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SOCIOLOGY (TEST CODE : 821)

Name of Candidate	SATYAM	Registration Number	1536
Medium Hindi/Eng.	ENGLISH	Date	15/10/16.
Center	ORN		

INDEX TABLE

Q. No.	Maximum Marks	Marks Obtained
1(a)	12.5	
(b)	12.5	
(c)	12.5	
(d)	12.5	
2(a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	15	
3(a)	20	
(b)	15	
(c)	15	
4(a)	25	
(b)	15	
(c)	15	
5(a)	12.5	
(b)	12.5	
(c)	12.5	
(d)	12.5	
6(a)	20	
(b)	15	
(c)	15	
7(a)	20	
(b)	15	
(c)	15	
8(a)	25	
(b)	15	
(c)	10	

Total Marks Obtained:

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Do furnish the appropriate details in the answer sheet (viz. Name, Registration Number and Test Code).
2. The Candidate should attempt FIVE Questions out of EIGHT questions strictly in accordance with the instructions given under each question printed in ENGLISH.
3. The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-Cum-Answer (QCA) Booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
5. Word limit in questions, if specified, should be adhered to.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.

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EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Alignment Competence
2. Context Competence
3. Content Competence
4. Language Competence
5. Introduction Competence
6. Structure - Presentation Competence
7. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

All the Best

Write a short note on each of the following in not more than 150 words.

10 x 5 = 50

1. (a) Secularization and caste

Ans)
• Secularization -

→ How
some
dimensions

Indian
example

• Caste -
rigidity -
reduced?

• Increased?

• Caste
based on
religion

• Casteism
to serve
certain
purposes
under
certain

Secularization refers to the withdrawal of religion from people's life. It has 2 aspects -

(a) withdrawal from public life

(b) withdrawal from personal lives of people

Indian caste system is entrenched in religion because various religious scriptures legitimize the Varna hierarchy which takes up practical forms in form of caste and sub-caste. As can be guessed, secularization would lead to weakening of caste hold as the religious scriptures may no longer hold much impact.

Today, 'pollution' and 'purity' ideas are seldom followed stringently in urban areas where people use common modes of transport, eat from similar restaurants, work at similar jobs. However, the hold of caste

related pollution and purity is still strong in rural areas.

However, on the flip side, caste persists in secular spheres like politics where people continue voting for their caste. In fact, there is use of a religious identity like caste to attain secular benefits like education and jobs through demands for 'reservations'.

At the same time, with significant in-roads of religion into politics, even secularization is doubted.

1. (b) With reference to their understanding of the Indian village, compare the perspective of MN Srinivas and SC Dube.

• Orientalists have defined Indian villages as 'little republics' (Charles Metcalfe) and as 'autonomous' and 'isolated' units of village society. Gandhiji reinforced this idea by envisioning Gram-Swaraj's concept.

Breaking this view were the studies of Srinivas on Rampura (near Mysore) and S.C. Dube on Shamirpet (near Hyderabad).

Similarities
• Structural-functionalism

Both defy the
Orientalist
-autonomous
-little republics
-isolated

Difference

① dominant caste
dominant men

② Srinivas
caste-focused

③ Sanskritization

Both these studies rejected the idea that the village was an 'isolated' and 'autonomous' unit. Villages were observed to be having both horizontal and vertical solidarity, as per Srinivas. Horizontal solidarity was seen ⁱⁿ ~~across~~ caste groups across villages and vertical solidarity was seen within a village.

Both Srinivas and Dube followed structural-functional approach to study villages. However, they also differed on certain counts.

For instance, Srinivas focussed on the idea of 'dominant castes' who were numerically strong and wielded economic and political power. Dube, on the other hand, talked about 'dominant men' who had dominance owing to age, income, caste, so on.

K-L. Sharma believes that Srinivas seems obsessed with caste which is not the case with Dube. Louis Dumont criticizes both saying that the real correct way of studying India is through ideas.

1. (c) Ethnicity and integration in the context of tribes

→ Tribal Panchsheel of Nehru envisioned the integration of tribals into the Indian society as based on their own geniuses. However, integration is easier said than done because of the ethnic variations in tribes in India.

First, varying ethnicities manifest themselves at the level of racial variations: Austroic tribes, Negritoes, Tibeto-Burman, etc. This produces a diverse racial groups group among tribes. The tribes of North-East are very different from tribes of South, so forth, and this poses challenge to integration of tribes with each other and with India.

Second, ethnicity also manifests itself at the level of 'feeling of uniqueness and being different from other groups'. For instance, tribes like Mundas and Hos in Chotanagpur would feel different from Caste Hindus.

However, Ghurye argues that ethnic differences are not so important as tribes are only 'backward Hindus'. They need to go through 'acculturation' of their customs and values which perpetuate their backwardness.

Verrier Elwin, on the other hand, talks about relative 'isolation' to tribes so that their unique ethnic features are preserved.

1. (d) Interaction of little tradition and Great Tradition

McKim Marriott and Milton Singer were influenced by Redfield's Study of Mexican Societies to give the concept of little and great traditions.

Little tradition is the tradition of the lettered 'unlettered peasants' or the folk tradition of the common masses, whereas Great Tradition is the tradition of the 'elites' in society.

It is the little tradition which gets organized

and codified with time to form the Great Tradition. However, Great Tradition may also be influenced by orthog heterogenetic factors like advent of Islam and Christianity in India.

Little Tradition is both orthogenetic (originating by itself) and heterogenetic (impact of the Great Tradition). For example, the tales of Ramayana and Mahabharat which provide cultural continuity to Great Tradition may be modified to suit local customs and ideas and turn into folk tales of Rama and Kurukshetra. In such a case when Great Tradition's values and practices get absorbed into the Little Tradition after modification, it is called Parochialization.

On the flip side, ideas and customs from the Little Tradition may also get organized to enter the Great Tradition. ~~For~~ This is called Universalization (like classical music was once folk music.)

2. (a) "Traditions and modernity are misplaced polarities in the study of social change in India." Elucidate

20

Ans) Modernity is difficult to define. Daniel Lerner defines modernity with increasing levels of literacy, occupational mobility, urbanisation, empathy and political participation. Let us try to analyze the debate between modernity versus tradition from Lerner's paradigm.

In India, literacy levels have increased. 2011 census says that about 74% of our population is literate. However, tradition is still seen in lower literacy levels among women and poor children dropping out of school to assist in family's work in farms and beyond.

Occupational mobility has also increased as urban areas have created 'secular' industrial jobs both in informal and formal sectors. But Caste-based occupations and related 'pollution' and 'purity' is still seen when Odalits are

traumatized when they try leaving their traditionally so-called 'polluting' jobs in rural areas. For example, Valmikiis in U.P. are unable to give up 'manual scavenging' because they aren't accepted in other occupations.

Urbanization levels have also increased but urban spaces have grown haphazardly. Rural to urban migration is now in vogue as 'relative anonymity' of urban living has allowed lower castes to escape the caste hierarchy. However, tradition still exists when kinship ties and caste connections are helping people to create 'caste associations' even in urban areas. Besides, kinship networks help in gaining employment in industries as well.

Political participation has also increased

and it is here that social change is most obvious. Due to numerical strength of lower castes there has been significant attempt made by the lower castes, even Dalits, to assert their uniqueness. However, when people vote their caste, or when people vote on the basis of religion, tradition is visible.

On the other hand, thinkers like McKim Marriott say that ever since the British rule there have been changes in the Great Tradition, which have got reflected in the Little Tradition.

M.N. Srinivas says that 150 years of British rule has brought about ideological changes (like ideas of equality, liberty, etc), institutional changes (like law courts, police) and technological changes (like railways) into India. However, tradition is still ~~perf~~ persistent as endogamy persists and caste persists in new forms as 'Casteism'.

2. (b) Critically analyze to what extent 'structural-functional perspective' is suitable for the study of Indian Society. 20

→ Structural functional perspective of A.R. Radcliffe Brown influenced sociologists like M.N. Srinivas and S.C. Dube in India.

The following have been the features of structural-functional approach -

- (a) There is focus on studying the 'field view' of society rejecting the 'book view' of Indologists
- (b) There is focus on participative observation and empiricism.
- (c) All social realities, including culture, is analyzed from the perspective of structure
- (d) ~~St~~ Social structure is analyzed in families, villages, caste, et al.

(c) Social change is seen from the perspective of structural change.

However, such an approach, though very popular, has not been without criticism.

Louis Dumont is perhaps the most vocal opponent of this approach. He says that the correct way to study Indian society is through ideational-cognitive approach which gauges the prevalence of certain unique ideas (like holism, hierarchy, purity and pollution) in the Indian society.

Such a concept is backed by Yogendra Singh who says: we should study the ideas which shape up social realities and not the social realities per se.

Besides, critics like K.L. Sharma have argued that structural-functionalists like Srinivas

are obsessed with caste. Srinivas sees even the rural and urban societies in terms of rural caste and urban caste. There is complete ignorance of 'urbanism as a way of life' which often transcends caste, or even the ideas which shape up rural society specially those embedded in history.

Besides, Srinivas is criticized to have not adequately explained the ideas of 'Sanskritization' and 'Westernization' from the viewpoint of structure. For instance, Srinivas's 'Sanskritization' leads to only 'positional change' and not structural change in caste hierarchy, as per Yegendra Singh.

Structural-functionalism also remains inadequate in explaining the sub-cultural identity assertion movements of outcastes in present times (like on Social Media).

2. (c) Andre Beteille's view on Indian caste system is regarded as approximating social reality. Critically examine 15

Andre Beteille studied Sripuram village and found out that there are 3 caste groups there -

- (a) Brahmins
- (b) Non-Brahmins
- (c) Adi-Dravidas or outcastes

There was a strong overlap between caste, class and power as the upper Caste monopolized land and political power before the land reforms.

However, post land reforms, there has been a 'dissociation' between caste and class as land has gone into the hands of middle ~~st~~ castes. Besides, due to electoral politics favouring numbers, there has been a further dissociation between caste, class and power as even outcastes have become

electorally important.

Andre Beteille, therefore, tries to see Indian society from the vantage point of social stratification leading to differential access to income, power and status.

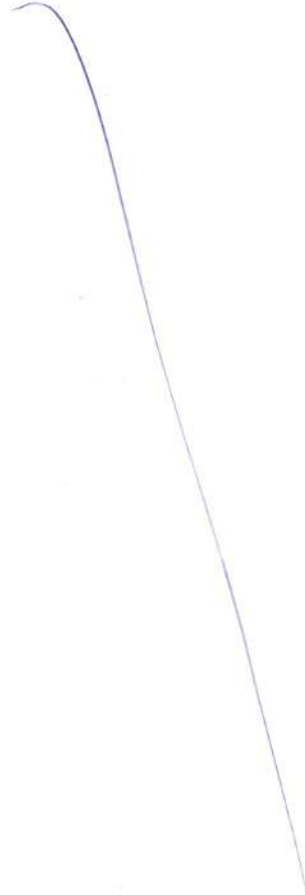
However, Jan Breman criticizes Beteille on the ground that caste, class and power are still strongly overlapped. Land reforms benefited the already benefited 'dominant castes' and electoral politics has further added to their dominance.

When we today see outcastes being concentrated in agriculture labour, when we see that caste-based atrocities (like Una incident in Gujarat) are still perpetrated and when Khaps, dominated by dominant castes, pass 'Fatwas' to ban exogamy, Indian society is still traditional in many ways.

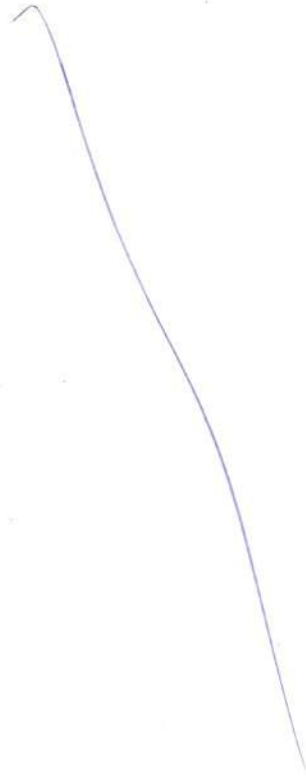
3. (a) Critically examine D.N. Dhanagare's views on agrarian movements in India.

20





3. (b) Write a short note on "Commercialization of religion" in context of Indian society. 15



3. (c) "India needs modernization and not westernization". Is one possible without the other? Comment 15

4. (a) "Communalism is a political doctrine which makes use of religious and cultural differences to achieve political ends". Discuss along with adequate substantiation.

25

Ans)

Communalism can be defined as 'the political trade in religion'. Religious differences have always existed in India's past but political use of religion to achieve vested interests is relatively new. It began with the British employing the 'divide and rule' policy. On one hand, Bengal partition was initiated by Curzon to divide Bengal on religious ground, on the other hand, Morley-Minto reforms accepted the demand of 'separate electorates' of Muslim League. As a reaction to it, even Hindu Maha-Sabha emerged as a political organization to represent the Hindu interests. The seeds sowed then finally ~~cultures~~ culminated into Partition of the country.

Bipan Chandra says that communalism grows in 3 phases —

(a) When a religious community develops a

feeling of solidarity - 1st stage

(b) when the community feels that its interests are different from those of others - 2nd stage

(c) when the community, lastly, feels that its interests are anti-thetical to the interests of other communities - 3rd stage.

It is in this stage that communal riots proliferate.

All these stages develop one after another and there is an active role played by the representatives of various communities to sowing the seeds of mutual hatred and disharmony.

For instance, the Muslim League spearheaded the idea of 'two-nation theory' because it wanted to grab political power in the would-be Pakistan.

Paul Brass believes that communal riots are now orchestrated events and these

are vested interests actively supporting and instigating cultural and religious differences among people. He opines that there are vested political interests in polarizing the society on religious grounds. Polarized voters tend to form 'assured vote-banks' for political parties. This polarization is driven by their insecurity.

Let us analyze Muzaffarnagar riots from Paul Brass's paradigm. Every riot begins with few skirmishes between people of ~~of~~ different religious communities. Then there are people well placed in those areas, who are positioned by political parties, to convert the small level altercation into a full-blown riot.

Often, religious differences like celebration of 'Muharram' and 'Ramnavami' on the same day or 'beef eating' or others

are exploited to wage cultural wars.

However, it is not always cultural or religious differences which are exploited. Even economic differences can lead to rise in communalism. For example, certain communities may be 'stigmatized' and denied proper education and employment thereby breeding a large section of unemployed youth among them who are easy prey to communal hatred.

Even demographic factors like fast rise in the population of minorities can be cited. Sometimes, the nature of religious sentiments and identity, as per Steve Bruce, can also smoothen the rise of Communalism. For example, certain religions believe in supremacy of one book and horizontal mobilization becomes easier.

4. (b) "Citizenship in the globalized world". Critically discuss

15

→ Citizenship is an evolving concept. In general terms it refers to the rights and duties attached to a person because of his or her being a citizen of a nation. In this globalized world, it is presumed by hyperglobalizers that citizenship would become 'global' - individuals would become 'global citizens'. On the other side, sceptics believe that nations are still powerful and an individual's citizenship needs to be shaped up by the nation itself. So, even if we talk about Universal Declaration of Human Rights or Sustainable Development Goals or Paris Climate Deal, sceptics of globalization thesis argue that it is ultimately the individual nations who can guarantee civil, economic and political

rights to citizens.

On the other side, we also need to analyze this debate from the vantage point of growing awareness and reflexivity (as Anthony Giddens would say) among citizens about their rights. Dalit oppression in India is discussed at world fora now and US's decision to give the LGBTQ people right to marriage perks even Indians to speak against Sec. 377 of IPC on social media.

On the other hand, the rapidly globalizing world has also exposed us all to "new risks" (Ulrich Beck) which need to be dealt with together. The climate issue, the European refugee crisis, et al need reactions ~~at~~ in concerted ways which would create global citizenry.

4. (c) To what extent Reservation policy in India has been able to restructure the social fabric of Indian society. Discuss 15

→ Reservation was envisaged by Constitution makers as a positive discrimination policy to uplift those who had been left behind in the development progress race.

Reservation has benefited certain sections ^{and women} of SCs, STs and OBCs. The very psychological assurance of reservation has led to a feeling of making one's future secure. Jodhka says that as agrarian crisis deepens in the countryside even the traditionally dominant landed castes have started pressing for reservation.

Reservation might not benefit everybody in a caste but the mere possession of reservation benefits is seen as an opportunity to get into government service specially when private sector hasn't been able to create enough jobs (jobless).

growth thesis).

But As reserved communities press for their power at the level of Panchayats, Urban Local Bodies, Legislatures, education and government service, there is an increased confidence to deal with the existing dominant sections. And as ^{traditionally} ~~as~~ dominant castes like 'Jats' are witnessing the growing power of reserved sections like 'Thirs', there is a growing demand for reservation among them too.

However, scptics argue that ~~these~~ those who benefit from reservation are already the elites and dominant sections among their castes. Next, once they get uplifted, they forget their brethren back in rural areas.

5. Write a short note on each of the following in not more than 150 words.

12.5 x 4 = 50m

(a) Briefly discuss the concept of Ethno-nationalism along with suitable examples.

→ The concept of a nation-state emerged in modern days in Europe when people with similar ethnicities demanded territories. (like Slavs before world war 1).

India, on the other hand, was a witness to cultural unity since time immemorial. But when territorial unity was imposed from the top by the British, there were reactions from different quarters. Many scholars during National movement believed that India needed more time to be a nation (or it was a Nation-in-the-Making) because of its continental size and diversity.

After independence, ethnicity-based national fervour was seen among various tribes in North-East like Mizos, Nagas, etc. Nagas

demanding separate country.

On the other side, since ethnicity as a concept is not restricted to only race but extends to religion, traditions, language, so forth, we can say that anti-Hindi and pro-Tamil rhetoric in Tamil Nadu under DMK was also an expression of ethno-nationalism. Likewise, the demand for a separate 'Khalistan' by certain Sikh groups in Punjab was also an expression of ethnicity based nationalistic fervour.

5. (b) 'New Farmer's movement' in India

→ Land reforms and green revolution significantly altered the way agrarian movements were organized. Peasant-based movements ~~for~~ to fight against 'survival threat' (like Pabna, Moplah to Tebhaga and Telangana) were replaced by new farmer's movement which aimed at better share to farmers in the modernity and in India's growth story.

Sharad Joshi says that New Farmer's Movement spearheaded by the relatively well-off, dominant castes was a complaint against the step-motherly treatment to the rural areas. It depicted a divide between 'India' and Bharat'.

For instance, Mahendra Singh Tikait ~~led~~ led Bhartiya Kisan Union in 1986 and pressed the U.P. government to withdraw hike in electricity charges. Similarly, demand for MSP hike, better irrigation facilities, so on have been raised in these new movements.

Critics argue that these movements were anti-urban but they did not lead to any significant improvement in the plight of rural poor, specially the marginal farmers and the landless. The new rural elites were obsessed with self-salvation.

5. (c) Constitution as a living document of social change

→ Social change is defined as the change in the culture and structure of society.

Constitution in India, as it was originally drafted and subsequently through its various amendments in resonance with the need to change with the change in society, is a harbinger of social change in many ways.

For instance, Art 14 which talks about 'right to equality' ~~or~~ tends to break down the structures of inequality in 'caste', 'community' and 'gender'. Likewise, Directive Principles, aim at socio-economic democracy in the country. Amendments done recently like fundamental right to form cooperatives have ~~pr~~ aimed at bringing about social change.

However, on the other side, mere law-making doesn't produce viable change unless there is implementation. For instance, costly de justice

System weakened the poor man's capacity to attain justice.

On At the same time, As Andre Beteille points out, it is the Constitution of India which decides where people should go but it is people of India who ultimately decide where they would go. For instance, Anti-Untouchability laws have not been able to prevent atrocities against Dalits.

5. (d) 'Social alteration in the institution of Marriage in India'.

• Marriage in India is usually seen as a Social contract between families. In North, sub-caste endogamy and Gotra exogamy are followed. Besides, hypergamy is also in vogue.

But with modern changes like geographical mobility due to occupation and increasing freedom to women, even marital changes are taking place.

First, affinal links have been given preference

to fraternal and paternal links. So, often after marriage, couples are shifting to a new place of residence instead of there being strict adherence to patrilocal family forms, specially in urban areas.

Next, rates of separation are almost thrice the rates of divorce and both rates are increasing. This is because divorce is still socially stigmatized and getting a divorce is legally time-consuming.

Marriage Attitude towards marriage, however, remains more or less positive because marital bonds are still considered as necessary for the stable upbringing of young ones. ~~Now~~ Since women are still largely economically dependent on men, they are ~~are~~ seldom opting for single parenthood. Even men are seldom suspected as bachelors.

Endogamous marriages are still strong and even ^{on} ~~of~~ Shaadi.com people do not forget to mention sub-castes.

6. (a) "The resurgence of regionalism in various parts of the country has emerged as a threat to unity and integrity of the nation." In the light of this statement, critically analyze the reasons for its emergence and how such divisive tendencies needs to be addressed. 20

6. (b) Critically discuss the role of education in the process of nation-building with particular reference to India.

15

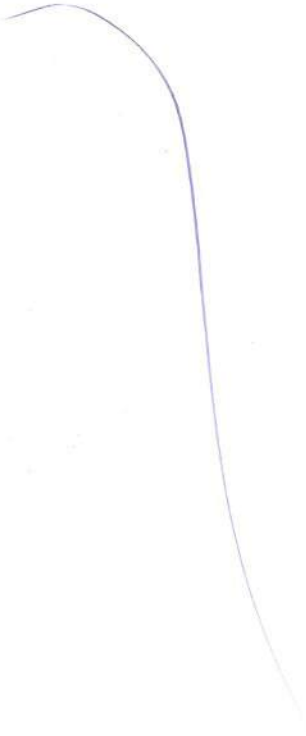
6. (c) Briefly discuss the role of backward class movement in strengthening the process of social mobility among lower caste. 15





7. (a) "Reservation of women in the legislature is must for ensuring more participative, inclusive and egalitarian society". Comment 20





7. (b) What is the relationship between fertility and social structure as viewed by Davis and Blake.

15

7. (c) Critically discuss the challenges faced by 'persons with disability' in accessing the Indian labor market.

15

8. (a) "The prime victim of economic liberalization has been environmental sustainability." In the context of this statement, discuss the past and present of Indian Environmentalism.

25

Ans) Indians have been the first environmentalists of the world. When we worshipped the 'Pipal tree' during the days of Indus Valley Civilization, when we derived intimacy with rocks, rivers and other elements of Nature during the Vedic times, when we saw the presence of 'Soul' in even inanimate objects (Jain philosophy), we proved beyond doubt that we had environmentalism deeply ingrained in us. Even during Islamic Mughal rule, we witnessed the focus on 'gardens' and 'water streams' in architectural marvels.

Indian environmentalism, however, reached a new level when Chipko movement unfolded in the present state of Uttarakhand. Ramchandra Guha writes in 'Unquiet Woods'

that Chipko was not only synonymous with eco-feminism but was also a product of realization that environmental degradation had produced past floods in the past like in 1970 in present Uttarakhand.

Then followed a series of environmental movements which were also linked closely with tribal rights over their land and forests. The protest against Sardar Sarovar project ^{is} ~~was~~ a prime example.

Post LPG there has been a focus on 'growth'. Growth is different from 'development' in the sense that latter takes into account sustainability and inclusiveness of growth too. However, 'economic growth' produced riches too. But these riches got concentrated in a few sections.

The Since most minerals are concentrated in India in forested areas, economic

growth came along with degradation of forests and displacement of indigenous people from their habitat. Thus Arundhati key observes that in the name of Greater Common Good, tribals had to leave their homes and were reduced to marginal and pauperized living in absence of skills to ^{live} living in the 'modern world'.

So, present environmentalism needs to be seen in the context of 'tribal rights'. Noam Chomsky says that the world sustains because tribals have maintained their environment-friendly customs. The

When in Niyamgiri hills of Odisha, Dongria Kondh protested against Vedanta plant, there ^{were} ~~was~~ both livelihood concerns and ecological concerns (like Konds treat their Nature as 'God') expressed.

Today, environmentalism has also globalized as it is being realized that Indian concerns are not divorced from Chinese concerns or concerns of Pacific Islands or of US. In this regard, Paris Climate Deal was ratified by India and a promise was made to follow the INDCs judiciously.

Overall, we may say that a circle in the field of environmentalism is complete as India is again going revisiting the needs to protect and preserve the intimate connections with environment, the 'Namami Gange' to clean the 'holy' Ganges being another such effort.

8. (b) Briefly analyze the interplay between the economic status, gender, and social status in influencing the use of and access to maternal and reproductive health care in India. 15

→ Maternal and reproductive health care in India are skewed in favour of the relatively well off women. However, even among the well off sections, gender discriminations lead to forced female foeticide. It is a proved statistic that better off States are more prone to female foeticide in India. because of easier access to technology.

Policies like NRHM which have ASHA workers spearheading awareness and institutional deliveries have benefited the rural areas. About 50% of deliveries in rural areas are now institutional. However, lower economic status prevents access to pre and post delivery benefits like nutrition and iron tablets.

Malnutrition persists among poor women especially in rural areas. Consequently, even children born are malnourished with improper development of mind and body leading to perpetuation of a cycle of poverty.

India has improved its status remarkably in Infant Mortality and Maternal Mortality Rates, however we are still lagging behind in our ~~MMR~~ MMR target as per Millennium Development Goal analysis.

Among the reasons given is absence of adequate health care in rural areas along with lack of spending capacity among poor and, most importantly, the presence of patriarchal culture which gives lower importance to female's education and health are significant.

8. (c) Extensive urbanization has led to dysfunctional consequences in context of India. Discuss 10

→ As per ~~World~~ ^{2015,} Bank's report, urbanization in India has been haphazard and unsustainable. Urban spaces in India are facing problems of pollution, congestion, isolation and maladjustment and even social crimes like juvenile delinquency, sexual assaults and drug abuse.

~~It~~ The problem lies not in urbanization. The problem is with over-urbanization, which is a controversial concept, as per which there is disproportionate ~~urban~~ rural to urban migration without adequate industrialization along with the urban areas eating into the benefits of the rural areas because 'resources' are increasingly concentrated in these ~~over~~ urban spaces.

The proliferation of slums is perhaps the biggest dysfunction of haphazard urbanization. However, slums also serve some purposes like acting as launching pads for poor immigrants into the urban way of life.

Immigrants who are separated from the traditional rural settings are often ~~exposed~~ subjected to 'marginalization'. Such a feeling is also felt by the old aged people who often lose pace with the rapid changes in the urban milieu.