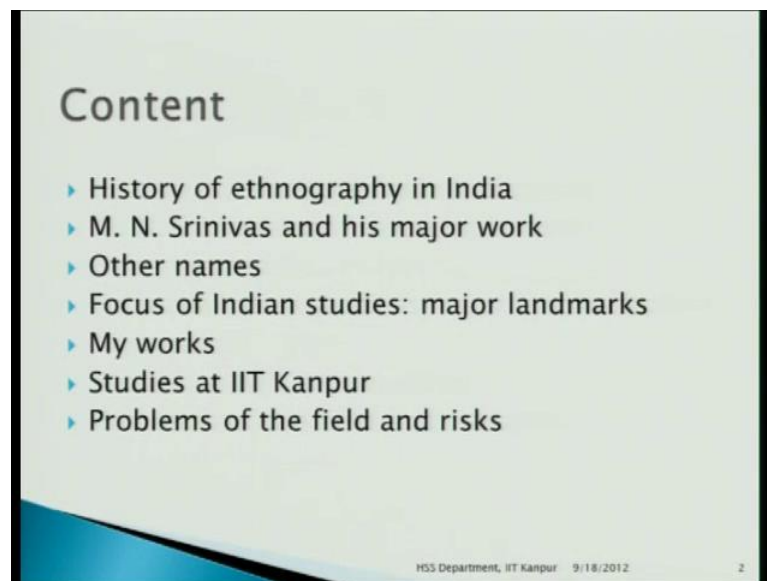


Introductory Sociology
Prof. A. K. Sharma
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur

Lecture - 41
Sociological Methods-III: Ethnography in India

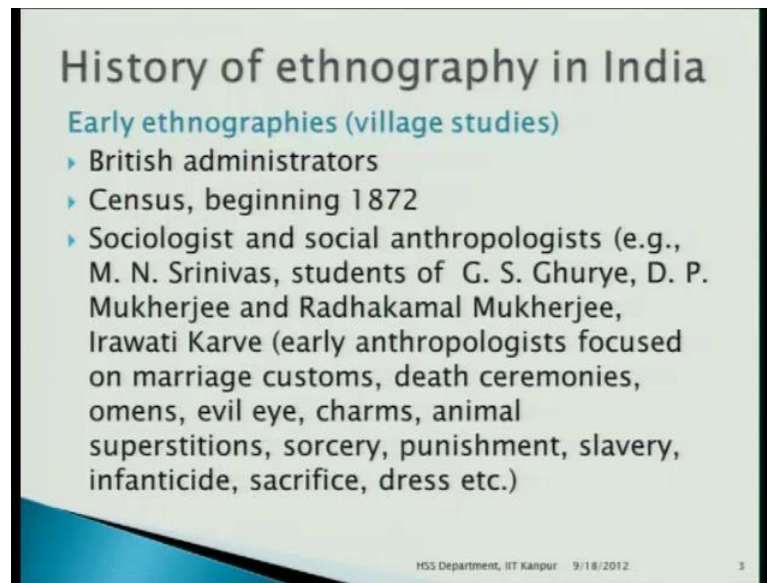
Well friends, let me close this series of lectures on sociology by discussing Ethnography in India.

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This lecture contents history of ethnography in India, something about M N Srinivas, and his work a few other names who have contributed to ethnographic research in India, focus of Indian studies and major landmarks my own works and studies at IIT Kanpur, and at the end problems of the field and risks.

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History of ethnography in India

Early ethnographies (village studies)

- ▶ British administrators
- ▶ Census, beginning 1872
- ▶ Sociologist and social anthropologists (e.g., M. N. Srinivas, students of G. S. Ghurye, D. P. Mukherjee and Radhakamal Mukherjee, Irawati Karve (early anthropologists focused on marriage customs, death ceremonies, omens, evil eye, charms, animal superstitions, sorcery, punishment, slavery, infanticide, sacrifice, dress etc.)

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Now, if you look at the history of ethnography in India, it is started with works of British administrators who studied Indian culture, infrastructure, education, schools, hospitals, religious, believes, etcetera extensively. And then in 1872, some people will say 1871 for the first time population census of India was conducted and decader censuses subsequently collected lot of anthropological material on Indian communities, and their belief system practices rituals, then sociologist and social anthropologist. The major names among them are M N Srinivas then students of G S Ghurye in Bombay school D P Mukherjee and Radhakamal Mukherjee of Lucknow school, Irawati Karve they focused on marriage customs, death ceremonies, omens, evil eye, charms, animal superstitions, sorcery punishment, slavery infanticide, sacrifice, and dress, etcetera.

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Cont.

Modern times (tribal studies, studies of hospitals and small towns and studies focused on specific issues such as social representations of health, disasters)

- ▶ Vinay Kumar Srivastava
- ▶ Shailendra Dwivedi and Mamta Misra (my students)
- ▶ Kumar Ravi Priya

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In modern times however the nature of ethnography has changed and it is no more confined to study of small cultures only apart from tribal studies ethnographers have also taken interest in studies of hospitals, and small towns, and studies focused on specific issues such as, social representations of health, and disasters. Some important names would be Vinay Kumar Srivastava, and Shailendra Dwivedi, and Mamta Misra they were my students and Kumar Ravi Priya who is presently working in IIT Kanpur.

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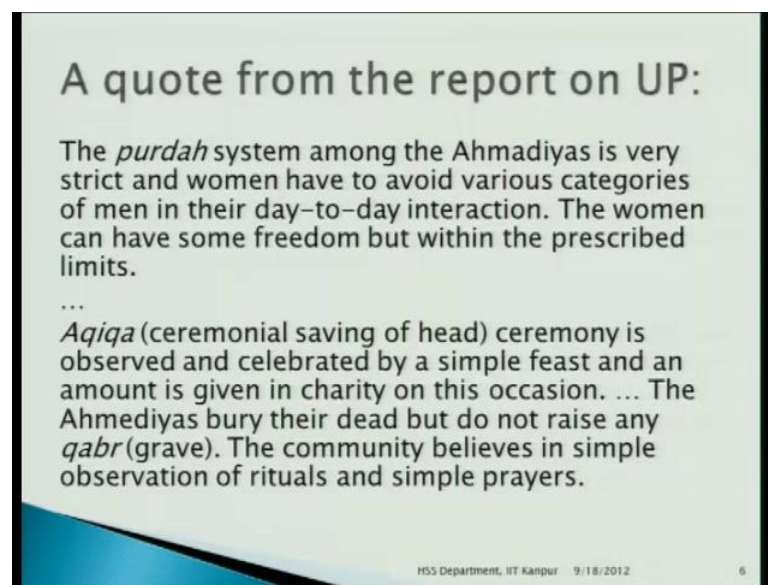
The Anthropological Survey of India (K.S.Singh)

- ▶ Was established in 1945
- ▶ Pursued bio-cultural research among different population groups in India
- ▶ Its objectives were defined in 1985, which committed it to the survey of the human surface of India
- ▶ Conducted ethnographic survey of Indian communities (2 Oct. 1985 - 31 March 1992)
- ▶ Identified 4,635 communities in all the states and union territories of India and wrote about them

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Now, another important landmark in anthropological studies or ethnographic studies of India was the establishment of the anthropological survey of India in 1945 a few years before independence this anthropological survey of India pursued bio-cultural research among different population groups in the country, its objectives were more clearly defined in 1985 which committed it to the survey of the human surface of India means, study of different communities. Then it conducted ethnographic survey of Indian communities for nearly 7 years between 1985 and 1992, and in all it identified 4,635 communities in all states and union territories of India and wrote about them.

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What did they write you know I have a small quote from the report on UP: The report on UP is in three volumes and similar reports have been produced for all the states and union territories. The purdah system among the Ahmadiyas you know in this report they are writing about Ahmadiyas a sect of Muslims the Purdah system among the Ahmadiyas is very strict and women have to avoid various categories of men in their day-to-day interaction the women can have some freedom, but within the prescribed limits and later it says Aqiqa ceremonial saving of head ceremony is observed and celebrated by a simple feast and an amount is given in charity on this occasion.

The Ahmediyas bury their dead, but do not raise any Qabr or grave the community believes in simple observation of rituals and simple prayers likewise this report talks about all the communities all the communities they could identify in UP and other states

and their beliefs customs rituals major practices economic institutions also, time political beliefs and so on.

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The most important name in Indian ethnography is that of M. N. Srinivas

- ▶ Worked in Baroda University, Delhi University, and ISEC Bangalore
- ▶ Textual view to field view
- ▶ Examined social structure, conflict, change, and impact of development programmes
- ▶ Encouraged younger sociologists to do fieldwork
- ▶ Failed in building a well-knit theory of society, however

Source: A. M. Shah

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The most important name in Indian ethnography is that of M N Srinivas, M N Srinivas worked in Baroda University, then Delhi University and the ISEC Bangalore. His major contribution lies in stressing, the stressing the field view rather than the textual view this means that, before M N Srinivas those who wrote on Indian traditions customs practices wrote on the basis of their study of Vedas, Smiritis, text of Hindu religion, and epics, and M N Srinivas stress the point that what actually Indian communities practice, is not the same thing as written in the text, and there is a need to make empirical studies of actual practices and beliefs of people. M N Srinivas himself examined social structure conflict change and impact of development programmes.

He encouraged younger sociologists to do fieldwork this is how from textual view he encourage people to go for the field view. What is actually happening in the field? and in diverse local in different settings in different states in union territories in different parts of the country however, M N Srinivas failed in building a well-knit theory of Indian society.

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M.N.Srinivas

The most important ethnographic works are:

- ▶ *The Social Structure of a Mysore Village*, 195, *Economic Weekly*, 30 Oct., 1051-56.
- ▶ *The Remembered Village*, 1976, Oxford University Press.

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The most important ethnographic works of M N Srinivas include the social structure of a Mysore village which was published in 50s, it was in economic weekly and the remembered village, which was published from the oxford university press in 1976. M N Srinivas made revisit to the same village called Rampura and therefore, he studied the process of the village at two different points of time and compared them so, you can say that in a way he started longitudinal studies in ethnographic tradition.

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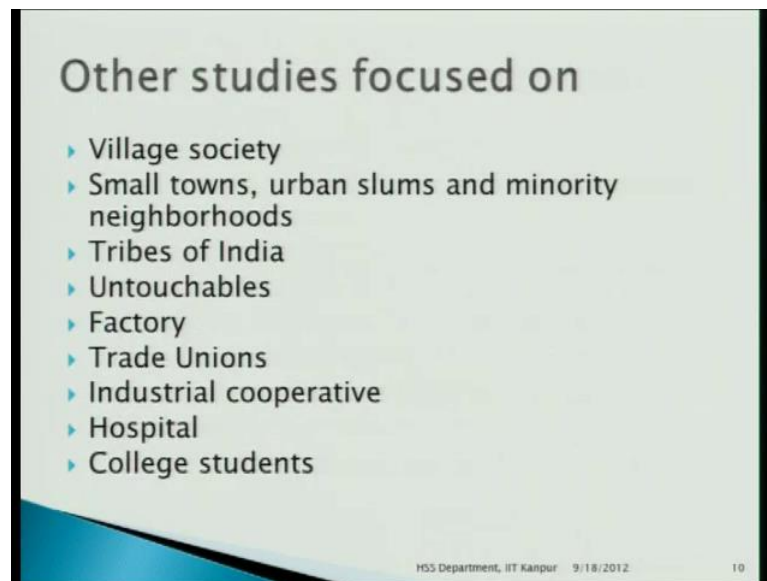
Some other important names in village studies

- ▶ M. N. Srinivas - Rampura, near Mysore
- ▶ B. R. Chauhan - Ranawaton-ki-Sadari, Rajasthan
- ▶ McKim Marriott - Kishangarhi near Delhi
- ▶ P.C. Joshi - two villages of Meerut, two villages of Etawa, one of Almora
- ▶ A. M. Shah - Radhvanaj, Gujarat

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Some other important names in village studies apart from M N Srinivas or of B R Chauhan, who studied Ranawaton-Ki-Sadari in Rajasthan, M C Kim Marriott, who studied Kishangarhi in near Delhi, P C Joshi, he was interested in the agrarian relations and he looked at village structure from Marxist socialist perspective he made study of two villages of Meerut in UP. Two villages of Etawa, one village of Almora, which is now part of Uttarakhand, A M Shah study of Radhvanaj in Gujarat is also an important study by ethnographers.

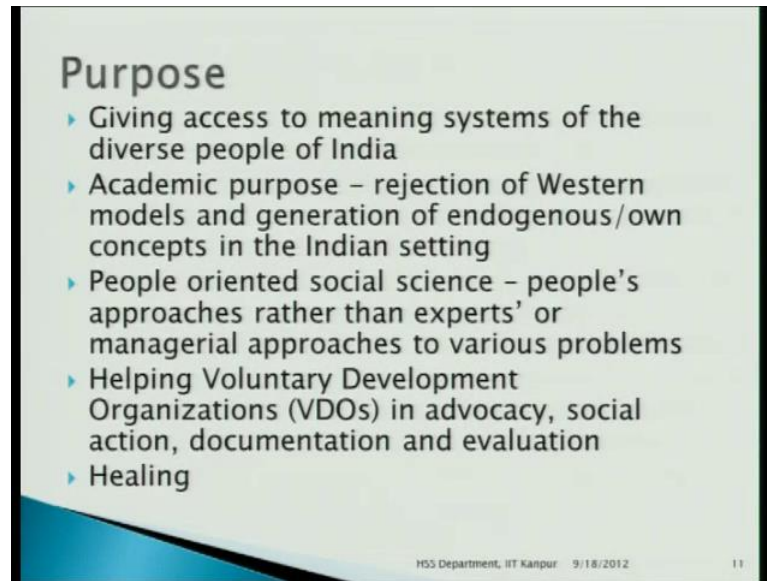
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Other studies focused on village society, small towns, urban slums, and minority neighborhoods, like in certain parts of Delhi, somebody studied Muslim neighborhood their anxieties their economic institutions beliefs religious practices relationship with government, Hindu community, migration pattern, and so on.

People have also studied different tribes of India some people studied untouchables in particular factory as a social organization, trade unions, industrial cooperatives, an interesting study was made of hospital, from which I will make a small quote and college students, and many more types of studies. The point is that now ethnographers are taking interest not in small cultures only, but they are also studying all aspects of society and social processes.

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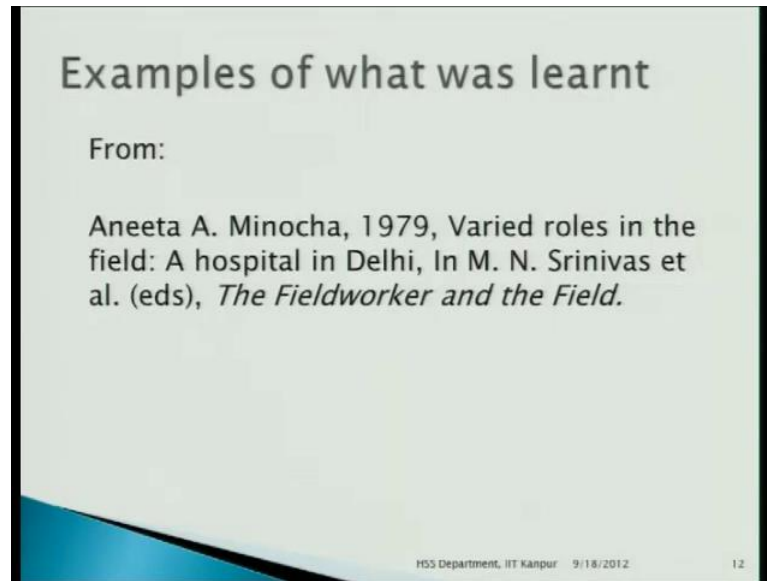
Purpose

- ▶ Giving access to meaning systems of the diverse people of India
- ▶ Academic purpose – rejection of Western models and generation of endogenous/own concepts in the Indian setting
- ▶ People oriented social science – people’s approaches rather than experts’ or managerial approaches to various problems
- ▶ Helping Voluntary Development Organizations (VDOs) in advocacy, social action, documentation and evaluation
- ▶ Healing

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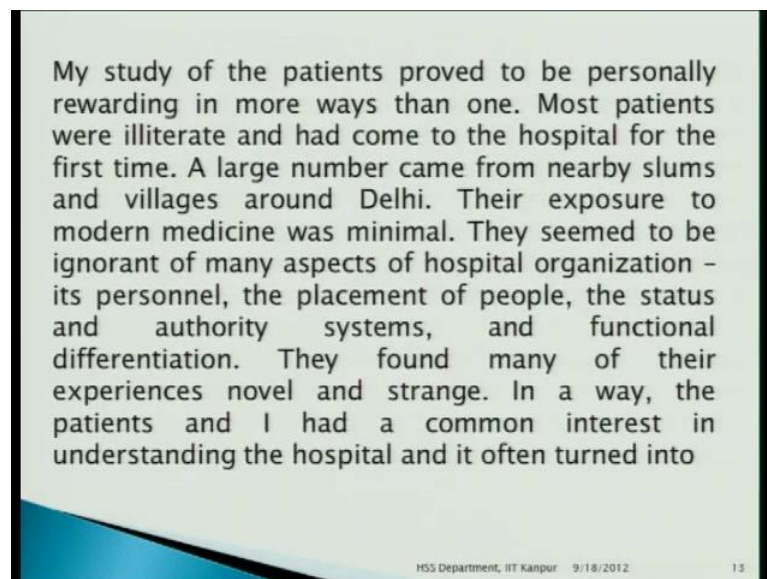
The purpose of these studies was to give access to meaning systems of the diverse people of India. Now India is such a diverse country that religious, political, economic, social beliefs of north Indians are not same as that of south Indians, kinds of patterns marriage rituals they are all different it also serves an academic purpose. And that academic purpose was rejection of western models of society and generation of endogenous or own concepts to study Indian society in the Indian setting the third purpose was to have people oriented social science, and understand people’s approaches rather than experts or managerial approaches to various problems facing Indian society these studies also help the voluntary development, organizations, or civil society in advocacy, in social action, in documentation, and evaluation of various programs, and projects run by them. And lastly a point which is particularly emphasized by psychologist like Ravi Priya is that of healing.

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Now example what was learned I am quoting from Aneeta Minocha's study of a hospital.

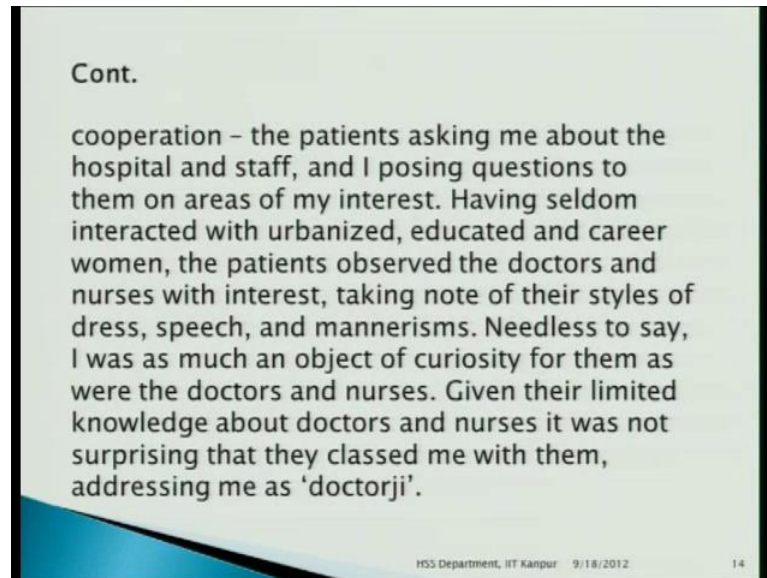
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This is what was learned by ethnographic study of hospital to quote my study of the patients proved to be personally rewarding in more ways than one most patients were illiterate and had come to the hospital for the first time. A large number came from nearby slums and villages around Delhi their exposure to modern medicine was minimal. They seemed to be ignorant of many aspects of hospital organization its personnel, the placement of people, the status and authority systems, and functional differentiation.

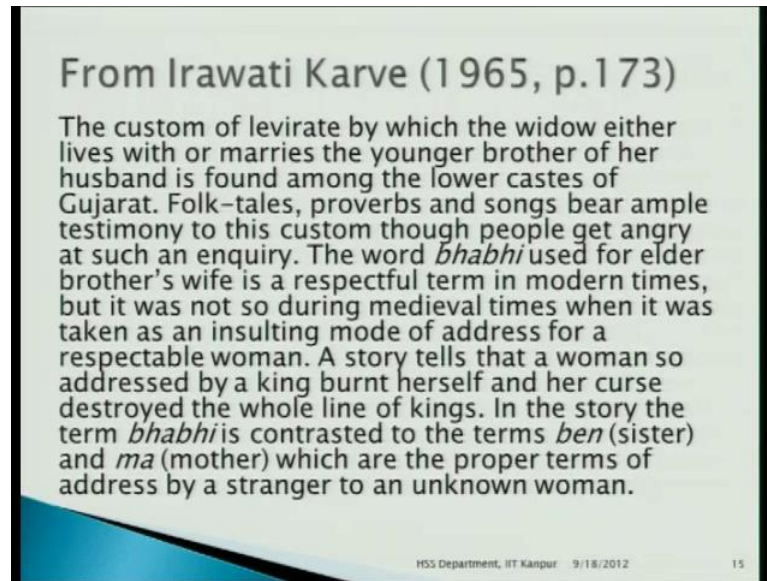
They found that many of their experiences novel and strange. In a way the patients and I had a common interest in understanding the hospital and it often turned into...

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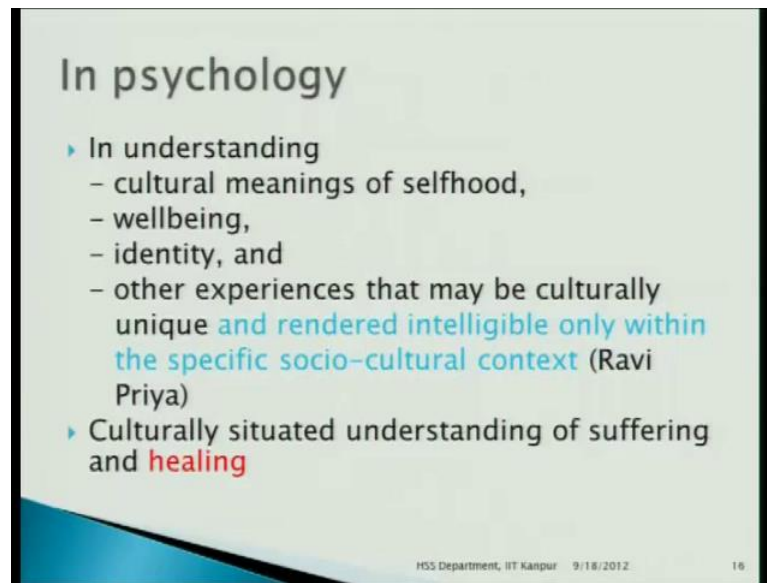
Cooperation - the patients asking me about the hospital and staff, and I posing questions to them on areas of my interest. Having seldom interacted with urbanized, educated and career women, the patients observed the doctors and nurses with interest, taking note of their styles of dress, speech, and mannerisms. Needless to say, I was as much an object of curiosity for them as were the doctors and nurses. Given their limited knowledge about doctors and nurses it was not surprising that they classed me with them, addressing me as ‘doctorji’ So, our anthropologist our ethnographer studying a hospital he seen as ‘doctorji’ by our respondents.

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Here is a quote from Irawati Karve who made extensive study of kinship patterns in India the custom of levirate by which the widow either lives with or marries the younger brother of her husband is found among the lower castes of Gujarat. Folk-tales, proverbs and songs bear ample testimony to this custom though people get angry at such an enquiry. The word *bhabhi* used for elder brother's wife is a respectful term in modern times, but it was not so, during medieval times when it was taken as an insulting mode of address for a respectable woman. A story tells that a woman so addressed by a king burnt herself and her curse destroyed the whole line of kings. In the story the term *bhabhi* is contrasted to the terms sister and mother which are the proper terms of address by a stranger to an unknown woman.

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In psychology

- ▶ In understanding
 - cultural meanings of selfhood,
 - wellbeing,
 - identity, and
 - other experiences that may be culturally unique and rendered intelligible only within the specific socio-cultural context (Ravi Priya)
- ▶ Culturally situated understanding of suffering and healing

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Now, see how the words their meanings concepts changed with time. In psychology ethnography has been used in understanding cultural meanings of selfhood. Wellbeing, subjective wellbeing or wellness or satisfaction or happiness, these days there are lots of study on happiness and there is a feeling that economic development does not necessarily produce happiness, so let us understand what happiness what are all the correlates of happiness and butane is one country which in place of developing a human development index develops a concept or index of happiness. Index of happiness which includes not only economic variables or education and life expectancy as included in human development index, but also many cultural kinship family and religious things.

Other experiences that may be culturally unique and rendered intelligible only within the specific socio-cultural context, means emic concepts in the last lecture I was making a distinction between emic and etic. So this kind of psychological enquiry tells us about emic concepts which are intelligible only within the specific socio-cultural context and culturally situated understanding of suffering and healing Ravi Priya particularly gives importance to healing to expressions of discomfort, and it is found that the ethnographic work not only results in knowledge, but it also leads to coping and healing among the informants, so as I mentioned in the last lecture that the product of ethnography depends on researcher also.

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Dialogic nature

- ▶ The dialogic nature of fieldwork means that understanding people's lives is not only shaped by the kind of mutual relationship developed but also by the ethnographer's own personal and philosophical/theoretical standpoint. (Ravi Priya)
OUTCOME = REALITY + RESEARCHER'S RELATION WITH THE FIELD + RESEARCHER'S THEORY
- ▶ Thus research findings are **co-constructed** by the research participants as well as the researcher
- ▶ This raises the question: how **researcher's standpoint** affected his findings?

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Ravi Priya says that there is a dialogic nature of fieldwork means that understanding people's lives is not only shaped by the kind of mutual relationship developed, but also by the ethnographer's own personal and philosophical theoretical standpoint. Now, I can say that the outcome of ethnographic research depends on three things reality whatever, is the reality last time I said that reality may be seen in a naturalistic framework, it may also be seen in a constructivist framework but, whatever it is there is a reality then researcher's relation with the field plus researcher's own idea of reality or researcher's theory, thus research findings are co-constructed by the research participants as well as the researcher so unlike the positivistic assumption that research outcomes are objective, value neutral, dispassionate, ethnography would say that the ethnographic outcome is co-constructed, this raises the question how researcher's standpoint affected his findings, and ethnographers would not shy of accepting the fact that their standpoint affect their findings. So in the last lecture I said that there are naturalistic ethnographers, there are feminist post colonialist, there are constructivists, and there are postmodernist, accordingly their findings of the same social context will differ.

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Major landmarks

- ▶ Irawati Karve
- ▶ 1953
- ▶ *Kinship Organization in India*
- ▶ Three regional patterns in forms of kinship organization – **linguistic areas**
 - Indo-European or Sanskritic
 - Dravidian
 - Mundari organizations of kinship – Austro Asiatic
- ▶ **Geographically speaking**
 - Northern
 - Central
 - Southern
 - Eastern

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Now, among the major landmarks of Indian demography and Indian ethnography Irawati Karve in 1953, she wrote the book *Kinship Organization in India* and for the first time she showed that in India there are three major linguistic groups Indo-European or Sanskritic, Dravidian, and Mundari organizations of kinship, or Austro, Asiatic, Bihar, Bengal northeast, and accordingly there are three different Kinship patterns in India. Geographically speaking then she said that there are differences between northern pattern, central pattern, southern pattern, and eastern pattern.

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Major landmarks

- ▶ M. N. Srinivas
- ▶ Examined what kind of social change is occurring in India and what is happening to tradition and religion (Hinduism)
- ▶ Fieldwork in Rampura in 1948 and 1952
- ▶ Later he produced the concepts of *Sanskritization*, Westernization and cultural schizophrenia
- ▶ Based on his fieldwork, literature and secondary material (census data)
- ▶ *Social Change in India, 1966*, California University Press, Berkeley

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Among the major landmarks of ethnography in India M N Srinivas, I said he is an important name and his study of Rampura showed us the way how ethnography must be conducted. So, M N Srinivas would be known for methodological contribution and M N Srinivas will also be known for certain concept that he has produced in Indian sociology, like Sanskritization, Westernization, and cultural schizophrenia you know what is Sanskritization, we have discussed westernization, and cultural schizophrenia, means that people live in traditional and modern worlds simultaneously, but this is he says to be used in a non-pathological sense this ah living a modern life in office, and a traditional life in family does not madness or any conflict any pathology this is the reality of Indian process of modernization, westernization. The book he produced based on his four lectures in Berkeley you know this is social change in India which was written in 1966.

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Major landmarks

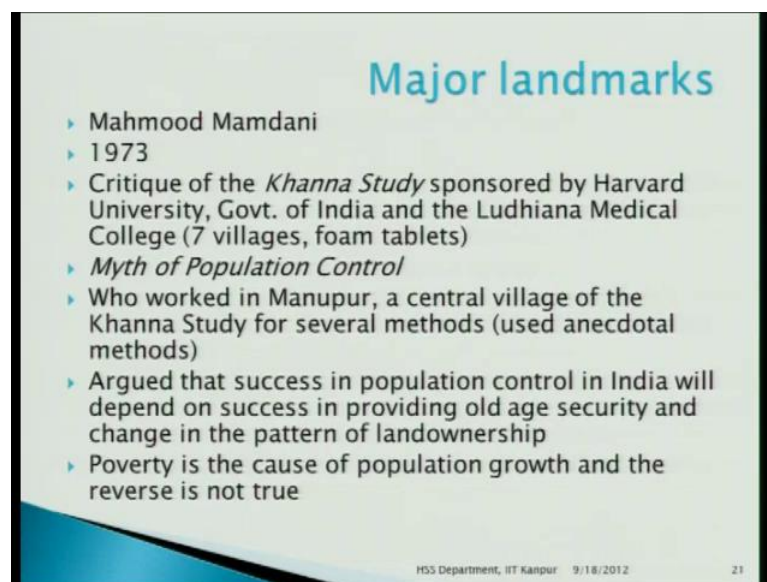
- ▶ Robert Redfield of University of Chicago who worked in Madras area
- ▶ 1956
- ▶ The concepts of little tradition and great tradition
- ▶ *Peasant Society and Culture*
- ▶ The question was how does Indian culture survive and what is the relationship between folk culture, peasant culture and the culture of the elite

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Among other concepts Robert Redfield who was from university of Chicago, who worked in madras, and in 1956, he gave the concept of little tradition and great tradition studying and writing peasant society and culture the name of his book is peasant society and culture and the question he was addressing was how does Indian culture survive? and what is the relationship between folk culture, peasant culture, and the culture of the elite? there is one culture of the elite which is represented by Vedic tradition, Shastras, smiritis, Upanishads varieties of Hinduism textual varieties of Hinduism plus epics Ramayana, Mahabharata and contributions made by saints and poets in different parts of the country interpretations reinterpretations of epics that is one part.

And people wherever you go in India or even outside people understand the terms of Vedas, Shastras, Smritis that is the textual thing, but simultaneously at the grassroots level in villages, and in different tribes, there is a different understanding of religion Gods, Goddess, religions, festivals, cultures rights and there is a continuous and a very close interaction between the folk culture, and the elite culture folk culture influences, and gets influenced by the elite culture, and the elite culture influences, and gets influenced by the folk culture. So, a small village stone which emile durkheim may say a kind of totem in a tribal setting as time passes may become a symbol of Goddess Durga or in a village society in a remote village where some local Goddess is worshipped as a Goddesses of a smallpox. Once, a smallpox has gone there is no need for such a Goddess, but then that Goddess acquired the form of durga. So, this is how folk culture village culture and textual or all india or elite cultures in india. So, there is a great tradition which refers to elite culture and there is there are may be millions of little traditions in various parts of the country and by interacting with the each other they produce a new culture both little tradition and great great traditions are reformed.

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Major landmarks

- ▶ Mahmood Mamdani
- ▶ 1973
- ▶ Critique of the *Khanna Study* sponsored by Harvard University, Govt. of India and the Ludhiana Medical College (7 villages, foam tablets)
- ▶ *Myth of Population Control*
- ▶ Who worked in Manupur, a central village of the Khanna Study for several methods (used anecdotal methods)
- ▶ Argued that success in population control in India will depend on success in providing old age security and change in the pattern of landownership
- ▶ Poverty is the cause of population growth and the reverse is not true

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Now among major landmarks slightly away from studies of culture I would like to include study by Mahmood Mamdani in 1973. You know before that when family planning program was started in India it was the first family planning program anywhere in the world is sponsored by government and Khanna study was conducted by Harvard University government of India and the Ludhiana medical college to see the efficacy of

contraceptive methods some results came and showed that with family planning program birth rate could decline.

Now Mahmood Mamdani conducted an ethnographic study he worked in a village Manupur, a central village of Khanna study for several months and used anecdotal methods he argued that the findings of the Khanna study which was based on survey a longitudinal study were wrong and actually due to foam tablets foam tablets were not properly used and whatever deduction in growth rate had occurred that was not due to use of foam tablets or family planning methods that was more because of migration and he argued that success in population control in India will depend on success in providing old age security and change in the pattern of landownership.

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My first post Ph.D. ethnography

- ▶ In 1991 State Institute of Health and Family Welfare commissioned a study *Area Specific Approach in Health and Family Welfare - Uttar Pradesh*
- ▶ B. D. Misra, Ashish Bose, Prem Talwar, and a few other eminent people participated in this
- ▶ I chose to work in the tribal population of Bahraich and Lakhimpur-Kheri - *Tharus*
- ▶ I learnt several new things

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According to him poverty is the cause of population growth and the reverse is not true today in the field of population and demography they will held any person who is not familiar with the ethnographic work of Mahmood Mamdani now let me also touch up on a few works that I did after completing my PHD in 1991 state institute of health and family welfare commissioned a study area specific approach in health and family welfare in which eminent demographers like B D Misra, Ashish Bose, Prem Talwar, they worked and they made different teams of scholars, working in different areas, since I was placed in sociology in IIT Kanpur I choose to work among Tharus, a tribal population of Lakhimpur-Kheri and bahraich and there I learnt several things.

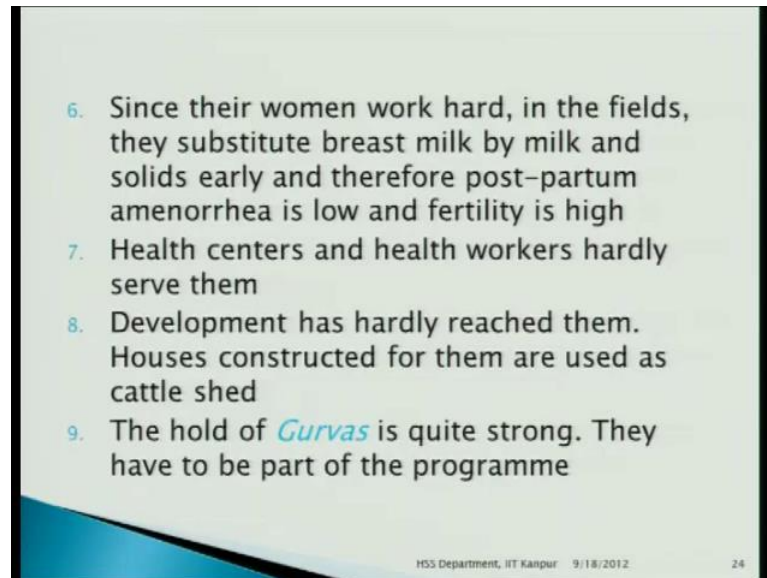
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1. Tharus are less literate and aware
 2. They are divided into three hierarchical groups - *Rana*, *Kathari* and *Dangora*
 3. The hierarchy seems to be related to their degree of assimilation with Hindus
 4. *Ranas*, the higher group, have the same food habits as of *Thakurs*, and *Dangoras*, the lower group, eat all birds and animals
 5. *Ranas* believe that they are descendants of queens of Maharana Pratap and his military chiefs who were made to flee to forests when attacked by Muslim rulers
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Earlier, I used to have a feeling that the tribal societies are homogenous, Unstratified , Undifferentiated, but when I went to Bahraich and Lakhimpur-kheri. I found that Tharus who are less literate and aware they are divided into three hierarchical groups Rana, Kathari, and Dangora. The hierarchy seems to be related to their degree of assimilation with Hindus. *Ranas*, the higher group, have the same food habits as of *Thakurs*, and *Dangoras*, the lower group, eat all birds and animals. So, purity the concept of purity and pollution would distinguish between high and low *Ranas* believe that they are descendants of queens of Maharana Pratap and his military chiefs who were made to flee to forests of this side when attacked by Muslim invaders, Muslim rulers.

So, the this made me more aware of the issue of how India consists you know there is one theory that India consists of a large number of tribes, and it is process of hinduization of tribes that produce a pan-Indian Hindu culture. So, in the same tribe among Tharus some people who could made their life more pure by changing food habits, belief systems, by selective memorialization, by a selective process of historicization, you know they become the Kshatriyas or the higher caste and others remain low may be as time passes these low people by following the sanskritization model can also claim a superior position on the caste hierarchy of Hindus.

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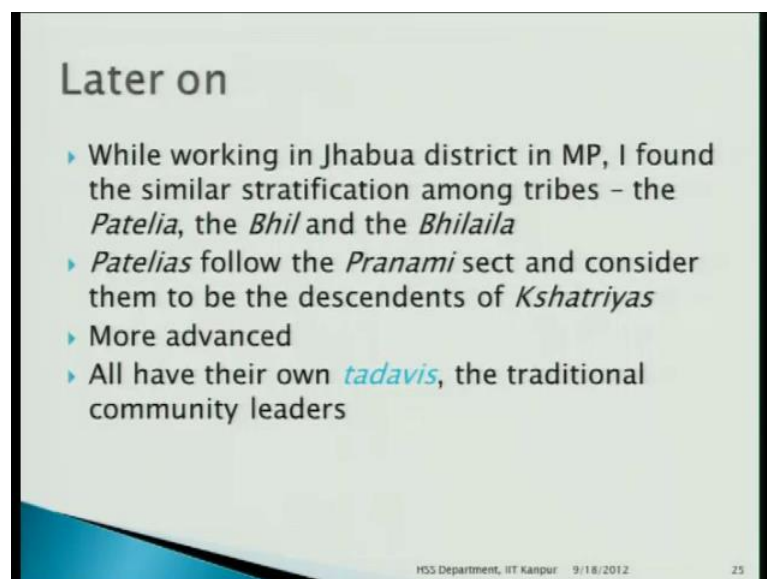


6. Since their women work hard, in the fields, they substitute breast milk by milk and solids early and therefore post-partum amenorrhea is low and fertility is high
7. Health centers and health workers hardly serve them
8. Development has hardly reached them. Houses constructed for them are used as cattle shed
9. The hold of *Gurvas* is quite strong. They have to be part of the programme

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I also found that since their women work, in the fields, they substitute breast milk by milk and solids early and therefore, post-partum amenorrhea is low and their fertility level is high health centers and health workers hardly serve them. Development has hardly reached them. Houses constructed for them are used as cattle shed. The hold of Gurvas is quite strong. Guravas are traditional healers cum leaders and for any program to be implemented effectively these gurvas have to be made part of the programme.

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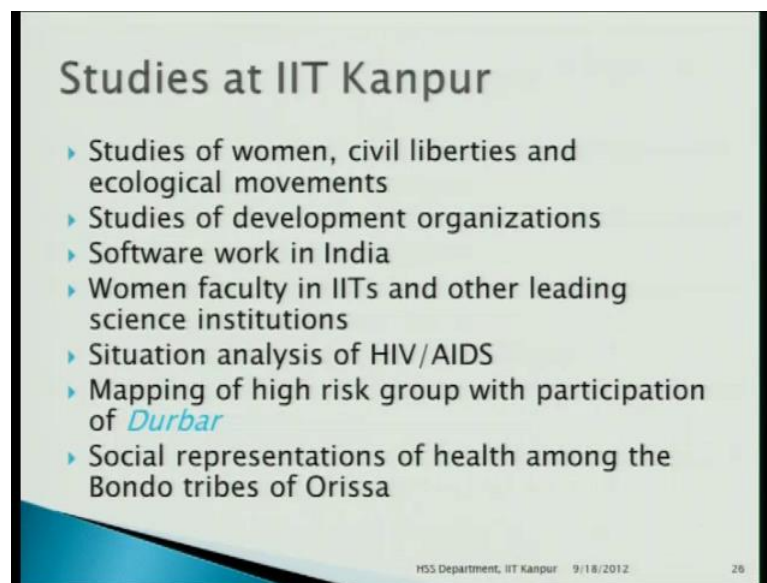
- ▶ While working in Jhabua district in MP, I found the similar stratification among tribes - the *Patelia*, the *Bhil* and the *Bhilaila*
- ▶ *Patelias* follow the *Pranami* sect and consider them to be the descendents of *Kshatriyas*
- ▶ More advanced
- ▶ All have their own *tadavis*, the traditional community leaders

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Later on while working in Jhabua district in MP, I found the similar stratification among tribes although that study was not on population or family planning that study was devoted to education, but there in Jhabua in rural areas in tribal areas I found that the tribes were divided into three categories the Patelia, the Bhil, and the Bhilaila. Patelias were at the top and Bhilailas were the most backward Patelias follow the Pramani sect and consider them to be the descendents of Kshatriyas again the same thing, once your socio-economic condition improves, you want to convert this into cultural games and you become a Kshatriya of caste hierarchy of Hindus.

They are more advanced and all have all the tribes have their own tadavis the traditional community leaders healers, magic man, there are different names for tadavis or these people in different parts of the country, but the role of leader, healer, magic man, they are all combined into one and for implementation of any program in a tribal context you have to take help of them.

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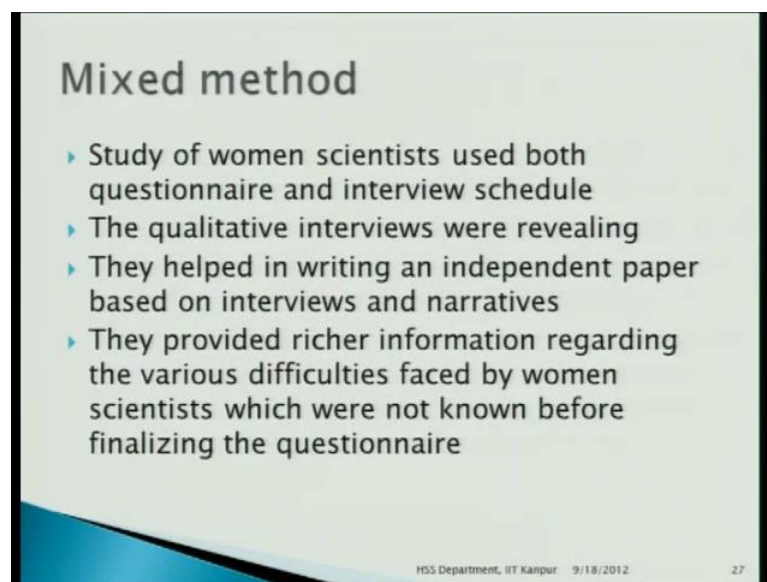


Then at IIT Kanpur we did lots of studies in which ethnographic method was used studies of women, civil liberties, and ecological movements, studies of development organizations, software work in India, women faculty in IIT's, and other leading institutions, situation analysis of HIV/AIDS for unicef we did this study for unicef, and mapping of high risk group in the context of HIV with participation of durbar. This was a

participatory study and you will agree with me that for researchers like us it is not easy to do fieldwork among high risk groups say sex workers.

So, and then mapping finding out their numbers spread how many sex workers in which village, in which town, what kind of practices they indulge, in was not easy for scholars and researchers from IIT. So, help was taken from their peer group there is an organization of sex workers in Calcutta, its known its name is durbar and we took help of them we train their sex workers their volunteers and the data were collected from the field with the participation of these volunteers of durbar we also made study of social representations of health and this study was done in the Bondo tribe of Orissa.

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Mixed method

- ▶ Study of women scientists used both questionnaire and interview schedule
- ▶ The qualitative interviews were revealing
- ▶ They helped in writing an independent paper based on interviews and narratives
- ▶ They provided richer information regarding the various difficulties faced by women scientists which were not known before finalizing the questionnaire

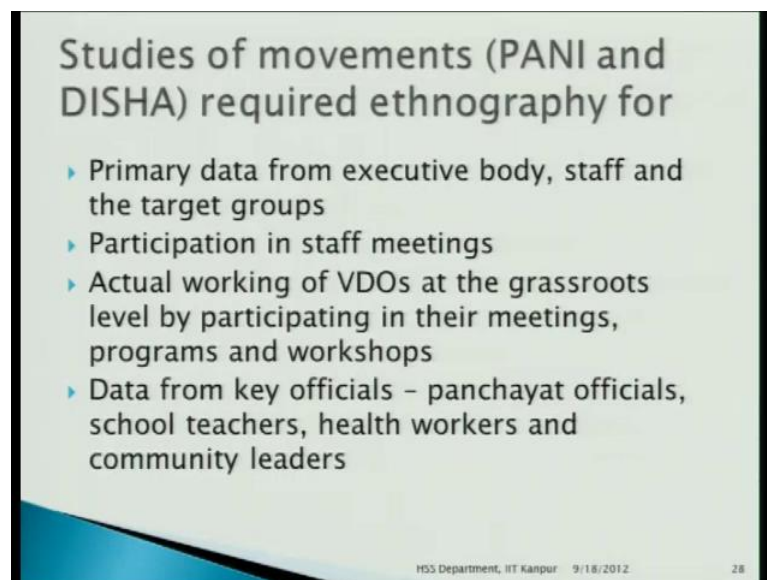
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We have been using mixed method so, our fieldwork or ethnographic research has been combined with structured interval schedule, and qualitative, quantitative methods have been combined, we find that the qualitative interviews are quite revealing in the study of women scientist they were quite revealing and they helped in writing an independent paper, based on interviews and narratives of women scientist they also provided richer information regarding the various difficulties faced by women scientists which were not known before finalizing the questionnaire.

Some people who do not like questionnaire or criticize questionnaire research say that, questionnaire research yields what the researcher already knows because researcher develops, his questions wordings, order of questions, on the basis of his theoretical

understanding of the subject to get. Something new to get close to reality and to see things from peoples perspective qualitative methods are of events have so for example, from questionnaire research you could you could get data on how much time a woman faculty takes in the next promotion, but what all difficulties at formal level informal level household level in the socio-cultural setting in which they find themselves what kind of difficulties women have or what all challenges they face psychological, cultural, in acquiring resources for research, in getting administrative positions, in attending seminars, and conferences, in writing papers. You know this could be known only by the qualitative part of research.

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Studies of movements (PANI and DISHA) required ethnography for

- ▶ Primary data from executive body, staff and the target groups
- ▶ Participation in staff meetings
- ▶ Actual working of VDOs at the grassroots level by participating in their meetings, programs and workshops
- ▶ Data from key officials – panchayat officials, school teachers, health workers and community leaders

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We have also done studies of social movements and one of our students studied Pani and Disha two organizations of UP, and we used mixed methods primary data were collected from executive body staff, and the target groups means people the researcher participated in staff meetings, actual working of voluntary development organizations or these movements was observed at the grassroots level by participating in their meetings, programs, and workshops data were also collected from key officials Panchayat officials school teachers health workers and community leaders.

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Three phases of data collection

- After breaking the ice**
 1. Primary and secondary data using both obtrusive and unobtrusive methods
- After building an elementary understanding of VDOs based on literature and above data**
 2. Clarification and verification of secondary data, administration of modified questionnaire to staff, collection of detailed data from project-in-charges, grassroots workers, and observing day-to-day functioning
- After data analysis**
 3. Presenting the results before the VDOs and people and seeking their feedback

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There were three phases of data collection that is interesting and that shows the application of qualitative or ethnographic mode of thinking. First, after breaking the ice means after entering the field we collected primary and secondary data using both obtrusive and unobtrusive methods. After building an elementary understanding of VDO's based on literature and above data second clarification and verification of secondary data administration of modified questionnaire, questionnaire original questionnaire was modified on the basis of the primary and secondary data collected in the first phase, and then detailed data were collected from project-in-charges grassroots workers and observing day-to-day functioning.

After data analysis then we brought the data to IIT Kanpur, and made an analysis of these data and may be some for some of you it will be a new thing that qualitative research suggest that after analyzing the data and arriving at inferences or findings. It will be a good idea to check your findings with the key informants or the people among whom you work. So, we presented the results before the voluntary development organization pani and disha and the people among whom we worked and sort their feedback on the basis of this the report was further modified.

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Situation analysis of HIV/AIDS beginning
Lalitpur district of UP, 2006 (for UNICEF)

- ▶ Profiling and segmenting the target group
- ▶ Nature and sources of vulnerability
- ▶ Patterns of livelihood, marriage and sexuality
- ▶ Mapping and scoring vulnerability of blocks, clusters and communities
- ▶ Mapping availability of medical services, support mechanisms, groups and structures
- ▶ Capacity of available resources
- ▶ Medical practices in the villages
- ▶ Preparedness of schools in undertaking HIV/AIDS program

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We also conducted situation analysis of HIV and this was the first situation analysis in India and for UNICEF. We developed the detailed methodology of conducting situation analysis of HIV AIDS which included profiling and segmenting the target group it was actually concentrated on young adults. So, profiling and segmenting of young adults nature and sources of their vulnerability to HIV, patterns of livelihood, marriage sexuality. Then mapping and scoring vulnerability of blocks, clusters and communities. Blocks are development blocks, clusters are clusters of villages and communities are communities of Hindus, Muslims, Tribals and different castes, castes are also included in communities and them mapping availability of medical services, support mechanisms groups and structures capacity of available resources medical practices in the villages and preparedness of schools in undertaking HIV/AIDS program. This is not an easy task our school teachers and parents are still not ready to accept HIV programs in school education.

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This required

- ▶ Open ended interviews
- ▶ Primary data collected through structured interviews
- ▶ FGDs
- ▶ Key informants/gate keepers
- ▶ Visits to hotspots: observations and interviews, often involving our taxi drivers in search of the target groups
- ▶ Peer group (participatory approach)
- ▶ Appearing as the client
- ▶ Secondary data from office records (CMO office, statistics office, etcetera)

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Now this required open ended interviews primary data FGDs focus group discussions collecting data from key informant, knowledgeable persons, or gate keepers, visit to hotspots: the places where truck drivers usually stay take tea or take food spend night and also the places where sex workers visit, and provide various services to these taxi drivers truck drivers, and observations, and interviews, often involving our taxi drivers, in search of the target groups. Then we also studied peer groups by participatory approach sometime would appear as the client and this was one way of contacting the high risk groups, and secondary data were collected from office record this shows how mixed methods research is used combining ethnography and positivistic approach today.

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Problems of the field

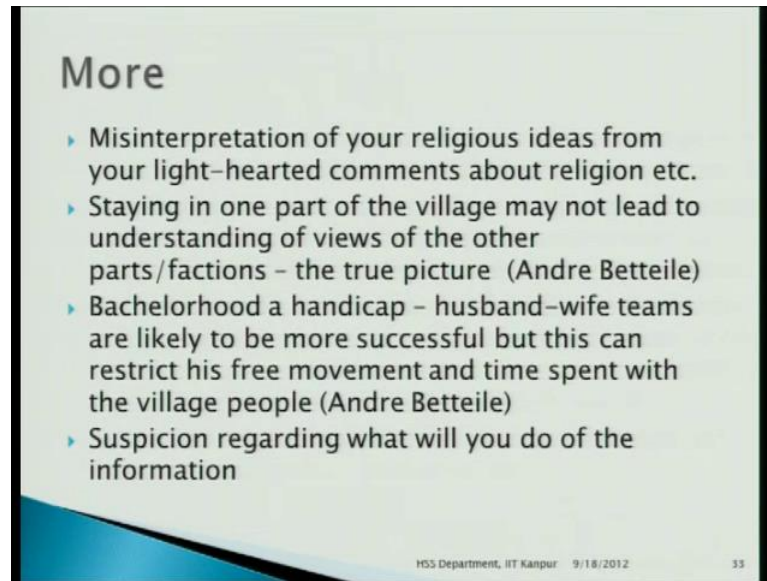
- ▶ Accommodation – in Rampura he lived in a cow-house of the headman which he shared with five pairs of plough-bullocks and one bullock
- ▶ Lack of facilities – electricity, tap water, fruits and vegetables etc.
- ▶ Living with plethora of insects
- ▶ Total absence of privacy – villagers are sociable and curious – you are never left alone
- ▶ Defecation
- ▶ Lack of bathroom

From: M. N. Srinivas, 1979

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Now we see in conducting ethnography there are several problems that you face in the field and it is important to talk a little bit about that also. M N Srinivas mentioned the following six problems among the major problems that you face in the field. First is the problem of accommodation, where do you stay? In Rampura he studied by M N Srinivas two times he lived in a cow-house of the headman which he shared with five pairs of plough-bullocks and one bullock. In the field he had lack of facilities there was no electricity, no tap water, no fruits, and no vegetables which he used to enjoy in a city life in Delhi. In then he lived with plethora of insects there was total absence of privacy any time, any informant, any villager, could come to your room and discuss things villagers are sociable people and curious you are never left alone M N Srinivas says even defecation was a problem in the village setting and lack of bathroom sometimes you must be careful that your religious ideas your light-hearted comments may be misinterpreted by your informants. So, be careful and Betteile said that you have to be careful that staying in one part of the village you know Andre Betteile on the basis of his study of south India villages, class structure, agrarian relations, and so on he says that studying in one part of the village may not lead to understanding of views of the other other, other parts, other factors.

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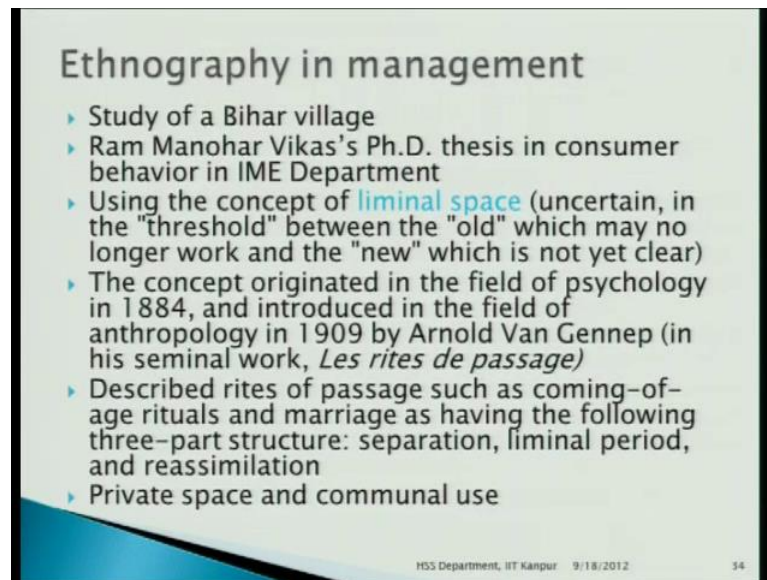
More

- ▶ Misinterpretation of your religious ideas from your light-hearted comments about religion etc.
- ▶ Staying in one part of the village may not lead to understanding of views of the other parts/factions - the true picture (Andre Betteile)
- ▶ Bachelorhood a handicap - husband-wife teams are likely to be more successful but this can restrict his free movement and time spent with the village people (Andre Betteile)
- ▶ Suspicion regarding what will you do of the information

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I remember in Andre Betteile's study that he stayed with Brahmins, and if you ask a Brahmin what is the population of your village he will give you the number of Brahmins only while the village consisted of Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins, but it appears as if for Brahmins the non-Brahmins or the schedule caste or the untouchables did not exist in their village. So, you have to be careful and you have to meet diverse people in the village. In the last lecture I talked about theoretical samplings you have to mix with diverse people in different parts of the village and Andre Betteile also says that bachelorhood of Andre Betteile was a problem a handicap, and he recommends that husband wife teams are likely to be more successful, but this can restrict his free movement and time spent with the village people researcher will have that limitation.

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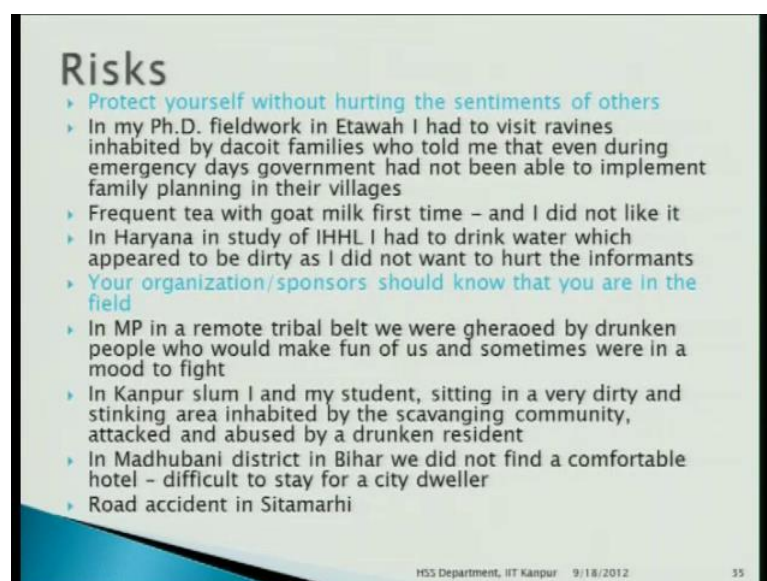
Ethnography in management

- ▶ Study of a Bihar village
- ▶ Ram Manohar Vikas's Ph.D. thesis in consumer behavior in IME Department
- ▶ Using the concept of **liminal space** (uncertain, in the "threshold" between the "old" which may no longer work and the "new" which is not yet clear)
- ▶ The concept originated in the field of psychology in 1884, and introduced in the field of anthropology in 1909 by Arnold Van Gennep (in his seminal work, *Les rites de passage*)
- ▶ Described rites of passage such as coming-of-age rituals and marriage as having the following three-part structure: separation, liminal period, and reassimilation
- ▶ Private space and communal use

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Then Suspicion regarding what will you do of the information everybody suspect everybody wants to know, what do what will you do of the data, now there ethnographic research has been used in management also recently one of our PHD students made study of liminal space, liminal means uncertain the threshold between the old, and the new the study focused on you know there are spaces in villages which are owned privately, but are used publicly and there are spaces which are owned publicly, but used privately. So they for him these were liminal spaces and what is happening to liminal spaces was the subject.

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Risks

- ▶ **Protect yourself without hurting the sentiments of others**
- ▶ In my Ph.D. fieldwork in Etawah I had to visit ravines inhabited by dacoit families who told me that even during emergency days government had not been able to implement family planning in their villages
- ▶ Frequent tea with goat milk first time – and I did not like it
- ▶ In Haryana in study of IHHL I had to drink water which appeared to be dirty as I did not want to hurt the informants
- ▶ **Your organization/sponsors should know that you are in the field**
- ▶ In MP in a remote tribal belt we were gheraoed by drunken people who would make fun of us and sometimes were in a mood to fight
- ▶ In Kanpur slum I and my student, sitting in a very dirty and stinking area inhabited by the scavenging community, attacked and abused by a drunken resident
- ▶ In Madhubani district in Bihar we did not find a comfortable hotel – difficult to stay for a city dweller
- ▶ Road accident in Sitamarhi

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Now there are risk, I must identify on the basis of my fieldwork and my experiences that first of all, when you go for the fieldwork protect yourself without hurting the sentiments of others, both things are important if you cannot protect yourself. If you cannot remain safe, healthy for the period, you are going to do fieldwork, you must take care of your health, and at the same time you have maintain a balance between your requirements and what is required to satisfy the sentiments of others.

In my PHD fieldwork in Etawah I had to visit ravines inhabited by dacoit families who told me that even during emergency days government had not been able to implement family planning in their villages, so initially there was some hostility, but then I made them understand the purpose of my visit and I said that I am not part of government. Then I had to take frequent tea with goat milk first time I never took a tea with goat milk ever we and I did not like it, but to satisfy the sentiments of my informants my subjects I had to do this.

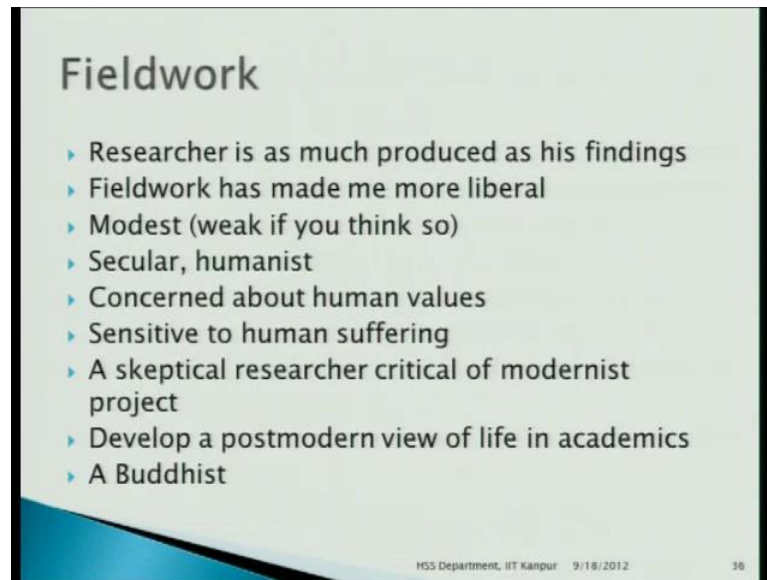
In Haryana I study in a study of individual household latrines I remember I had to drink water which appeared to be dirty as I did not want to hurt the informants, they were drinking that water how can I not drink the water which my informants were drinking when I am not even giving anything to them. I am there only to collect data and observe the processes then your organization a sponsor should know that you are in the field in m p in a remote tribal belt, you were Gheraoed by drunken people who would make fun of us and sometimes were in a mood to fight.

In tribal area there are some people or some tribe there are some tribes, which are always in a state of intoxication you have to be careful in Kanpur slum, I remember we were studying fertility in slum, I and my student we were sitting in a very dirty and stinking area, inhabited by the scavanging community of this slum was created by municipal corporation and was inhabited by the scavanging community and we were attacked and abused by a drunken resident. So, these kinds of things may happen to you when you are in the field and you have to be quite careful. You must carry medicines, as far as possible maintain hygiene eat nutritious, healthy food as far as possible, but without hurting the sentiments of your people.

I remember that in Madhubani district in Bihar when we were doing mapping, we did not find a comfortable hotel Madhubani district at that time did not have any decent hotel

government or private and it was very difficult for a city dweller like us to stay in a private hotel in Bihar in Madhubani and conduct our study of sex workers, and other high risk groups we also met two three times road accidents in Sitamarhi.

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Fieldwork

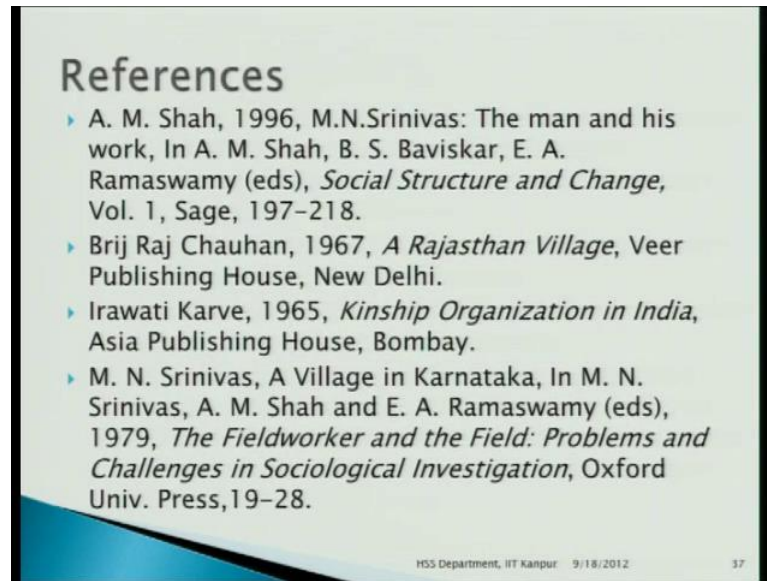
- ▶ Researcher is as much produced as his findings
- ▶ Fieldwork has made me more liberal
- ▶ Modest (weak if you think so)
- ▶ Secular, humanist
- ▶ Concerned about human values
- ▶ Sensitive to human suffering
- ▶ A skeptical researcher critical of modernist project
- ▶ Develop a postmodern view of life in academics
- ▶ A Buddhist

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However, at the end I would say that fieldwork is a very rewarding experience, and in the process of fieldwork or ethnography researcher is as much produced as his findings. Fieldwork has made me more liberal. So, not only we have produce reports for our sponsors, not only we have produce research papers, and books and reports conference papers, and material for including in the teaching in classroom, but we are also formed and reformed in the process of research, that we say that I have become more modest you may call that I have become a weak person a weak researcher, but I believe that if you are a true researcher you will always be modest you cannot be rigid you cannot afford to be rigid because knowledge is about is not absolute truth.

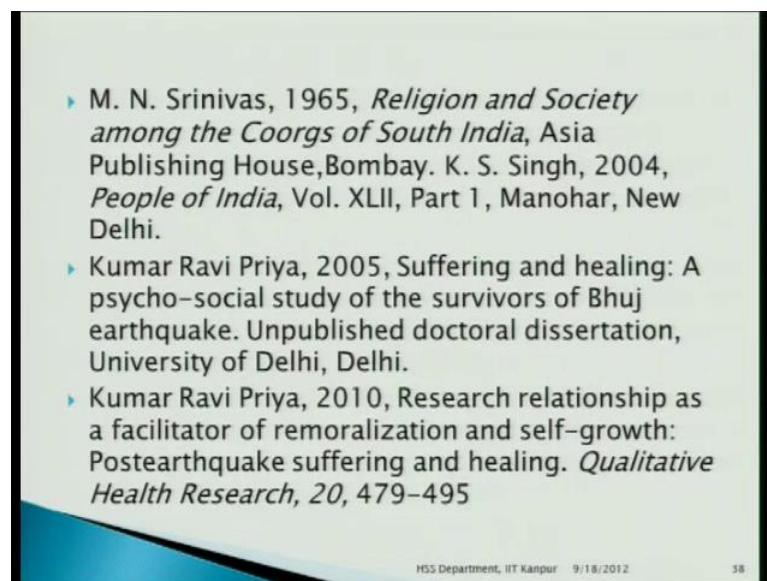
I have become much more secular humanist working among diverse, cultures, people ethnic groups, I am today more concerned about human values and I am more sensitive to human suffering, I have become more of a skeptical researcher critical of modernist project, and develop a somewhat postmodern view of life in academics and I like to use this term for myself identity I have become a Buddhist.

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Now there are some references, I for more details you can go through these references you can read social structure and change by M N Srinivas, you can read Rajasthan village by Brij Raj Chauhan, Kinship Organization in India by Irawati Karve, and for evaluation of M N Srinivas approach you can read this article M N Srinivas a village in Karnataka, in M N Srinivas, A M Shah and E A Ramaswamy edited book the fieldworker and the field everybody anybody interested in anthropological research in India must read the fieldworker and the field.

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Then religion and society among the Coorgs of south India Ravi Priya's doctor thesis to which I referred in the last lecture also and qualitative health research paper of Ravi Priya. This is the reading of these references will help.

Thank you very much.