

Sociological Study of Religion

Colonial Modernity and 19th Century Majoritarianism

This article explores and critiques the semblances between the discourse on sociology of religion and that of ideology of Hindu majoritarianism. Both were fashioned in late 19th century and drew from the binaries inherited through colonial modernity. Sociologists of religion in India have asserted similar propositions regarding the discrete cultural practices of groups in India, and thereby implicitly propounded a theory of majoritarianism. We need to develop an alternate sociological language and free ourselves from the language of colonial modernity in order to evaluate the processes that make majoritarianism a dominant ideology today.

SUJATA PATEL

The focus of this paper is on the sociological discourse on religion as it applies to the south Asian region. Many of us are concerned with the way the interface between religious identities, the state and political processes are creating communal, ethnic and sectarian conflicts in south Asia. Historians and political scientists have been writing on this issue for some time and explicating the complexity that structures this theme in the south Asian context. Religion, as we know, has been traditionally the domain of research and study of anthropologists and sociologists. How have sociologists understood religion and its contemporary manifestations in south Asia? Do they possess the language and the vocabulary to assess the contemporary processes that affects religion and the way religion structures them?

In this article, I argue that the sociological discourse has not been able to grasp the complexities of the religious dimensions as it interfaces with modernity. This is because this discourse incorporates seminal assumptions relating to colonial modernity and its knowledge, earlier embodied in the discipline of anthropology, as contemporary sociology was then identified, and then incorporated in the sociology of religion. These assumptions

relate to the matrix of binaries such as the west and the east, modernity and tradition, materiality and religiosity, majority and minority that represents the project of modernity. This epistemic structures the construction of academic knowledge regarding societies in the west and the east and the division of this knowledge into two disciplines, that of sociology and anthropology. It also informs perspectives and practices of these disciplines together with the placement of scholars in distinct academic traditions each with its own sets of research questions, methods and methodologies. These binaries are part of the colonial project of domination and rule that uses and continues to use classification of groups as a means to structure power and to highlight differences between the Orient and Occident [Patel 2006:382].

More particularly, the sociology of religion of India draws its frame from two assumptions governing the discipline of anthropology/sociology. I have argued earlier [Patel 2006:383-84], that these two assumptions were organised in the late 19th century when they fashioned a continuum of binaries. The first assumption was geographical and distinguished between groups living in the subcontinent from the spatial-cultural structures of the west. Later those living in the subcontinent were further classified geographically into spatial-cultural zones. The

second assumption related to the internal division and relationship between these groups. All groups living in the subcontinent were defined by its relationship with Hinduism. Those that were directly related to Hinduism, such as castes and tribes were termed the "majority", while those, that were not, were conceived as "minorities", these being mainly groups practising Islam and Christianity [Patel 2006].

Anthropologists/sociologists researching on south Asian religions have oftentimes uncritically accepted this logic, and thereby become trapped in this discourse. Thousands of communities having distinct cultural practices and ideas have lived and experienced existence in various forms of unequal and subordinate relationships with each other. In the 19th century, anthropological/sociological knowledge dissolved these distinctions and re-categorised them into four or five major religious traditions thereby constructing a master narrative of the majority and minority. This logic homogenised distinctions between groups but it also naturalised one form of unequal distribution of power and resources. India and Hinduism collapsed into each other. Also, both these concepts were loaded with additional meanings. Hinduism as a majority religion was redefined to include all kinds of ideas and cultural practices, as it became a Great Tradition, and anchored into a timeless civilisation.

This project found expression (ironically and paradoxically) in the work of indigenous intellectuals in the subcontinent searching for an identity against colonialism. They categorised and classified Hindu traditions while systemising and ordering its internal hierarchy as they adopted the language of the binaries and thus of colonial modernity. They constructed discourses of immanent Hindu tradition and reformulated its concepts and theories. In their search for the "roots" of this Great Tradition, they codified and standardised in the mirror of 'savarna' (upper caste) perceptions, the discrete cultural practices of groups in India. This became a political project in two senses, in reaffirming tradition to interrogate the "modern" and in fashioning a tradition in the image of the savarna perception.

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Table of Contents Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb

1. Understanding the eBook Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb User Reviews and Ratings
 - Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb Free and Paid eBooks
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- Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb Budget-Friendly Options
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 - Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb Enhanced eBook Features
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 - Interactive Elements Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
- 8. Staying Engaged with Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Setting Reading Goals Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Religion In Sociological Perspectivepb
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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