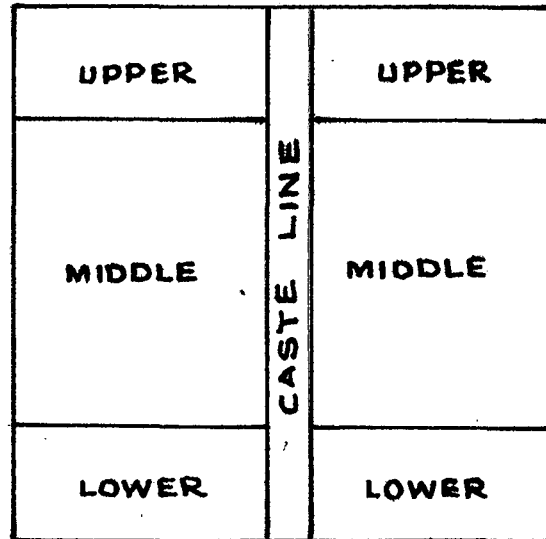
WARNER'S FINDINGS
(IN 1936)

AMERICAN PARALLELISM
TRENDS - HYPOTHETICAL CASE OF
SEPARATE BUT EQUAL THESIS

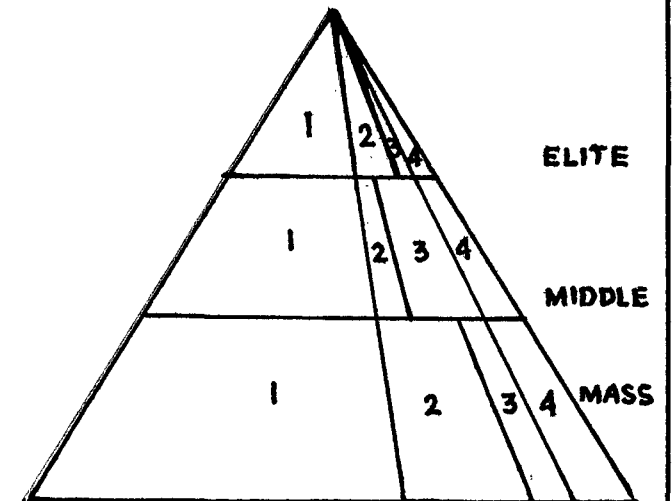
INDIAN PLURALISM 00
(REPLICA OF FIG. 1 Pg. 65)



A



B



C

Note : The shifting and narrowing of the "Caste Line" from Fig.(A) to Fig. (B) as a consequence of upper class Negro Mobility

The persistence of the Jim Crow image of American Negro is perhaps an ideological mechanism to prevent the emergence of "Pluralism" of the Indian sort. Such a tendency is growing stronger with the increasing mobility of the middle and upper middle strata of Negro social structure. The dynamics of the class structure is an important fact to be reckoned with in minority situations. Taking the American Parallelism as a frame of reference we have tried to theoretical demonstrate the case of Indian Corporate Pluralism. However, the sociological data substantiating the Parallelist thesis of Negro-White class structure needs re-examination in the present context of the emergence of Negro-White youth associations. The racial question is probably getting merged more successfully with the American youth movement than with the working class movement. While the former is characterized by White-cum-Negro associations the latter is strikingly parallel by the fact of separate labour unions for Whites and Negro workers. But the doctrine of composite pluralism of India also needs verification through field investigations and generation of primary data so as to validate the assumption of the model.

THEORETICAL SCHEMA

So far we have been able to construct a heuristic model for study of Minorities and Majority within a single frame work. It consists of a system of concepts that are analytic and not explanatory in themselves. As Fallding correctly observes, "the coherence that goes into the system of concepts, a coherence whereby each is defined by the relationship in which it stands to the others, is analogous to explanation but is not explanation in fact."¹³⁰ Although the sociological task is to transcend analytical theories to explanatory theories, at this stage limited by the scope of the essay and paucity of reliable data, we are in a position to only deduce certain proposition from our conceptual schema. We start with a hunch about patterns of social interactions. These stereotypes

of everyday life are not very much different from sociological Ideal-Types. The greater the degree of intimacy between the two, the greater the scope for further explanations.

The propositions as part of our conceptual schema regarding the degree of minoritiness and the process of minoritization of any ethnic group are based entirely on the perspectives provided by the Sociology of Minority approach.

PROPOSITION - I

The greater the structural identity between any two groups, despite their ethnic diversities, the greater the similarity of social issues confronting them.

PROPOSITION - II

The larger the size of the ethnic population concentrated in the mass base of its own internal organisation, the greater is the deprivation of the group and hence the intensity of its out-group conflict and in-group hostility (e.g. the perennial problem of Muslim riots in India or violent outbreaks of White-Negro clashes in America are due to firstly the location of the bulk of the population in the impoverished class and also due to the elite manipulation of the masses within the communities).

COROLLARY 1 TO PROP. II

The smaller the size of an ethnic group, in proportion to its resource base, the greater the capacity for its in-group mobilization and solidarity (e.g. Parsi ethnocentrism and Jewish semitism).

COROLLARY 2 TO PROP. II

Consolidation of status by a dominant minority or by the majority can induce mobilization of dominated minority too, to overcome their

deprivation. This may be articulated through either class or religious identities (e.g. Neo-Buddhist Movement of the Harijans in North India) which may eventually become institutionalized (e.g. the communalism of Indian muslims). This is the principle of underlying the dialectical-reciprocal model.

PROPOSITION - III

The social profile of any ethnic group is determined by its distribution into the elite-middle-mass strata. (e.g. the Parsi social structure with a bulging middle class and a sizeable elite strata accounts for their increasing rate/mobility) (refer Fig. 1 above) . ¹³¹ Further, urbanization of the community has endangered its moral or ethical standards as indicated by the increasing rate of suicides, mental illness etc.

Similarly the Muslim population of India is by and large a rural community as compared with the Parsis and Anglo-Indians (refer Appendix I, Table 2); inspite of the bulk population among muslims and Anglo-indians are located in the mass strata, the former is predominantly rural and the latter constitutes the urban working class masses. Also, the muslim urban middle class being very narrow as compared with either the Parsis or the Hindus, accounts for their relatively slow rate of mobility and also partially for the backwardness of the community as a whole following the rigidity of its internal social structure. ¹³² This is further aggravated by the widening hiatus between muslims elites and the muslim masses accounts for the 'alienation' of the latter from the former. ¹³³ Thus Muslim communalism has come to represent the prototype of minority conflict in India; however, it is worth examining to what extent the sources of conflict are generated from within the muslim social structure itself.

FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEMCONCLUSION

Our major thesis in the light of the new perspective is, Minority Status is a cumulative sociological phenomena resulting from inequalities manifested by domination and deprivation in inter-group relations of ethnic nationalities. But to the extent the phenomena of domination/deprivation is generic to most inter-group relations we may deduce the following :

1. The field of Minority studies falls well within the conceptual focus of general sociological theory of inter-group relations.

2. The theoretical inference following from Propositions I, II and III mentioned above is that the degree of deprivation increases as one proceeds downward in the distributive hierarchy from the elite to the mass level; and this is true of the ethnic groups also, distributed all along the three-tier hierarchical system.

3. Therefore, we may hypothesize that higher the degree of deprivation of resource power (in material, cultural and psychic aspects of life), greater is the minoritiness of an ethnic group.

But the presence of deprived groups across ethnic frontiers along the mass base begs for re-orientation of the minority concept. For example, considering the Hindu sub-structure in the pyramidal figure (Fig. 1), we find deprived groups identical to those among Muslims, Parsis or Anglo-Indians varying perhaps only in size and also in the rural-urban dimension from each other. Thus the minority concept used in terms of resource domination/deprivation is not exclusive to any particular ethnic group nor is exhaustive of all types of domination and deprivations outside the ethnic enclaves.

The presence of backward classes and scheduled tribes and castes within the deprived category of the Hindu Society validates the applicability of the concept of minority to these groups also, (in terms of ascription number and power position used as triadic variables of minority situation). Thus the minority concept is neither exclusive nor exhaustive if used in the orthodox sense of the term. This is a crucial aspect of sociological understanding of "Minority" groups.

At this juncture, we may hypothesize that given the crystallization of deprivation in all its various dimensions (psychic, cultural, material) combined with a numerically large base of mass identity within a single ethnic group, holds a more potential base of conflict than other minority situations.

PART • IVSOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL POLICY ON MINORITIES

The minority issue in addition to being an international problem is also a serious threat to the internal stability of any country. Hence, there are various kinds of protective measures for safeguarding the Rights of minorities- Legislative, Legal and Constitutional - that have become an integral part of the political heritage of modern democratic systems of government. The notion of minority embodied in the official documents is best summarised by the UN Report; "..... those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population."¹³⁴ There is very striking resemblance between the administrative or official conception of minority as envisaged by the above definitions, and, the notion of the term in the existing sociological theories as discussed in Part-II of the essay.

In this section, we shall examine the relevance of such theoretical approaches and practical measures on matters concerning the liberation of minorities. The political context of individual societies, in addition, to political organisation of ideas and the subjective awareness of the members themselves, have exerted enormous influence in shaping the academic as well as administrative notions about the definition and identification of minority concept and minority groups respectively. Our discussion shall be confined to the Indian context particularly to highlight the inconsistency between the existing minority theories and minority policy.

In the present study, we have exploded the myth of monolithic and homogeneous minorities or majorities. This contradicts the popular

belief of "Separatism" (used in the sense of minorities being different from the majority) that dominates academic, administrative and laymen's thinking. Van Den Berghe reflects a similar view, that, "...?....race and ethnic relations are not sufficiently different from other types of social relations nor, conversely do various types of social relations have enough that is exclusively common- to justify special theoretical treatment. If the subject has established itself as one of the standard specializations in Sociology, it is mainly because of its immense practical consequences all over the world!"¹³⁵ He is broadly hinting at a kind of intellectual stereo-type characterizing the separatist doctrine—a view that is fully endorsed by the writer.

As it stands down, there is an unmistakable presence of two rival schools of thought - the 'historicists' and the 'generalists' - in this field of sociology; and the intellectual discourses between the two have an immense bearing on the formulation of theory, policy and practice. On the basis of purely hypothetic arguments, it is immature to ratify any of these claims as authentic; and by doing so, we will be substituting rationalization in place of understanding and explanation. So in order to sustain the arguments of the present essay (as mentioned under Part-III), the best approach is to briefly examine the socio-political context of ideas from which germinated the academic literature and administrative formulations on Indian minorities. (Refer Appendix III, A & B for constitutional provisions and legal pronouncement on Indian minorities).

The historical context and meaning of the term 'minority' especially as referred to the Indian muslims to-day, is qualitative different from what it implied during the days just before and immediately after the Partition of the country. During the colonial period, the term functioned as a carrier of specific intellectual freight of the British Administrators to

facilitate the strategy of Divide and Rule.¹³⁶ But by continuing this doctrinaire approach of religious classification of social groups, the Social Scientists as well as jurists and the "liberal" policy makers are apparently still under the intellectual hegemony of colonialism. Their division of labour assign the political scientists and jurists to the cult of the concepts than its meanings and implications. Concepts such as discriminations, acculturation, integration or secularization etc. that frequent minority theories, are studied sui generis without the historical relevance of the same.

In the period following the Independence of the country, the separatist approach to social problems based on anthropological classification in terms of religion especially between Hindus and Muslims served as a mechanism of tension-management. However, even now the influential opinion of academic and non-academic circles is in favour of continuing the same colonial notion. The term communalism, which is an off shoot of such administrative traditions, used as a muslim stereotype, "is both a confusion and contradiction in terms" giving lie to simplistic understanding of religious solidarity.¹³⁷ The muslims constitute neither a homogeneous community nor a nation as popularly beleived because of the regional under-pinnings of their existence.

The liberal orientations of a "welfare state" like India is primarily concerned with the question of uplift of the under-priveleged and deprived social groups of whom the minorities constitute an important segment. The Indian method for the uplift of the backward classes Scheduled Caste and Tribes as well as the religious minority has been a two-pronged attack - through anti-discriminatory legislation in order

to level existing inequalities, and secondly through the system of "benign quotas". This policy is implicit in the following suggestions. "A temporary scaffolding of norms and conventions should be erected to secure to Muslims and other minorities fair play and due participation in the political, administrative and economic life of the nation."¹³⁸ However, the benign quota system perpetuates the existing social divisions and exacerbates conflict between these groups. This observation noted by Van Den Berghe is believed to be true of the American situation also where the two strategies are used (with regard to Negro and other National Minorities) "sometimes sequentially if not simultaneously both with approximately same degree of success."¹³⁹ The policy of benign quota which has been eventually proved to be self-defeating springs out of the conviction that minorities need special treatment and protection. It has failed to achieve even this primary goal because by ignoring the presence of elite-mass cleavages within the minority structures apart from the majority-minority interactions, it has best served as a "proof of tokenism". Monopolization of benefits by the dominant individuals within the minority groups has prevented its percolation downward, thereby perpetuating the existing inequalities in society.

Furthermore, the paternalistic attitude towards minorities that is remotely implied by the Doctrines of "favouritism" and secularism contradicts the ante-discriminatory legislations because of the former's tendency to Divide and Reform. This is the fundamental inconsistency between the secularists policy and the practice of national integration . The product of this antithesis is manifested in the political mobilization of masses in terms of particularistic identities of caste, religion, language and region. By ending this glorious administrative tradition of Divide and Reform, which is still in force after nearly 3 decades

following Independence, the solution of our minority issue holds greater promise of success than the American case where the visibility factor of the Negroes is an important element of minority relations. P.C. Joshi in an effort to re-examine the concept of communalism asserts that colonial ideology has influenced in subtle ways numerous assumptions and beliefs that have long enjoyed unquestioned sway in political sphere.¹⁴⁰ Such a myopic vision guiding theoretical focus, ideology and policies with regard to minorities urgently calls for a fresh thinking.

In recent times, some Social Scientists have taken a strong counter-position to the separatist approach with regard to minorities. It provides a welcome breakthrough for the existing intellectual stalemate in this field of study.

Theoretical assumptions about the Minority situations rest partially on the subjective definitions of the concept. We may recall Merton's famous statement, "if men define situations as real they are real!" The Verstehen approach to sociology believes in the relevance of subjective orientations for causal explanations of human actions. Inherent in this belief is also the Social Scientist's 'objective' definition of subjective awareness and perception of the members of the group. Stereotypes and folkbeliefs constitute the infra-structure of minority theories but are not theoretical explanations in themselves. By substituting the former for the latter results in self-fulfilling prophecy to reinforce the existing stereotypes. The Hindu-Muslim rivalry merits consideration from this perspective, of the influence exercised by the knowledge orientation of the members of the communities upon formulation of theories and policies.

The subjective awareness of the minority groups in terms of status

consciousness is an indispensable source material for an understanding of the problems confronting them. However, at a theoretical level, it goes without saying that provisions has to be made for errors of subjectivity, which has merited the attention of social psychologists in a serious way.¹⁴¹ Absence of any reliable data on the Indian minorities is a major handicap for indulging in any kind of generalization on the people's perception of their minority status. Just as it is possible for a member of the minority group to misinterpret exploitation as discrimination (or vice-versa), it is equally possible for the scientists to start with false assumptions based on popular myths.

We may cite few references in the case of the Indian minorities to reflect their attitudes resulting from their minority status. Rasheeduddin Khan characterizes muslim mass consciousness as one of psychic insecurity, anxiety and uncertainty.¹⁴² A similar view is expressed by Gaikwad in his analysis of the Anglo-Indians identity crises.¹⁴³ On the contrary Kulke notes that "the Parsi community in independent India is not in favour of claiming all sorts of concessions as a Minority".¹⁴⁴ "implicit in this claim is the rejection of Minority status as against Anglo-Indians and Muslims whose conformity or acceptance seems to be creating identity problems. It is precisely in this context that sociology of knowledge, people's belief and value systems in relation to the dimensions of social stratification, provides novel insights into the phenomena. In particular we should note the relationship between what we are saying and Marx's conception of the existential determination of consciousness of men.¹⁴⁵

The fact that the term minority has been charged heavily with value-loaded meanings should alert us in face of drastic and sweeping

generalizations however sympathetic and empathetic they are. Myrdal cautions us " The Value-loaded terms have a meaning and represent a theoretical approach because the theoretical approach itself is determined by the valuations in the governing ethos of the society.¹⁴⁶

In the opinion of the writer, in a highly stratified social order that is differentiating rapidly into complex systems such as U.S.A. or even India, it is more rewarding to study minorities under the broad sociological categories of social stratification. The special methodological focus should be directed to determine the status of 'ethnicity' as a variable of minority situations-whether it is independent intervening or dependent.

However, the theoretical discussions so far, have conclusively proved the futility and fallacy of using minority as a blanket concept solely in terms of either numbers and/or nationality per se; this sort of intellectual stereotyping in giving glib labels has rendered "Minority" a redundant sociological category. Stripped of their ethnical labels, minorities and majority alike are a part of the social hierarchy that is getting more sharply differentiated under the impact of technologism. Shibutani reflects a similar view that as affluence becomes a predominant characteristic of society, than minority status consciousness is attenuated and a class model becomes more relevant than status model.¹⁴⁷ The post script of the essay is a development of the same theme.

In the following section an attempt has been made to postulate 'Majority-Minority' as a tentative conceptual framework for classification of different types of social groups that suffer from various kinds of dominations and deprivations that is characteristics of the conventional Majority-Minority situations. In this respect, the term minority becomes a theory construct of the paradigm of distributive inequality.

PART * VCONCEPTUAL REFORMULATION

A. Macintyre in Winch's book "The philosophy of Social Explanation" recalls a passage from one of Wittgenstein's works. "Wittgenstein says somewhere that when one gets into philosophical difficulties over the use of the come of the concepts of our language, we are like savages confronted with something from an alien culture. I am simply indicating a corollary of this that sociologists who misinterpret and alien culture are like philosophers getting into the use of their own concepts."¹⁴⁸ One such experience is the problematics involved in the sociological concepts of Minority studies.

The distributive hierarchy of social structure serves as a criteria of determining all sociological categories of dominant and deprived groups, may it be age, sex, class or political groups. Within the conceptual frame work of minority groups interms of ascription and numbers-cum-powervariable that we have evolved in the present study, we can identify different patterns of Majority-Minority relations in all aspects of social life as a relatively new paradigm in conflict sociology. This is indicated below in Diagram 6, Page 80 :-

DIAGRAM - 6SOCIOLOGICAL MAJORITY-MINORITY

CATEGORIES	SIZE	POWER	MAJORITY	MINORITY	NATURE OF CONFLICT
1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>1. Age Groups</u>					
Adult	+	+	+	-	} Generation conflict, -''''
Youth	-	-	-	+	
				(Dominated)	
<u>2. Sex Groups</u>					
Males	=	+	+	-	} Feminist Liberation movement
Females	=	-	-	+	
				(Dominated)	
<u>3. Class Groups</u>					
Bourgeoisie	-	+	-	+	} Class struggle.
Proletariate	+	-	+	-	
			(Dominated)		
<u>4. Political Groups</u>					
Elites	-	+	-	+	} Power Politics.
Masses	+	-	+	-	
			(Dominated)		
<u>5. International Groups</u>					
Developed nations	-	+	-	+	} International conflicts.
Under-developed nations.	+	-	+	-	
			(Dominated)		

EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAM 6

In the above Diagram, the distribution of authority between the individual groups within each category determines the pattern of majority-minority interaction. This is true of the age and Sex groups also. Although the latter do not normally come within the purview of inter-group relations normally studied. The age and sex groups do not conform to pure sociological categories because the typification of this group as either minorities or majority is contingent upon demographic behaviour especially the reproductive patterns of populations. The symbols (+ & -) used under Col. 2 of Diagram 6 for age and sex groups

are based on U.N. population abstracts.¹⁴⁹ According to the 1965 estimates, the less developed regions had about 42% of their population under 15 years of age, and 47% between 15 and 49, and 11% of it over 50. On the other hand the more developed regions showed proportions in the same three age groups of 28%, 48% and 24% respectively. Perhaps the greater proportion of adults with more centralized authority (as indicated in Col. 2 & 3 +, + for the Adult Group - Diagram 6) especially in the developed countries like U.S.A. is responsible for higher frequency in generation conflicts as manifested in the student and youth riots. Comparatively speaking, in developing countries, the higher dependency ratio (of youth) and the implicit norms of gerontocracy perhaps accounts for the lesser degree of generation conflict which is still in its most incipient form. This hypothesis merits separate investigation.

On the contrary, the sex distribution for the world as a whole is more or less same with 93 males per 100 females in developed and 102 males per 100 females in underdeveloped countries. However, as already stated in our definition of a sociological minority it is not the absolute number, but its location within the distributive hierarchy in terms of resource control and resource power, that determines its minoritiness. So in case of the sex groups, parity of numbers taken by itself is a gross oversimplification to understand the exploitation of females in different types of social systems.

Because of their dependence on demographic factors, the age and sex groups are less stable in their position on the majority-minority hierarchy unlike the other three categories. Here, the resource factor are the power variable is a more important variable because the distribution of resources have always assumed the pyramidal form, and unless there is a social revolution to invert the pyramid in favour of the deprived many, the majority-minority categories in the last three (Class Groups, Political

groups, international groups) are more or less the same. The dynamic potentiality of the model is illustrated empirically by the case of the Middle East countries whose sudden ascendancy into the dominant position of international resource structure following Oil Crises tilted the balance in their favour. Similarly if the unity of Afro-Asians countries is sustained consistently, then the scales may tilt in favour of the Third World Countries in the arena of international power; (provided there is also concomitant development in their resources). There is no absolute majority or minority category to assign permanent label to the various social groups.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The uniqueness of Minority groups as sub-cultural enclaves has been one of the foremost intellectual inspiration of minority sociology. This essay has made an effort to break the myth of uniqueness and homogeneity implicit in such a conception of Minority Groups. In the process, we have laid bare the superviciality of adhering to glib labels in making distinction between the Minorities and Majorities.

The paradigm of social inequality and the theory of hierarchical social order has facilitated to demystify the orthodox beliefs that constituted the theoretical assumption on the subject. On the contrary, the perspective of this essay called as Sociology of Minorities, by placing the Majority-Minority study within the stratification matrix has unravelled the sociological identities the cut across cultural barriers. Finally, re-examination of the term 'minority' as a concept (of Minoritiness and Minoritization) seems to hold rich promises for formal approach in conflict sociology.

It is apt to conclude in the words of Henderson, "too long the efforts of most sociologists in this area have been concerned with the assignment of praise or blame. Understanding of the problem has been

replaced by attempts at resolutions. This is not to say that resolutions are not to be attempted at; far from it. But it stands to reason that lasting resolutions stem from adequate understanding.¹⁵⁰

The plea for an uniform social policy for all deprived groups in society, may it be ethnic minorities, class or political minorities, rests in the belief of transforming the present Repressive potentiality to a Liberative sociology.

The study of minorities is a relatively new branch in sociology. This essay has partially fulfilled the task of problem-orientation, hoping to be followed by further investigations and exploration in this field.

POST SCRIPT

The contents of this section may not hold direct relevance to the subject concerned. Nevertheless it is a logical development of the principal theme of the paper, viz the inadequacy of following the conventional system of labelling for developing a systematic and meaningful inter-group theory on Minorities and Majorities. The observations that follow are based entirely on the writer's own reflections on the subject of the essay in particular and the content of sociology in general.

The supremacy of the techno-economic order in almost all contemporary nation-states gives birth to a kind of Neo-hedonism in the present epoch. This hedonism is not to be mistaken for the traditional notion of utilitarian impulse in man, because its scope is broader transcending beyond materialism to certain psychic conditions of existence. Whether one is a Negro, Jew, Muslim or Hindu, the techno-economic changes confront all of them alike; they may respond perhaps in varying degrees from one to the other. The insecurity and anxiety resulting from this new onslaught of technologism and State-control reasserts claims of selfish and personalised norms characterized by a need for personal Welfare, Well-being and Sense of security. Such a personalization of norms and beliefs cut at the very root of collective conceptualization underlying most of the models in social sciences. Sociology has to sharpen its awareness to this evolutionary phase in the ascent of MAN.

A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX - ITABLE - 1RELIGIOUS BREAK-UP OF POPULATION IN PERCENTAGE TO
TOTAL FOR THE YEAR 1971 *

<u>Religious Community</u>	<u>Percentage to total</u>	<u>Growth Rate 1961-71</u>
Hindus	82.72	23.69
Muslims	11.21	30.85
Christians	2.60	32.60
Sikhs	1.89	32.28
Buddhists	0.70	17.20
Jains	0.47	28.48

*From Census of India 1971 - Series 1 - India
Paper 2 of 1972 - Religion.

TABLE - 2RURAL - URBAN RATIOS OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS 1961

<u>RELIGIOUS GROUPS</u>	<u>RURAL (%)</u>	<u>URBAN (%)</u>
Hindu	83.5	16.5
Muslim	73.0	27.0
Christian	76.3	23.7
Sikh	81.6	18.4
Buddhist	77.4	20.6
Jain	46.0	54.0
Zorasters (Parsis)	5.6	94.2

Census of India, 1961 , Religion,

Paper No. 1 of 1963 (pp. 4-5)

TABLE - 3 (A)*OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS OF THE ANGLO-INDIANS OF JHANSI
BILASPUR

S.NO.	OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF PERSONS EMPLOYED	
		JHANSI	BILASPUR
1.	Railways	79	124
2.	Typist	-	6
3.	Teacher	6	3
4.	Clerk	2	2
5.	Wireless Operator	-	1
6.	Private Operator	-	1
7.	Telephone Operator	-	1
8.	Medical Practitioner	2	-
9.	Businessman	3	-
10 .	Active Agriculturist	2	-
11 .	School Principal	1	-
		<u>95</u>	<u>138</u>

*From V.R. Gaikwad The Anglo-Indians Asia Publishing House, 1967, Page 98 - Note that in Jhansi out of total Anglo-Indian population of 575, only 95 are employed. Similarly for Bilaspur, 138 are employed in a total of 672 Anglo-Indians.

TABLE - 3 (B)* OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS OF ANGLO-INDIANS IN BANGALORE

<u>S.NO.</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>APPROX. NO. EMPLOYED</u>
1.	Government Factories	450
2.	Private Factories and Firms	450
3.	Education	250
4.	Railways	50
5.	Nursing	50
6.	Religious Organizations	50
7.	Police	35
8.	Post & Telegraph	25
9.	Transport (City Bus)	20
10.	Clubs	15
11.	Clerks, Stenographers	15
12.	Private Professionals (Doctors, Lawyers etc.)	5
13.	Private Business	10
		1, 425
	There are about 25 prostitutes	25
		1, 450

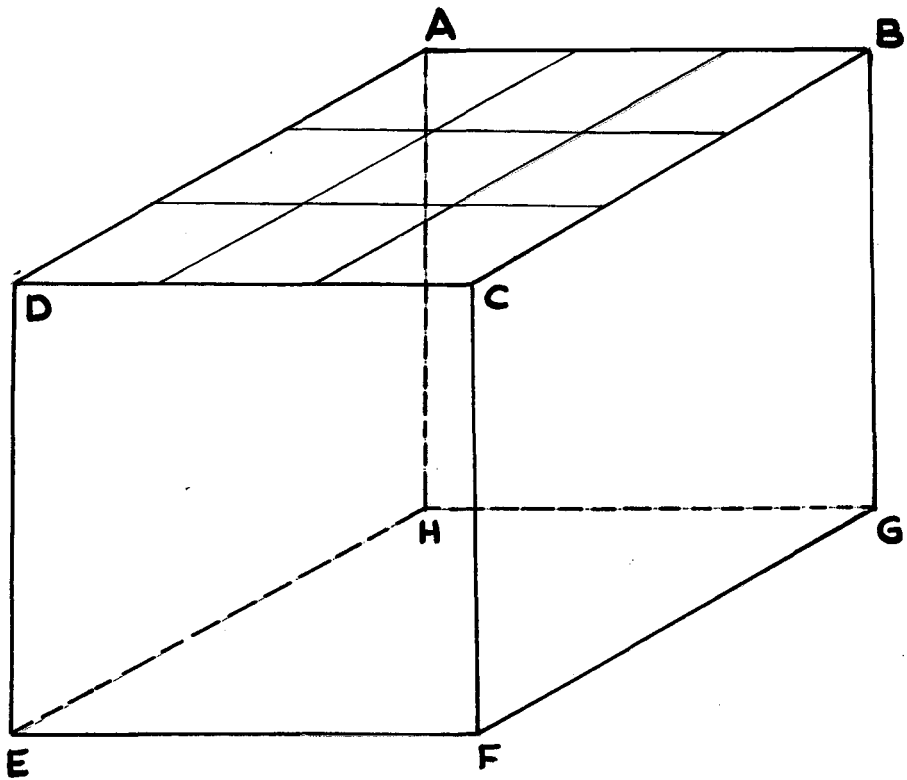
* From V.R. Gaikwad The Anglo-Indians ^{Asia,} National Delhi
Page 101 (1967).

FIGURE 1

APPENDIX - II

APPENDIX 2

MODEL OF THEORETICAL ORIENTATION IN MINORITY SOCIOLOGY



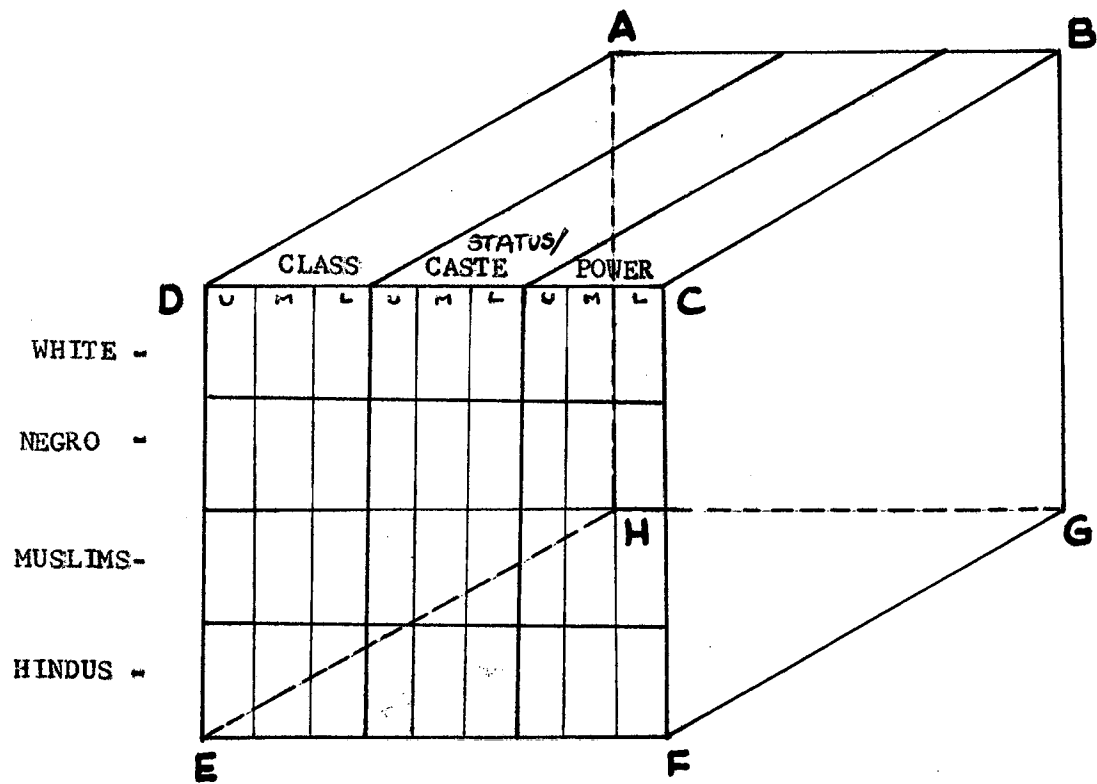
DETAILS ON PAGE - 90

DETAILS OF APPENDIX- II - FIG. 1 PAGE-89

The Six faces of the Cube (ABCDEFCH) indicate the inter-relationship of factors in Majority-Minority relations under the perspective "Minority" SOCIOLOGY" (Part II of the Essay).

- FACE - 1 (ABHG) : Assumptions regarding the attitude and behaviour of Majority groups towards the Minorities.
- FACE - 2 (DEFC) : Attitudes and behaviour of Minority Groups towards the Majority.
- FACE - 3 (ADEH) : Historical origin of the Minorities in the social structure of Majority-Minority Groups (forces such as migration, organisation, Industrial Capitalism, War and Conquest).
- FACE - 4 (BCFG) : Administrative policies and legal pronouncement on the structure and control of Minority.
- FACE - 5 (EFGH) : Dynamism of Majority-Minority relations, as a result of Co-operation, competition, conflict or integration.
- FACE - 6 (ABCD) : The relationship between Majority and Minority defined as a set of attitudes and behaviour due to ethnicity Group size and Power.
-

MODEL OF THEORETICAL ORIENTATION IN SOCIOLOGY OF MINORITIES



DETAILS ON PAGE - 92

DETAILS OF APPENDIX II - FIG. 2 PAGE NO. 91

The Six faces of the Cube (ABCDEFGH) indicate the inter-play of factors in the Majority-Minority social structure under the "Sociology of Minorities" perspective. (Part III of the Essay).

- FACE - 1 (ABHG) : The distributive structure of social resources as manifested in the Class, Status and Power hierarchy of the society concerned.
- FACE - 2 (ABCD) : The major criteria of social stratification both in terms of ascriptive and achieved factors as a result of inter-play between Face-1 and Face-3 of the figure synthesize into structured social hierarchies of the society in this context it is to be noticed that even those social systems which are organised on the principle of equality might manifest itself in terms of economic equality but caste or power inequalities, that may cut across or cut through ethnic groups.
- FACE - 3 (DEFG) : Synthesis between Face-1 and Face-2 indicating the social ranking of Groups (whether racial or non-racial minorities or majority) some of whom may be dominant others dominated minorities / as shown by upper (u), Middle (m), lower (l).
- FACE - 4 (ADEH) : Historical determinism of the Majority-Minority social structure which in turn is related to Macro-historical forces such as colonialism etc.
- FACE - 5 (BCFG) : Administrative definitions and legal pronouncement, and, state control of Minority Groups.
- FACE - 6 (EFGH) : The role of inter-group relations of Majority-Minority determining the form and contents of social change which in turn affects Face-1.
-

APPENDIX - III(a)

SOME CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR INDIAN MINORITIES

Art. 15 (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

Art. 16 (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment in any office under the state.

Art. 16 (2) No citizen shall, grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State.

(5) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religion or denominational institution or any members of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular denomination.

Art. 25 (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of the part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion.

Art. 26 Subject to public order, morality and health every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right.

- (a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes.
- (b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.
- (c) to own and acquire movable and immovable properties, and
- (d) to administer such property in accordance with law.
- (c) No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appointed in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religious denomination.

Art.28(1) No religious instructions shall be provided in any educational institution solely maintained out of State funds.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the state but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instructions shall be imparted in such institutions.

(3) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving out of State Funds shall be required to take part in any religious instructions that may be imparted in such institutions or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

Art.29(2) No citizen shall be denied admission in any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid

out of state funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Art.30 (1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of minority, whether based on religion or language.

Art. 325 There shall be one general electoral roll for every territorial constituency for election to either House of Parliament or to the House or Other House of the Legislature of State and no person shall be ineligible for inclusion in any such roll or claim to be included in any special electoral roll for any such constituency on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them.

APPENDIX - 3 (b)

SOME LOCAL PRONOUNCEMENTS ON MINORITY IN INDIA

The constitution of India Article 29(i) uses the term "Minority" but does not define it. However, judicial pronouncement by the Supreme Court (Case A-1-R 1958 S.L. 1956) says that a "Minority" must be determined by reference to the entire state and any community linguistic or religious, which is numerically 50% of the entire State population may be regarded as a minority for purposes of Article 30(i)". The statistical criteria adhered to by the legal definition is an important factor although statistical criteria is not very important in the bulk of social science literature. The Constitution of India also provides for political representation, educational grants and job quotas as well as guarantees for fundamental rights of Minorities in Article 29 and 30.

N O T E S & R E F E R E N C E S

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. UNESCO Report on Race Relations (1970) UN Publication Series.
2. The term 'Minority Situation' refers to the arena of Majority - Minority systems of action, attitudes and behaviour. The study of Minority is never an isolated area of enquiry. It is always in the Context of, and in the relation to the Majority. Presence of a Minority, implies that of the Majority.
3. Emile Durkheim, Rules of Sociological Method, Free Press, Glencoe, 1950. Pg.25
4. Race is a fact of nature and shows the biological peculiarities of various ethnic groups. Races are in-breeding populations on the basis of genetic frequencies and within any category, there would be no individual variations. If genes affect outward appearances, the population may appear differently. But the racist Scientists overplayed these genotypical difference to interpret phenotypical differences between human races. Basically Racism refers to the assumption that human behaviour is affected by racial origin and on these grounds some ethnic groups with similar racial origin are condemned to social inferiority and some to social superiority. For books on the subject refer, Ruth Benedict, Race and Racism, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. Broadway, 1942., Ina Corinne Brown Understanding Race Relations , Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.Jersey - 1973., Dr. C.C. Brigham "Report on prisoners" published in Psychological Review Vol. 37 No. 2, 1930., Margret Mead and others Science and the Concept of Race , Columbia University Press (1968).
5. John Rex, Race Relations in Sociological Theory, Weidenfelt and Nicolson, London, 1970. His major proposition is that the race relations are characterized hierarchical labour relation with a higher degree of coercion than the multi-ethnic societies of pluralist system.
6. H.S. Morris, " Ethnic Groups ", International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 5, 1968 pg.167.
7. Gunnar Myrdal, American Dilemma, Harper & Row, N.Y. 1944., and Lloyd Warner , "American Caste - Class ", American Journal of sociology Vol. 42, 1936 to 37. Warner is one of the staunch Caste theorists of race relations. For a critique of the caste school in race relations, refer, John Rex op.cit. (1975) , Oliver C.Cox, Caste, Class & Race; A Study in Social Dynamics, Double day N.Y. 1948. Andre Beteille, " Race, Caste and Ethnic identity" from Race, Science and Society by Leo Kuper (ed)., The UNESCO Press, George Allen and Unwin (1975)., Marvin Harris, "Caste, Class and Minority" Social Forces, March 1959. pp. 248-254.
8. Max Hilderbert Boehm, " Minorities ", International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. IX - X, 1933.
9. The history of Minorities in India and USA alike coincides with

the democratization of politico-economic systems. The restoration of civil rights following the overthrow of slavery ushered in values of equality, Liberty and Fraternity. In the case of Indian minorities, the confrontation of their ethnic nationalism with the Hindu state of India emerged with the withdrawal of the colonial power and the demarcation of political territory between India and Pakistan. The Muslims are neither racially nor ethnically different from the other Indians because many of them were converted to Islam from Hinduism. They do not constitute a single linguistic group either, since they have regional base in this respect. Unlike the Muslims, the Parsis and Anglo Indians have a higher degree of ethnic homogeneity. The declaration of Hindi as the official language of the Republic of India resulted in attributing another form of Minority status to Muslims and Anglo Indians viz as linguistic minorities in addition to being religious minorities.

10. G.E. Simpson and J.L. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, an analysis of Prejudice and Discriminations, Harper and Row, 1953., The term "Symbolic differences" is used by these authors to refer to certain cultural symbols such as colour, religion, language and nationality that set apart the members of the minority group from those of the majority and which in turn determines the nature of relationship between the two groups.
11. Underlining this approach is the belief that since the symbols setting apart the members of Minority groups are different from each other, the study involved special approach to each. This approach is more of descriptive work and we have a great deal of information on the anthropology of various ethnic groups. This is the version of sociology that emphasizes the historically unique qualities of what is being explained e.g. the importance of Judaism for the rise of Jewish mobilities in U.S.A. Historicism takes a permanent opposition to the generalization by stressing the "unique" situations - great deal of literature in Minority sociology suffer from this major limitation of the historicist approach.
12. These situational variables are indicated by L. Wirth, "The problem of Minority Groups" in Ralph (ed.) The Science of Man in World Crises, Columbia, 1945. Wirth observes that situation in which there will be only one Minority confronting a Majority will be different from one in which there are several. In the latter case, a hierarchy develops among the minorities, and, Majority treatment as well as Minorities responses will also vary entirely from the former. LINTON
13. John Blue Jr., " Patterns of Racial Stratification : A Categorical Typology " Phylon, Winter 1959, pp. 364-371. John Blue notes race relations, for example, develop differently in colonial imperial, segregated, quasi-segregated social systems.

Also, Pierre Van Den Berghe " Race and Ethnicity - Essays in Comparative Sociology", Basic Book Incorp. (1970). He contrasts racial prejudice of an industrial, urban setting with that of rural/ plantation type of economy.
14. Classic examples of this school are, Pierre Van Den Berghe, "Dynamics of Racial Prejudice " ' Social Forces ' Dec. 1958 , pp. 138-141., Philip Mason Patterns of Dominance, Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 62-6
15. C.A. Macartney, National States and National Minorities, Oxford

University Press London, 1934, pp. 16 for further reading on the subject, refer Oscar Janowsky, Nationalism and National Minorities Macmillan 1945.

16. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1933) contributor Max Hildebert Boehm., "Minorities" Vol. IX-X International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences , Contributor Arnold C. Rose "Minorities", Vol. 10 (1968) - References for the origin of Minority Concept.
17. Here the differences between Minorities and Majority groups in terms of religion, language, colour or ethnicity is characterised as constituting the form of relationship, whereas the nature of relationship between Majority and Minority groups, whether conflictual, co-operative or accommodative constitute the content.
18. J.S. Coleman, " Modernization : Political Aspects" Int. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences Vol. 10 (1968)
19. Arnold Toyenmee, A study of History, Vol. V , Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 29-31 as referred to by T. Shibutani, Ethnic Stratification- A Comparative Approach , Macmillan - 1965.
20. For the history of concept of ' acculturation ' ' intergration ' refer to G.S. Ghurye , Social Tension in India , Popular Prakashan Bombay 1968. The first treatment of 'Pluralism' found in J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice , Cambridge University Press, 1968. For a recent statement on 'Pluralism' see, L.Kuper & M.G. Smith (eds.) Pluralism in Africa (Berkeley University of California Press, 1969). For theoretical discussions on the concept of 'Assimilation' see Vander Zanden "Americal Race Relations" , The Ronald Press Co. 1963.
21. G. Ansari, Muslim Castes in Utter Pradesh. A study of Culture Contact Lucknow (1960).
22. S.C. Mishra, Muslim Communities in Gujrat , Asia publishing House, Bombay, 1964. , Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.) Castes and Social Stratification among Muslims " Manohar Book Service Delhi (1973) , Contributors to this book furnish a good deal of information on the manifestations of castes on a regional perspective in India.
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24. Hutton J.H., Castes in India, its nature function and origin, Oxford University Press New York, 1932.
25. Madan T.N. and Majumdar D.N., Introduction to social anthropology Asia Pub. House - 1956 , This book gives a complete account of the three approaches mentioned. The Isolationist approach of Elvin V. (1954) , the acculturationist approach of Majumdar and Madan (1956) and Integrationist approach Ghurye G.S. (1932) , 1968.
26. See H.L. Moon, Balance of Power : The Negro Vote , Doubleday, 1948 pp. 62-64 , M. Weiner and R. Kothari, Indian Voting Behaviour Calcutta (1965). Gopal Krishna " Electoral Participation and Political Integration in context of electoral change in India " New Delhi (1969) a trend analysis from the centre for study of developing societies, as referred to by R. Kothari "Politics in India" Orient Longmans, 1970.

27. See Issues of "Seminar" June, 1968 and August, 1970 - New Delhi. N.S. Bapat, Nationalism Vs. Communalism, Poona (1943), D.E. Smith, India as a Secular State, Chapter on "Cultural Values or economic programme. New Jersey (1963)., Panikkar K.M., Hindu Society at Cross Roads, Asia Pub. House Bombay (1955). "Communal Problem in India" 1919-1947., Nehru Memorial Museum, Delhi, 1971 (unpublished). Hamid Dalivi, Muslim Politics in India(1968)., Bombay, K.L. Gauba, Passive Voices, sterling Publishing, Delhi (1971) in this book the author discusses the choice of models whether Integration or Pluralism to revive the political identity of Indian-Muslims. P. 40.
28. Ranjit Gupta, "Minority in Crises" Seminar June 1968.
29. Rajni Kothari Politics in India, Orient Longmans, 1970 I
30. Ibid, pp. 336.
31. Gopalkrishna op.cit, (1969), Weiner and Kothari op.cit (1965), Paul S. Brass Language, Religion and Politics in India, Vikas Publishers, Delhi (1974).
32. Zafar Imam, (ed.) Muslims in India, Orient Longmans 1975 Part. II Ch. 4 and Part III Ch. 2., Prabha Dixit, Communalism - A struggle for Power, Orient Longman, 1974 (Delhi).
33. J.GITLER, Understanding Minority Groups, John Wiley, and sons, N.Y. 1956. He applies the stimulus-response model of prejudice - discrimination between Minority and Majority respectively and hence sociological significance of prejudice ,
34. John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doof et al., Frustration and Aggression, Yale 1939 pp. 43-44, from Simpson and Yinger op.cit 1953 pp. 54-55.
35. Klineberg, Otto, Characteristics of the American Negro, Harper, New York 1944, from Simpson and Yinger op.cit 1953 pp.45.
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41. George C. Homans, " Contemporary Theory in Sociology", in R.E.L. Faris, Handbook of Modern Sociology, (Chicago : Rand Macnally 1964), Chap.25.

42. Hubert Blalock, Toward a General Theory of Minority Group Relations , Ch. 1, pp. 26-36., John Wiley and Sons. New York 1967.
43. Brian Spooner, Population Growth : Anthropological Implications (ed.) Cambridge, MIT Press 1970.
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45. F.D. Freeman " Theory and strategy of Action in Race Relations" , Social Forces XXX No. 1 (Oct. 1951) p. 80.
46. For an extended reference on the stratification theories of Minority, Sociology, Refer John Rex op.cit. 1975, Van Den Zanden American Race Relations, Ronald Press Co.NY. 1963., also see, T. Shibusani, Ethnic Stratification a Comparative Approach , Macmillan 1965, T. Parsons, "Revised Analytic Approach to Theory of Social Stratification"., Essay in Sociological Theory, Free Press, Gencoe, III, 1954. Opinion is shortly divided among these Scholars as to the relative viability of the Ascriptive and Achieved dimensions of stratisfactory systems. While Rex believes in the actual separation between Ethnic and Class Stratification, he forecasts the greater viability of the latter to eventualize into plural systems. On the contrary, Parsons contends that the general system of social stratification is analytically separable from Ethnic system and that the latter modifies the former and hence more viable. Van Den Zanden and Shibusani imply the kind of evolutaionary process from Ethnic to Class societies and hence focus on Ethnic Stratification through the lense of class sytem.
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(b) Joseph Stalin, Marxism and National Question , Moscow 1935, pp. 256-257, pp. 264-266.
(c) Oliver Cromwell Cox "op.cit." (1948).
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49. Van Deⁿ Berghe P. op.cit. (1970) , Michael Banton, Race Relations London, Tavistock, 1967.
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53. David Aberle, " Shared Values in Complex Societies", American Journal of Sociology (1950).
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62. Louis Wirth, "The Problems of Minorities" in Ralph Linton (ed), Science of Man in World Crises, Columbia (1945) p. 347.
63. T. Parsons, op.cit 1954.
64. G.E. Simpson and J.M. Yinger, op.cit 1953, pp. 248-259.
65. L. Warner, et. al. op.cit 1942.
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79. O.C. Cox, op.cit., 1948
80. Ibid, p.333
81. Ibid, p.335

82. Michael Selzer " Who are the Jews" ? Phylon V-29 1968, also see Leonard Weller " Sociology in Israel , William House Regency, (1973).
83. J.S. Roucek, " Soviet Treatment of Minorities " Phylon (1960-61)
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87. R.A. Schemerhorn, " Toward a General Theory of Minority Groups" Phylon , 1958-59, Vol. 25-26, p.246. Blalock op.cit 1967. Philip Mason op.cit 1970. Simpson and Yinger op.cit 1953. In a vivid study of the concept of prejudice and discrimination, the authors delineate cultural, sociological, social psychological and ideological elements underlining these notions.
88. The Class charater of Racial Prejudice is a highly controversial subject in literature on Race Relations. Cohen and Hodge , Social Forces 1963., suggest that the prejudiced responses or stronger among lower than the middle and upper classes. On the contrary, H. Blalock believes that it is neither social distance nor social mobility but the status consciousness that determines the degree of prejudice. Blalock op.cit 1967.
89. H. Blalock, ibid, 1967. For further reading on Blalock's theoretical contributions, see, H.Blalock and Ann Blalock " Toward a Clarification of Systems analysis in the social sciences". Philosophy of Science 26 (April, 1959). H Blalock op.cit 1967, Chapter 4 " A Power Analysis of Racial Discrimination".
90. H. Blalock, Ibid. Ch.4. He offers an operational definition of Power; " Power is the actual overcoming of resistance in a standard period of time". p.110. He borrows the concept of social power from the definition put forth by Robert Bierstedt, "an analysis of social power", American Journal of Sociology, 15, December, 1950. The distribution of power between the Majority and Minority is proportional to total resources and total mobilization f.e. $P=K_1 RM$.
91. H.Blalock, Ibid p.150. He evolves an algebraic equation to calculate the co-variation between Minority number and discrimination., i.e.
- $$\frac{P_d}{P_m} = \frac{1-x}{x} \frac{\begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \overline{R_d} \begin{matrix} M_d \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix}}{\begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} R_m \begin{matrix} M_m \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix}} \quad \text{p.151}$$
- where :
- x = Proportion of Minority members in total population.
- Pd = Power of dominant Groups.
- Pm = Power of Minority Groups.
- Rd Md = Social Resources of dominant : Minority Groups.
- Rm Mm = Mobilization of dominant Minority Groups.
92. Blalock, Ibid , pp. 201-202

93. In spite of the extensive literature on the status of Indian Muslims as religious and linguistic minorities, there has been no systematic study to delink the economic and the non-economic variables affecting their minority status. (The Publication of Z. Imam, op.cit., 1975 marks the first contribution to this). However, exploitation of Minorities is likely to be interpreted as "discrimination" against them - in the sense that it is an exploitation of their resources as minorities. Although, no explicit work has been done in this regard, Imtiaz Ahmad's analysis of Muslim economic stratification in UP develops arguments on similar lines. See Z. Imam op.cit. 1975 p. 250. In the present essay we are not refuting the possibilities of minority discriminations, directed against the Muslims, but only questioning the reductionism of interpreting all discriminations in terms of minority status alone, whereas it can be due to inequalities in other social statuses as well.
94. R.A. Schermerhorn op.cit. (1958-59).
95. Ibid p. 246.
96. Philip Mason, op.cit. (1970).
97. Philip Mason (Ibid) Pp. 61-64.
98. S.C. Ghurye, op.cit. (1968).
99. Prabha Dixit, op.cit. (1974)
100. Ibid. p. vii (in preface).
101. Louis Wirth, op.cit. pp. 363 * See also Amitai Etzioni's critique of L. Wirth in "The Ghetto - A Reevaluation" Social Forces, March 1959, pp. 255-262. For other discussions of the term minority and of types of Minority-Majority situations, see O. Cox op.cit. 1948 pp. 353-54.
102. G.E. Simpson and M. Yinger, op.cit. (1953) pp. 20-25.
103. The Systematization of Phenomenological theory marks the synthesis between the two sociological perspective of society and social life. At their crudest, the two views differ in that one places the emphasis on ' man in SOCIETY ' or the Stratification approach and other on 'MAN' in society ' or the Action approach in terms of individuals' orientation to social action conditioned by his preception, belief etc. P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann, the two most eminent Phenomenologists, viewing society "as an objectivation of subjective reality" (Berger and Luckmann, The social construction of Reality, Allen Lane 1967), stress the causal significance of individuals perception, beliefs and consciousness in determining patterns of inter-action. This Branch of theoretical knowledge is still at an embryonic stage in Minority Sociology.
104. H. Blalock, op.cit. 1967.
105. E. Kulke, op.cit. 1974.
106. V.R. Gaikwad op.cit. 1967

107. M.N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India and other Essays , Asia Publishing House, 1962 - Chap. 2 pp. 42-62.
108. Ibid, Chap. 7 pp. 98-111.
109. S.C. Mishra, Muslim Communities in Gujrat. , Asia Publishing House Bombay, 1968.
110. The concepts 'alienation', 'discrimination', 'acculturation' and 'modernization' have been used in this context in more or less the same sense in which it is used in general sociological parlance. For specific references, on alineation and modernization, see S.N. Eisenstadt, Modernization, Protest and Change, Prentice Hall U.S.A. 1966.
111. Imtiaz Ahmad, " Economic and social change" in Zafar Imam (ed) op.cit. 1975. Chapter No. 6 of Pt. III pp. 235 to 259.
112. F. Frazier, " The Black Bourgeoisie, Free Press, New York 1957. For Further details on the emerging profile of American Negroes, see, Harold Pfantz " The New Negro : Emerging American" Phylon Winter, 1963.
113. Vander Zanden op.cit. (1963).
114. Van Den Berghe. P., op.cit. 1970 p.1.
116. Z. Imam, op.cit. (1975) p. IX. The terms of "Multi-Level, Sub-Level, Sub-Units" needs clarifications. It refers to the various sub-cultural and ethnic units comprising the loosely knit state of Indian polity. By highlighting the diversity within this larger context (i.e. the "Unit" as called, in the quotation) a Macro-analytic focus on the society as a whole has been lost. Classic illustration is generation of data on minorities, tribal groups and other backward classes as isolated cases without placing them in the context of Indian Society as a whole. Consequently each of these groups are treated as isolated social issues in India without interlinking them all into a single framework of the Indian Society. Imam criticises such an approach in favour of an unified approach.
117. Alvin Gouldner, For Sociology , Allen & Lane 1973.
118. This refers particularly to the Marx-Weber dialogue in conceptualization of social stratification. In the present study, the term is used in the more eclectic tradition of Weberian theory of Class, Status and Power systems of social structure along with the Primary marxian orientation to social inequality. Marxian paradigm of productive inequality is modified to that of distributive inequality in the present essay since the distribution of resources (i.e. Social resources) includes economic as well as non-economic aspects.
119. A. Gouldner, op.cit. 1973 , "The norm of Reciprocity" pp. 226-259.
120. The concept of relative deprivation was originally adopted by W.C. Runciman in his Relative Deprivation and Social Justice , Routledge and Kegan Paul (London) 1966. He remarks "Whenever inequalities of Class, Status or Power give rise to either a greater or lesser sense of relative deprivation than the inequalities themselves would appear to warrant, there is atonce a discrepancy between objective deprivation and subjective perception" (pp. 247). This observation is particularly relevent to the complex stratified order like the Indian Society wherein the merging of inequalities between the ethnic and non-ethnic systems may be felt relatively more by the

~~ethnic and non-ethnic systems may be felt relatively more~~ by the members of Minority Groups than those of the Majority by virtue of the former's minority status.

121. Z.Imam, (ed.) op.cit. (1975) In the chapter "Some Aspects of Social Structure", Imam relates the progressive degeneration of Muslims of Rural India to migration, partition, embourgeoisement of middle peasants and rich farmers after the land reforms—a problem which is faced by Indian peasantry as a whole. p.110.
122. Rajani Kanth, " A muslim Political Culture ?" from Z.Imam (ed.) op.cit. 1973 p.137.
123. Ibid, pp. 231-255.
124. Daniel C.Thompson , Sociology of Black Experience , Greenwood Press, 1974. Although Thompson confirms the proletarian status of the bulk of Negro population of U.S.A. as envisaged by O.Cox (1948) his thesis on the presence of diverse ideologies, within the mobile Negro middle class, questions the praxis of Black power as a weapon to overthrow the whites.
125. Mattison Mines, Muslim Merchants in Tamil Nadu , Shri Ram Institute for Industrial Relations (Publishers), 1972.
126. Paul Brass, op.cit. 1974.
127. V.R. Gaikwad, op.cit. 1967., p.173.
128. E. Kulke, op.cit. 1974, pp.167-170.
129. L.Warner,op.cit. 1936-37.
130. H. Fallding " The Sociological Task ", Prentice Hall, 1968 p. 34.
131. E. Kulke, op.cit. 1974.
132. The absence of primary data on the occupational break-up of Indian muslims is a serious handicap. Z.Imam (op.cit. 1975) has generated some data on the occupational composition of muslims through the method of historical investigation. His data supports the progressive degeneration of muslim middle class especially in years after the partition. Ahmad's study of the muslim economic stratification in UP reveals the gradual replacement of the educated intelligentsia by the commercial and entrepreneurial middle class. (I. Ahmad Ch. 6 Pt.III in Z. Imam op.cit.) S.P. Jain substantiate the proposition of a narrow muslim middle class with field reports of his study on The Hindu-Muslim Social Structure, (National Publishers) , 1975. His findings on the comparative percentage distribution of the sample in the occupational structure reveals that only 13.6 % of the total sample (i.e. 236) of muslims are in the educated middle class as against 27.1 % in the upper and 41.5% in the lower class. On the contrary the figures for the Hindus are out of the total sample of 81, 22.2% , 22.2%, 34.6%, and 21.0% are in the upper-middle, upper, lower middle, lower classes respectively. This is very significant given the smaller size of the Hindu sample in relation to their strength in the middle class.
133. Moin Shakir, " The Muslim Political Elite" from Z.Imam op.cit., pp. 171-179.

134. United Nations Year Book on Human Rights for 1950, UN 1952 p.490. In this context it is worthwhile to note that the constitution of India does not define who a minority is although it has made special provisions for safeguarding the fundamental rights of the members of any religious and linguistic community. [Refer Appendix III-A]. However, certain judicial pronouncements on this issue have subsequently clarified the official definition of a minority in India, Refer (Appendix III-B).
135. P.Van Den Berghe, op.cit. 1970, p.9.
136. Peter Hardy, Muslims of British India , London Cambridge, 1972. Percival Spear, A History of India-2 , Penguin Books Ltd., 1965.
137. Rajani Kanth, from Z.Imam, op.cit. p. 147.
138. Ranjit Gupta, "Minority in Crises" Seminar , June, 1968.
139. P.Van Dey Berghe, "The Benign Quota : Panacea or Pandora Box ?" from UNESCO Report on Race Relations 1970, p.9.
140. P.C. Joshi, Seminar , August, 1970.
141. H. Blalock, op.cit. 1967 Ch.1 pp. 2-10.
142. Rasheeduddin Khan, " Self-View", Seminar, June, 1968.
143. V.R. Gaikwad, op.cit.
144. E. Kulke, op.cit.
145. Karl Marx, German Ideology Part-I 1845-46, elucidates the relationship between material infra-structure and human consciousness. His statement " It is the existence of man, that determines his consciousness " continues to inspire heated debates in sociological discourses.
146. G. Myrdal, " A Methodological note on Facts and Valuations in Social Sciences" from Myrdal op.cit. 1944 as quoted in L.Bramson, Political Context of Sociology op.cit. 1970. Pg.147
147. T. Shibusani, op.cit. 1965.
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