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SAMKALP

[SOCIOLOGY]

For UPSC Civil Services Mains Examination

To all my brothers and sisters at Samkalp...

First of all my heartfelt gratitude to my gurus and margdarshakganas at Samkalp for providing excellent guidance and prerana in a family like environment.

I still remember my first day at Samkalp office. Its ambience gave me a feel that how should a civil servant should work - selflessly, with full energy and with a smile. The minimum, but sufficient facilities at Samkalp also teach another important lesson in public service - that we as aspiring civil servants have also to learn the virtues of frugality in life. Public services can never, and even should not, afford you all the luxuries of life and one has to imbibe self-restraint in private and public life for good of society. Millions of Indians look upon the public servants as their role models, their hope and even their leaders. With such high expectations, one ought to live up to those expectations on moral grounds as well. Apart from the formal training, these lessons in morality are also learnt at Samkalp directly and indirectly.

I wish all my aspiring brothers and sisters best of luck for their future endeavors and wish that all of you contribute fullest of your potential for the cause of our nation.

Vande Mataram

Nitin Sangwan

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PAPER – 1

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CHAPTER 1 – SOCIOLOGY – THE DISCIPLINE

Evolution of Modern Sociological Thought									
France	Montesquieu (1689–1755)	Saint Simon (1760–1825)	Comte (1798–1857)	Tocqueville (1805–59)	Durkheim (1858–1917)	Althusser (1918–90)	Baudrillard (1929–2007)		
	Rousseau (1712–78)								
Germany	Kant (1724–1804)	Hegel (1720–1831)	Feuerbach (1804–72)	Marx (1818–83)	Weber (1864–1920)	Horkheimer (1895–1973)	Habermas (1929–)		
					Dilthey (1833–1911)	Schutz (1899–1959)	Frankfurt School (1923–)		
Italy	Pareto (1848–1923)								
	Mosca (1858–1941)								
Britain	Adam Smith (1723–1790)	Ricardo (1772–1823)	Spencer (1820–1903)				Giddens (1938–)		
USA									
	Mead (1863–1931)								
	Sorokin (1889–1968)								
	Merton (1910–2003)								
	Garfinkel (1929–)								
	Chicago School (1920s–40s)								
	Parsons (1902–79)								
	Dahrendorf (1929–2009)								
	Berger (1929–)								
	Mills (1916–62)								
	Wallerstein (1930–)								
India									
	Ghurye (1893–1983)								
	Dumont (1911–98)								
	Beteille (1934–)								
	D P Mukharjee (1894–1961)								
	A R Desai (1915–94)								
	Srinivas (1916–99)								

Modernity and Social Change in Europe and Emergence of Sociology

Curious human mind had a desire to know more about its social surroundings since time immemorial, but such thoughts were systematized in form of a discipline only a few centuries back in first half of 19th century only.

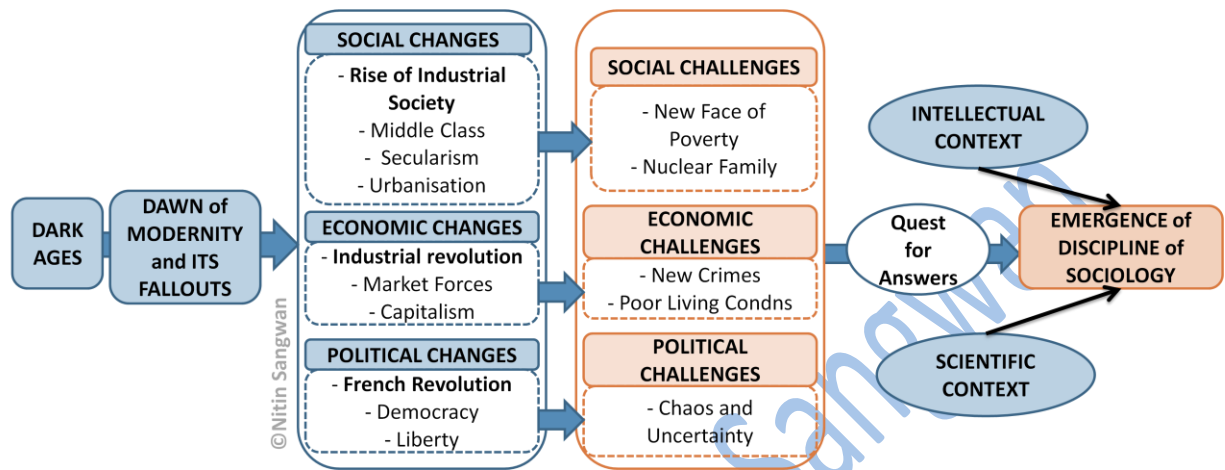
Renaissance gave birth to ideology of modernism and it led to dawn of modernity. Old beliefs were liberally questioned and rationality emerged as new 'religion'. Rousseau, Montesquieu etc talked of modern political ideas while likes of Adam Smith, Ricardo and J S Mill talked of new economic order. All these had a common thread – rationality of human thoughts. Further, new order started to replace the old order and it created considerable social upheaval and disturbance in society. In this background emerged earliest sociological thoughts in minds of likes of Hegel, Comte and Spencer. They were mainly western but with global consequences.

The distinct way of studying society can be better understood if we look back historically at the intellectual ideas, material context and political development within which sociology was born and later grew. These are broadly classified as –

I. Intellectual ideas

The Enlightenment, as a European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries led by Montesquieu and Rousseau, emphasized reason and individualism. It had a great influence on emergence of sociology, though an indirect one. As Irving Zeitlin puts it in his *'Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory, 1996'*, *'Early sociology developed as a reaction to the Enlightenment'*. Early sociology has been a mix of Enlightenment and counter-Enlightenment ideas. As enlightenment thesis put individual at center stage, on the other hand for counter-

enlightenment proponents society was the most important unit of analysis. On the other hands Enlightenment ideas of rationalism, empiricism, and change-orientation also affected early sociological thought.



EMERGENCE of SOCIOLOGY as a discipline has its roots in historical evolution from 'dark ages' in Europe to Renaissance which heralded 'modernity' and the consequent unforeseen fallouts of the whole process. Conducive environment was provided by the intellectual, material and political ferment in Europe in form of Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution and French Revolution. Social Changes after dawn of modernity led to unprecedented uncertainty which demanded a body of knowledge which can provide an element of 'predictability'

Darwin's ideas about organic evolution were another dominant influence on early sociological thought. Similarly, ideas of Newton also led to development of natural sciences which affected sociological thought as well. Thinkers of the early modern era were convinced that progress in knowledge of society on lines of natural sciences promised the solution to all social ills. For example, Auguste Comte, the French scholar, considered to be the founder of sociology, believed that sociology would contribute to the welfare of humanity.

According to T B Bottomore, main intellectual streams that particularly influenced the emergence of sociology are – political philosophy given by likes of Montesquieu, Rousseau etc, philosophy of history, theory of organic evolution given by Darwin, movements for social and political reform like French Revolution and development of method of social survey.

Alexis de Tocqueville, Claude Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte (disciple of Saint Simon), Spencer and especially Emile Durkheim became the face of French Sociology with their seminal formative work. Comte was the first to use the term sociology and he believed that study of sociology would be scientific. He developed his scientific view, 'positivism', or 'positive philosophy'. Comte developed 'social physics' initially what in 1839 he called as 'sociology'.

II. Material and social developments

Material developments are understood in form of arrival of Industrial Revolution and growth of capitalism. Modernity and Industrial Revolution gave birth to factory system of production, led to emergence of middle class and dismantling of feudal estates. These developments not only had certain positive outcomes, they also had many negative fallouts as well.

In economic sphere, though there were cities earlier also, the industrial cities gave birth to a completely new kind of urban world. It was marked by the soot and grime of factories, by overcrowded slums of the new industrial working class, degradation of labor, bad sanitation and general squalor and new forms of poverty. Workers were forced to work in dehumanizing conditions under new factory system. New forms of crime including petty thefts also emerged.

In social sphere, nuclear family emerged. It led to issues of increased incidence of domestic violence, breakups etc. Middle class also emerged as a new structural class and led to new cleavages in society.

III. Political developments

Biggest event that affected emergence of discipline was French Revolution which itself was influenced by Enlightenment philosophy. It led to replacement of old feudal system with a new one. Ideals of democracy, liberty and fraternity became new watch words. But they didn't come easily and the old system resisted stiffly. A tussle between the old and new ensued which created a condition of great uncertainty. It prompted intellectuals – especially Comte, Saint Simon and Durkheim – to search for new answers to restore stability in the society.

Thus, modernity had impact on social, economic and political lives of people. Initially, modernity was seen positive, but its negative fallouts soon became too apparent. Modernity posed challenges which led to growth of new intellectual ideas. The questions which were posed were not answered by hitherto existing disciplines and a new 'science of society' was sought and what emerged was known as – Sociology. Due to its specific context of origin, it was also argued that sociology was the 'science of the new industrial society'. Thus, western sociology emerged as an attempt to make sense of modernity.

Although a general context was present throughout Europe, but an immediate context for the rise of sociology was present in France with its unique socio-political situation. The upheaval that French Revolution created served as the immediate context for emergence of the discipline. Intellectuals like Saint Simon, Auguste Comte, Spencer and Durkheim provided the early ideas which laid the formal foundation of the discipline. They made a bid to understand the cause of these new events and their consequences for society. Simon called the new discipline as social physics and it was Comte who called it sociology for the first time. Spencer followed the footsteps of Comte and gave idea of 'social evolution' similar to biological evolution. Efforts of Durkheim led to establishment of Sociology as first department in France and Europe. Thus, despite a general impetus being present in Europe, sociology emerged as a distinct discipline in France.

The young discipline required a subject matter, facts, perspectives and methods. Popularity of natural sciences influenced the new discipline in these aspects. New methods were explored which were scientific and rational. '*State of Poor*' report was the first scientific survey which came up in Europe and it highlighted that poverty is not natural, but a social phenomenon. Factual base was provided by the pre-existing historical records. Early perspectives were provided by Comte, Spencer and Durkheim. Durkheim's contribution among these proved pioneering and his evolutionary view of sociology became one of the founding thoughts of the nascent discipline.

Scope of the Subject of Sociology

Sociology is a systematic study of society and it studies human society as an interconnected whole and how society and the individual interact with each other. A sociologist is interested in the general study of social behavior of groups, large or small, and lays special emphasis upon understanding of social life in its everyday form. 'general' study also implies that other social science disciplines deal with more specific areas, while sociology takes a broad view. Sociology seeks to study the society and to analyze it in terms of the social relations that have a pattern. Sociology seeks to explore how and why societies emerge, persist and then change. In brief, its scope includes study of social groups, social institutions and social processes.

The scope of sociological study is extremely wide. It can focus its analysis of interactions between individuals such as that of a shopkeeper with a customer, between two friends or family members. Going further, it may analyze national issues, international issues as well. So, what defines the discipline of sociology and its scope is therefore not just what it studies (i.e. family or trade unions or villages) but how it studies a chosen field.

Scope of sociology is more in direction of analysis of social problems and social systems and not in normative suggestion of solutions for these social problems.

This has been interpreted differently by different scholars and some view scope as in form of 'social action' other view it in form of 'social facts'. Early sociologists had two prime concerns – a scientific analysis of society and lay the principles of social evolution.

According to Durkheim, scope of sociologists is to study 'social facts' in society. Social facts should be studied in similar way as natural scientists study things. According to Radcliffe Brown, who adopted an anthropological-functional approach, the subject matter lies in 'structures' or patterns of social inter-relations which can be studied by field work. According to Marx, scope of sociology is to study the dynamics of forces and relations of production. Weber on the other hand defines scope of sociology in terms of study of 'social action'. Parsons defines scope of sociology as study of 'action systems'.

Hence, scope of sociology was defined by different scholars differently during different times. During the evolutionary phases of the discipline, sociologists tried to understand society in terms of 'macro' units like religion and impact of natural sciences was apparent. Comte divided scope of sociology as – social statics or stability and social dynamics or change. Later on Herbert Spencer put an evolutionary perspective and termed society an organism and widened its scope.

After 1880s, sociology was established in various departments in Europe. First such department was established by Durkheim in France. This led to wide academic discourse in a systematic manner and scope was expanded. Durkheim divided scope as – social morphology, social physiology and general sociology. Max Weber soon introduced 'micro view' in sociology. During this period, there were two predominant schools – micro or formal school and macro or synthetic school. Formal school considered scope as limited and emphasized more on understanding rather than predicting. It aimed, according to Max Weber, on interpretative understanding of the society. Macro school aimed at studying society in totality.

Apparent failure of European working class to overthrow capitalism, rise of Nazism and Fascism, corruption within Soviet and its allies posed great dilemma over relevance of Marxian theories. It led to development of Neo-Marxists which also includes Frankfurt School or Critical School led by Horkheimer and Adorno who tried to include a cultural perspective into Marxist thoughts and they also included cultural studies also in the scope of sociology.

Later, starting from 1940s, new ideas emerged and micro and macro views were combined. For example – Talcott Parsons combined the study of social action and social system in sociology. Similarly, Merton combined psychological and structural aspects of society which is best exemplified in his theory of anomie. American sociological traditions felt threatened by Marxist ideology and they instead turn to Weber, Simmel and Durkheim. Hence, they saw the scope of sociology more on functionalist lines.

Feminist sociology emerged during 1960s as a radical alternative and offered distinctive gender based explanations. It emphasizes centrality of gender in social change. According them, social reality is viewed differently by the two sexes.

Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault laid foundation of '*post structuralism*'. Foucault analyzed the emergence of modern institutions like prisons, hospitals and schools as a sign of increasing surveillance and discipline in society.

More recently, post modernists have further expanded the scope and have tried to make it interdisciplinary as well. New issues like health, ageing, demographic issues, cybernetics, and information technology are also coming under the scope of sociology. Sociology has grown more interdisciplinary than ever, widening its scope in a never before manner. According to French author Jean Baudrillard, mass media has reversed the Marxist idea that society is dominated by economic structure, rather it will be now increasingly controlled by the signs and images which are a creation of mass media.

Sociology and Other Social Sciences

SOCIOLOGY and ECONOMICS

Economics is the study of production in society, sociology studies all aspects of society. Economics, according to Alfred Marshall, investigates how man earns and spends money.

An economic activity is also a social activity and production involves social relations as well. Methods of earning money are also guided by social norms and values. Theft and robbery can never be legitimate means of earning money. Consumption behavior is also affected by social and cultural values.

One extreme position has been adopted by Marxists. According to them the understanding of the super structure consisting of various social institutions can never be complete unless seen in the context of economic substructure. Thus, economic behavior of man is viewed as a key to understand social behavior of man or economics is given precedence over sociology.

Durkheim rejected a classical economist theory of division of labor and offered a sociological explanation. He tried to give social explanations a priority over economic explanations and according to him, at macro level, economic activities happen in an autonomous manner.

Economics	Sociology
Its scope is narrow and specific	It has wider scope as it studies all aspects of human activity
Economics would lay emphasis on relations of purely economic variables – relations of price and supply, money flows, input-output, etc	Sociology would study the productive enterprises as a social organization the supply of labor as affected by values and preferences, influences of education on economic behavior; role of caste system in economic development and so on
Traditional economists seek to understand economic activity in a broader framework of ownership of and relationship to means of production	On the other hand sociologists have criticized the economic theory as being reductionist in nature and according to them the economist's conception of man ignores the role of various social factors which influence the economic behavior
It is more systematized and is more scientific. Economic theorists try to give laws which can predict the economic phenomenon	Sociology unlike economics usually does not provide technical solutions. But it encourages a questioning and critical perspective
Scope of theory building and laws is more in economics. Laws of demand and supply is universal in application	Sociological laws are less of universal in nature as there is little consensus in sociology over the perspective which should be used

In recent times there are many studies like those of Strachey, Galbraith, Gunnar Myrdal and Raymond Aron which are used in both the disciplines. A branch of sociology called 'economic sociology' deals with the social aspects of economic life. Other emerging concepts like 'gender budgeting', 'feminist economics' etc are also emerging to address emerging social relations.

Thus, sociology and economics meet in a number of areas of knowledge. The factors that contributed for this convergence are two. Economists are no longer interested only in market mechanism but also in economic growth, national product and national income and also development in underdeveloped regions. In all these areas the economist has either to necessarily collaborate with the sociologist or he himself has to become a sociologist. Economists increasingly use sociological research to formulate new theories and policies and sociologists on the other hand study the impact of such theories.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, *'A true economic science would look at all the costs of the economy-not only at the costs that corporations are concerned with, but also at crimes, suicides, and so on'*. So, economic calculations can never leave social calculations.

Further, sociology learns a lot from economics which offers precise terminologies. Yet economists' predictive abilities often suffer precisely because of their neglect of individual behavior, cultural norms and institutional resistance which sociologists study.

SOCIOLOGY and PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology is often defined as the ‘science of behavior’ and sociology is the science of society. Sociology studies the social systems while psychology studies mental systems.

On the relation between the two disciplines, there are two extreme views – J S Mill sought to establish primacy of psychology over all other social sciences and believed that all laws are derived from the laws of mind. Durkheim on the other hand made a radical distinction between the phenomena studied by sociology and psychology respectively. His study of ‘Suicide’ even tended to ignore psychological disposition while taking into account social phenomenon.

Most sociologists however have adopted various intermediate positions. According to Ginsberg many sociological generalizations can be more firmly established by being related to general psychological laws. German scholars like Weber came to believe that sociological explanations can be further enriched if an attempt is made to understand social behavior in terms of underlying meanings.

Psychology	Sociology
It is the study of ‘personality’	It is the study of ‘individual and society’
It is the science of man’s experience and behavior and its subject matter includes – basic instincts, sympathy, suggestions, imitations, passions and so on	It is the science of study of social institutions and their inter-relationships and its subject matters include – family, individual, religions, power, social change and so on
Its scope is limited and focused on man’s mental activities and his basic behavior	Sociology is general study of society and has wider scope
It is more scientific and has more scope of experimentation and there are even psychological laboratories which are used	It has multiple perspectives and its claim of scientific discipline is contested within the discipline itself

Some attempts have been made to bring them together. One of the most valuable works is of Gerth and Mills. According to them the study of social psychology is interplay between individual character and social structure as human behavior is not purely driven by instincts. Social psychology serves as a bridge between psychology and sociology, maintains a primary interest in the individual but concerns itself with the way in which the individual behaves in social groups, collectively with other individuals.

SOCIOLOGY and HISTORY

History and sociology have a very close relation. According to G E Howard, ‘*History is past sociology, sociology is present history*’. Philosophy and history are considered as the mother of all social sciences. Karl Marx and Durkheim pioneered use of historical data in their sociological discourse. Karl Marx’s historical materialism is pivoted around historical evolution of modes of productions. Weber’s ‘*Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*’ also uses a Historical Particular Ideal Type and Pitrim Sorokin’s ‘*Social and Cultural Dynamics*’ also makes ample use of historical inferences.

However, there are certain differences between the two disciplines as well –

History	Sociology
Historians almost as a rule study the past	Sociologists are more interested in the contemporary or recent past and present.
Historians earlier were content to delineate the actual events, to establish how things actually happened	In sociology the focus was to seek to establish causal relationships
History studies concrete details with an objective discussion of real events	Sociologist is more likely to abstract from concrete reality, categorize and generalize
History is descriptive	Sociology has normative elements also

The interaction between two disciplines can be found in their subject matter. Subject matter of sociology and history overlap to a considerable extent. The historian frequently provides the material which sociologist uses. With the help of history, sociology can get crucial information about past.

According to Radcliffe Brown, '*Sociology is nomothetic, while history is idiographic*'. The historian describes unique events, while the sociologist derives generalizations. But now a days, history is not only concerned with 'which and what events', but also 'how' of events. This emphasis on 'cause and effect' has brought the two disciplines closer. The line for demarcation between history and sociology is becoming increasingly blurred as history is also no longer purely descriptive.

SOCIOLOGY and POLITICAL SCIENCE

The two distinct disciplines of social science, sociology and political sciences do converge often as the subject matter is men and the convergence is on the increase. A beginning was made with the works of Marx. According to him political institutions and behavior are closely linked with the economic system and social classes.

Provoked by this thinking some thinkers by the end of the 19th century pursued the matter in more detail like studies of political parties, elite, voting behavior, bureaucracy and political ideologies as in the political sociology of Michels, Marx, Weber and Pareto.

Another development occurred in America known as behavioral approach to political phenomena. This was initiated by the University of Chicago in the 1930s.

Sociology	Political sciences
Sociology has wider scope and is devoted to the study of all aspects of society	conventional political science restricted itself mainly to the study of state and power
Sociology is more open ended in its approach	Subject matter of political science is more codified
Sociology stresses the interrelationships between sets of institutions including government	Political science tends to turn attention towards the processes 'within' the government.

Political science provides laws which affect welfare of masses, sociology provides data and basis of these laws and policies. Social considerations like caste, kinships, demography etc play an important role in political decisions and especially elections.

The forces at work and the changes that are taking place in peasant, tribal or caste societies belong more to the sphere of sociologists and anthropologists rather than to that of the political scientist. Sociological studies have also been conducted in membership of political organizations, voting behavior, casteism, process of decision making in organizations, sociological reasons for support of political parties, the role of gender in politics, etc which involves a blend of political science and sociological thinking. Social policies of government often rely on sociological studies.

Political system also affects social institutions. As we cannot choose who our parents will be, we cannot choose what nationality we will have. Organization of family is also impacted by political system. China once strictly enforced two children norm and Indian government also tries to influence family through family planning, population policy and so on. American state promotes values of openness and freedom in family, Pakistan on the other hand also advocates religious code.

There is a renewal of interest in Marxist sociological ideas among political scientists because of revolutions in developing countries (Jasmine Revolution, Arab Spring).

SOCIOLOGY and ANTHROPOLOGY

Sociology and anthropology had quite different origins. While the Western intellectuals of sociology had a ready context closer to home when modernism, French revolution and industrialization arrived, on the other hand, anthropologists have to discover their own. Anthropology also borrows from pre-historic archeology.

Classical Western notions of these two disciplines view sociology as study of industrialized society, while anthropology as study of primitive society. However, today the distinction between 'Industrialized' and 'Others' have blurred and this definition is also not applicable in a plural society like India where this 'Other' is found every next door according to Srinivas.

In the earlier periods of their growth the two disciplines grew up in close cooperation with each other in terms of the concepts used, areas of interest and their methods of study as can be seen in the works of founders which cannot easily be assigned exclusively to either one of the disciplines.

The early convergence was followed by a period of extreme divergence in terms of their universe of study, areas of interest, methods of study and even the concepts employed.

In spite of the obvious differences between the two in the 19th century, as stated above, there has been a good deal of convergence in modern times. Both anthropology and sociology study the same subject matter i.e. man. Time and cultural elements are the only aspects that separate them.

Sociology	Anthropology
Sociology originated from philosophy of history, political thought and positive sciences in light of challenges posed by modernity	Anthropology has taken birth from curiosity of Western scholars in primitive societies in non-Western countries
The methods employed by sociologists are loaded with values, and hence their conclusions are tinged with ethical considerations	Anthropologists describe and analyze in clinically neutral terms because they can place themselves as outsiders without being involved in values.
Sociologists often study parts of an existing society like family or processes such social mobility	Social anthropology tended to study society (simple societies) in all their aspects, as wholes. Social anthropologists tend to closely study small societies which are relatively unchanging and lacking in historical records
Sociologists often rely on statistics and questionnaires and their analysis is often formal and quantitative as well at times.	Social anthropologists generally live in the community that they study in order to observe and record what they see. Their analysis is essentially qualitative.
Anthropology also studies physical aspects related to evolution and biology as well.	Sociology mainly focuses upon cultural and social aspects.

The small units of study which the social anthropologists require are fast disappearing. Placed in such a situation, both the social anthropologists and sociologists are concerned with the process of economic growth and social changes. Both the disciplines are equally useful in studying the African and Asian societies which are changing under the impact of the West. It is no longer the prerogative of sociologists to study advanced societies.

The works of Talcott Parsons and R.K Merton are attempts towards an adaptation of functionalist approach to study industrial societies and William Whyte has adopted participant observation for the study of modern industrial society. Thus the disciplines are increasingly merging into each other.

Sociology and Common Sense

Oxford dictionary of Sociology defines common sense as '*routine knowledge that people have of their everyday world and activities*'. The common sense explanations are generally based on what may be called 'naturalistic' and/or individualistic explanation based on taken for granted knowledge. Sociology has its tryst with common sense since long time and it has been accused of being no more than common sense right from its birth.

The problem is not that commonsense knowledge is necessarily false, but that it is unexamined and taken for granted. For this prime reason, sociology is distinguished from common sense on various grounds –

- I. Common sense generally takes cues from what appears on surface, sociology on the other hand looks for inter-connections and root causes which may not be apparent. A sociologist works like

a skeptic, and sociology as a science of organized skepticism, looking beyond what meets the eye. Explanations for religion, suicide by Durkheim are best examples of such sociological outlook. While religion says '*God created man*', Durkheim said '*Man creates god/religion*'. According to Peter Berger, '*The fascination of sociology lies in the fact that its perspective makes us see in a new light the very world in which we have lived our lives*'.

- II. Sociology uses reason and logic, common sense uses conjectures and stereotypical beliefs. Common sense views are often based upon images that get reinforced through tradition. Sociological knowledge on the other hand challenges these traditions and stereotypes. While traditional social role of woman is explained through explanations like biological factors, ritual sense etc sociology affords us a different view that such roles may have other basis like patriarchy. Further, sociology is not bound by single perspective.
- III. Common sense is based upon assumptions, sociology is based on evidences. Sociological knowledge is based upon thorough research and the resulting outcomes may be contrary to the common sense.
- IV. Empirical testing has no place in common sense knowledge, while sociological research may have empirical orientation. Commonsense knowledge is often individualistic and naturalistic.
- V. Sociological knowledge is objective, common sense is intuitive. Common sense knowledge on same subject may also not coherent. For example – Birds of a feather flock together and opposites attract are sayings which convey opposite meanings.
- VI. Sociological knowledge results into generalization and even theory building. Common sense knowledge on the other hand may be very personal and two persons may draw different conclusion of a same event based on their own common sense.
- VII. Sociological knowledge is change oriented, while common sense promotes status quoism.
- VIII. Common sense is unreflective since it does not question its own origins, while sociological knowledge is subjected to unending debates and discourse.
- IX. Sociology has a body of concepts, methods and data, no matter how loosely coordinated, but common sense is more or less based out of personal judgments.

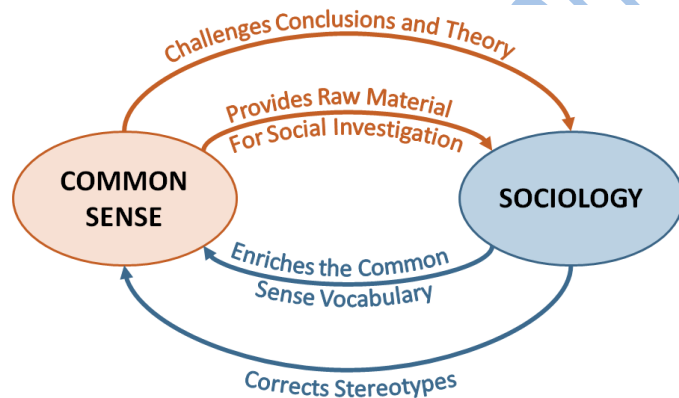
Poverty, from commonsensical point of view is viewed as a result of indolent behavior, while a sociologist may view it in terms of structural inequalities and disabilities. Thus, like every star gazer is not an astronomer, every commonsensical observation about society is not a sociological observation. So, it is the way of looking at things which distinguishes sociology and commonsense.

However, there are a few similarities and complementarities between the two also. Firstly, concepts in sociology are framed by taking into consideration the commonsensical knowledge. Common sense helps sociologists in hypothesis building. Secondly, commonsense provides raw material for sociological investigations. Sociology tends to answer questions generated from common sense knowledge. For example, common sense views on gender are widely studied in sociology. Common sense also helps sociology by challenging its conclusions and thereby enriching the discipline. According to Anthony Giddens, sociological knowledge also itself becomes part of common sense knowledge sometimes. For example – sociological research into marital breakdown has led people to believe that marriage is a risky proposition.

Till about 17th century, Common Sense and Science were not seen in mutually exclusive terms. This belief was strengthened by likes of Moore and Reid who argued that common sense and science are together used to expand man's understanding of truth.

However as 'scientific method' gained momentum in social sciences, method was seen as imperative in any social investigation. Durkheim out-rightly rejected the role of common sense in sociological analysis and he termed it as deceptive, unrealistic, untestified and speculative. According to him, '*Commonsense perceptions are prejudices which can mar the scientific study of social world*'. Marxists on the other hand consider it as ideological with limited understanding of the world.

However, 'scientific method' in sociology is out rightly rejected by phenomenologist like – Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Alfred Schutz etc. Postmodernists also claim that sociological knowledge is no superior than commonsense as there is no such thing as 'complete gospel' and sociological principles are equally uncertain as common sense.



Thus, sociologists' perception towards common sense changed over time as the discipline evolved. Earlier when it was close to philosophy, common sense was seen as complementary. When discipline moved closer to positivism, common sense was almost discarded. Anti-positivist on the other hand again tried to give importance to common sense. So, relationship between the two is dynamic and even mutually reinforcing at times.

CHAPTER 2 – SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE

Science, Scientific Method and Critique

Tryst of Sociology with science and scientific method started with origin of discipline itself. Early scholars were greatly influenced by the natural sciences and their impact on humanity. Saint Simon called the new discipline as '*social physics*' which smacked its obsession with science. Similarly, Herbert Spencer's '*organismic analogy*' was guided by similar influences of biological sciences and Darwinism. Early social scientists, like natural scientists, believed that true knowledge can be gained through sensory perceptions.

Definition of science is not a single one. Often it is related with a host of characteristics like –

- I. It is rooted in empiricism
- II. It is self-reflective and self-corrective as its conclusions are always open to skepticism.
- III. Rational explanation of truth
- IV. Objectivity in methods
- V. Facts not speculations are basis of approach
- VI. It is universal in its application in time and space

Science can be summed up as '*use of systematic methods of empirical investigation, the analysis of data, theoretical thinking and the logical assessment of arguments to develop a body of knowledge about a particular subject matter*'. This definition is closer to natural sciences than social sciences and early sociologists like Comte declared that sociology is last of the sciences to be discovered.

Sociology was also considered as a science by the early scholars as they argued that it has considerable '*inter-subjective reliability*' i.e. the discipline has concepts which have universal meanings irrespective of who is the investigator. For example – meaning of family, religion convey same meaning for every investigator. Durkheim also claimed that meaning of 'social facts' remain same. Further, they claim that there is also a great degree of '*objectivity*' in study of social phenomenon. According to Weber, objectivity is possible through methods like – '*Verstehen*' and 'ideal types'. Early scholars further argued that sociology is also '*empirical*' in its approach. Durkheim suggested 'indirect experimentation' to prove empirical validity of social theories.

However, soon it was realized that sociology cannot be developed on lines of natural science as it has many practical limitations. Major limitations are – difficulty of being empirical, inductive, and universal in application and finally difficulty in testing the results. Experimentation is the core of natural sciences, but it is rarely possible in case of social sciences as sociology doesn't have luxury of controlled environments. A large part of human interactions cannot be quantified. Objectivity in social sciences is not possible as we deal with human minds which are difficult to decode. Weber was one of the early scholars to identify this difficulty and he argued that '*There cannot be an objective science of society since social actions must be understood in terms of meanings that man attaches to them*'.

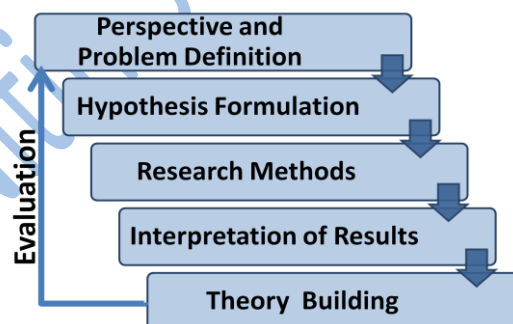
However, some other scholars argue that science is not merely a body of knowledge and even natural sciences suffer from their own limitations in terms of vagueness, unpredictability and problems of

testability. Karl Popper argued that '*Science is not a body of knowledge, but a method of approaching*' and Sociology also has key features of science viz – perspectives, methods of study, subject matter etc.

Scientific Method, in general, refers to any systematic, rational and objective set of steps to explore the truth or new knowledge or for investigating phenomena or correcting and integrating previous knowledge. It is more generally associated with natural sciences and discovery of laws, which govern behavior of matter, is at the heart of scientific method. Specifically, it is a series of steps starting with definition, hypothesis building, testing and so on. To be termed scientific, a method of inquiry must be based on empirical and measurable evidence subject to specific principles of reasoning. To establish cause and effect, scientific method in natural sciences employs 'laboratory experiments' in a controlled environment in which variables can be changed. Rationale behind adopting a scientific methodology in sociology is to give concrete shape to sociological concepts, so that they are understood similarly by different people.

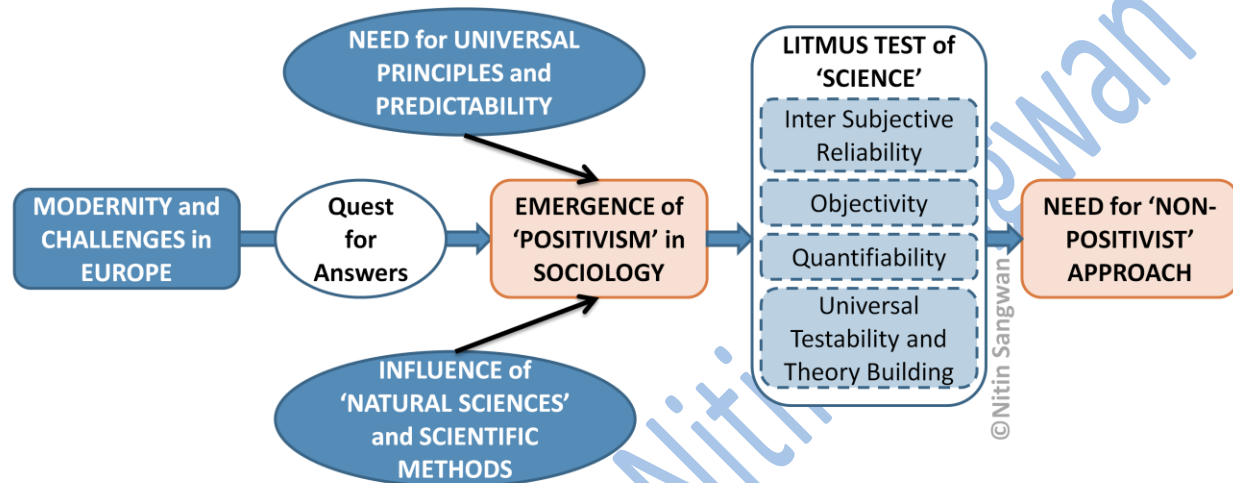
Any scientific method has in general these elements –

- I. Perspective and problem definition – To start any investigation, one must have a basic idea of what one is looking for. A perspective provides direction to the research. It is a set of assumptions based on existing knowledge. For example – a same phenomenon can be either studied from positivistic or non-positivistic perspective. It helps in better definition of problem.
- II. Concepts – A concept is a word or phrase, which is abstract from actual experience and which, more or less, means the same thing to all those familiar with it. A concept represents a class of phenomena. Thus, family is a concept, which signifies a social unit of a particular kind. Once we are familiar with the concept of family, we do not always have to see it physically in order to know, what someone means by it. A set of concepts are building blocks of any research. Like language, which facilitates day-to-day communication, concepts are the language of sociological research or any scientific research. Concepts provide us with definite image of sociological phenomenon. Some of the examples are – family, status, social action and so on.
- III. Hypothesis formulation – Hypothesis is an untested statement about a relationship between concepts. It states what we are looking for or what we are trying to prove. Once information is gathered, it is subjected to test of generalization. Generalization makes things manageable and helps in predicting similar phenomenon. Prediction is afforded due to generalization only.
- IV. Information gathering and using research methods and building causal explanations – It involves gathering the relevant facts and information which will be used for generalization. Various methods can be used for this like – observation, surveys, interview etc.
- V. Interpretation of Results, Analysis, Comparison and Classification – It is necessary to make information more intelligible. Comparison leads to building of typologies like 'average types' and



'ideal types'. Mechanical solidarity, organic solidarity and spirit of capitalism are such typologies generated by comparison.

- VI. Theory – Sociological theory is defined as a set of interrelated ideas that allow for the systematization of knowledge of the social world. This knowledge is then used to explain the social world and make predictions about the future of the social world. When generalizations are found repeatedly true over time i.e. empirical data repeatedly supports hypothesis, they result into theories or general laws.



POSITIVISM has influenced the emergence of sociology greatly. Initial impetus was provided by the prevailing natural sciences and an acute need for universal principles which can address the newly emerged social challenge and restore 'Social Order in Society'. Initial thinkers like Spencer and Comte had a distinctive positivist stance towards such a body of knowledge. However, soon it was realized that universal principles are not possible as human and systems that surround it are too unpredictable to follow limited principles.

Scientific Method among sociologists became more popular in 19th century when early sociologists were obsessed with science, but later it was contended that scientific method is not suitable for sociological investigations as sociology deals with human beings who have consciousness and are not completely governed by external stimuli as matter in nature does. For this reason, scientific methods when used in sociology suffer from various shortcomings like – observer bias, non-response bias, social desirability bias and so on.

For long, the litmus test for any discipline to be scientific can be certain criteria like –

- I. Inter subjective reliability – It is the extent to which other researchers are able to reach the same results if they were to replicate one's study or in simple terms it is the degree with which concepts are understood in similar manner
- II. Objectivity and Value Free
- III. Quantifiability
- IV. Universal Testability and Theoretical Orientation

In sociology, scientific method is not bound by the empirical nature of study, but is more concerned with methodology. Thus scientific method of sociology may not same as scientific method of natural sciences.

Criticism of scientific method and science is mainly from interpretativists and it include –

- I. Karl Popper in his '*The Logic of Scientific Enquiry*' argues that science and scientific method face problem of demarcation i.e. what is scientific and what is not as there is subjectivity at times. He further says all scientific principles are based on probability and not 'finality'.
- II. Due to its specific nature, 'laboratory experiments' cannot be conducted in sociology in a controlled environment. So, controlled experimentation is not possible in sociology to establish 'cause and effect' and hence there cannot be a discovery of fixed universal laws.
- III. There are value judgments of observers which affect research in sociology. So, sociological research cannot have 'objective facts' as the final outcome of the scientific method if used in sociology.
- IV. Adorno indicates that science is suffocating and kills creativity. Science becomes new religion and blind faith in it negates human freedom which is an integral part of social sciences.
- V. J F Feyerabend contends that Scientific Method restricts the choices of researcher and sociological research should be liberating and not constraining.

Major Theoretical Strands in Research Methodology

Research Methodology is a wider term given to entire process of sociological research which includes specific research methods (like questionnaire, samples etc), research design, data, assumptions and logic. It is guided by sociological researcher's conception of relation between man and society. So, research methodology will be conceived differently by different researchers, say, functionalists, interpretativists, positivists and so on. While a positivist researcher will lean more towards quantitative techniques, a non-positivist researcher will incline towards qualitative methods. More often than not, mixed methods are used now a days. Hence, research methods can be broadly classified as – Quantitative and Qualitative methods.

Quantitative methods include methods like – statistical methods, data tables etc. Qualitative methods on the other hand include methods like – interviews, content analysis etc.

Further, research methodology or research design has following basic types –

Research Design is the framework, a blueprint for the research study which guides the collection and analysis of data. Following are the broad steps in research design and the associated challenges in sociology –

- I. Choice of Topic and Problem Definition – Weber said values can be tolerated at this level.
- II. Accumulation of Facts – Here also choice of method is required – Primary or Secondary. Many of the methods (like interviewing) also suffer from subjectivity.
- III. Representation of Facts – It can be also colored by various viewpoints.
- IV. Hypothesis Making
- V. Formulation of theories – It is also colored by the investigators' viewpoints. Weber and Marx viewed the phenomenon of 'Class' differently.
- VI. Testability – There is also limit on 'Testability'.

- I. **Exploratory Research Design** – It is used in the initial stages of the research to acquire some preliminary information. The main objective of the exploratory research is to fine tune the broad problem into specific problem statement and generate possible hypotheses. It, therefore, gives useful direction for further research. Thus, it is used to carry initial research to narrow down on possible alternatives.

The generally used methods in exploratory research are –

- a. Survey of existing literature
- b. Survey of experienced individuals
- c. Analysis of selected case studies

- II. **Descriptive Research Design** – As descriptive designs are aimed only at providing accurate descriptions of variables relevant to the problem under consideration, they are generally used for preliminary and explorative studies. They are the most frequently used research methods.

In comparison to an exploratory research study, the descriptive study is more formal and less flexible. Some of the commonly used design techniques under this category are –

- a. **Panel Research Design or Longitudinal Research** - Also known as longitudinal research, the panel design involves the continual or periodic information collection from a fixed panel or sample of respondents. The longitudinal analysis used involves repeated measurements of the same variables to facilitate a variety of inferences to be drawn about the behavior of the elements of the panel.
- b. **Cross Sectional Design** – The cross sectional study is aimed at taking a one-time stock of the situation or the phenomenon in which the decision maker is interested. Cross sectional designs give the picture of the situation at a given point of time.

It may involve both Qualitative and Quantitative information and hence can be used for both Positivist and Non-positivist research.

- III. **Experimental Research Design** – In an experimental design, the researcher actively tries to change inputs like the situation, circumstances, or experience of participants (manipulation), which may lead to a change in behavior or outcomes for the participants of the study. Its objective is to establish the causality between dependent and independent variable and test a hypothesis. The participants are ideally randomly assigned to different conditions, and variables of interest are measured. This is done to eliminate all extraneous variables. 'Hawthorne Studies' of Elton Mayo are classic examples of such experimental designs. This is the method which is most often associated with natural sciences in which we change variables in a controlled environment and this design is the most difficult to use in sociology. As a result, modified experimental designs are used as it is very difficult to have 'control groups' in sociology.

This method is mostly used for Positivist research or quantitative research as this method aims at keeping prejudices and biases at bay while doing research.

Experimental research attempts to determine how and why something happens. Experimental research tests the way in which an independent variable (the factor that the scientist manipulates) affects a dependent variable (the factor that the scientist observes). Due to high objectivity, data obtained through such methodology are more reliable.

A number of factors can affect the outcome of any type of experimental research. One is finding samples that are random and representative of the population being studied. Another is experimenter bias, in which the researcher's expectations about what should or should not

happen in the study sway the results. Still another is controlling for extraneous variables, such as room temperature or noise level, that may interfere with the results of the experiment. Only when the experimenter carefully controls for extraneous variables can she or he draw valid conclusions about the effects of specific variables on other variables.

- IV. **Comparative Method** – This research method is used to compare the social phenomenon to arrive at generalized conclusions. It was more popular with evolutionary sociologists. Durkheim was the first sociologist to discuss this method at length in his '*Rules of Sociological Method*' and he effectively demonstrated it in his study of suicide. Similarly, Ginsberg used this method in study of primitive societies. If a particular social phenomenon is studied in different social contexts and the causes are found out, then a cause and effect relationship can be established. However, speculation is a necessary element of this method as one studies social phenomenon which are not uniform in all circumstances. Further, one has to compare the whole societies at times to study a single phenomenon and this method may not lead very reliable results in such situations. Therefore, this method is often limited to smaller institutions.

Positivism and its Critique

Early sociologists faced two fundamental questions about course of discipline –

- I. What should be the subject matter of the discipline?
- II. What should be the methodology in Sociology?

Influenced by prevailing atmosphere of rationalism and science, they too attempted to define subject matter and method in scientific and objective terms. Thus, early sociologists like Saint Simon, Comte, Spencer and Durkheim laid foundation of positivistic theory. They contended that society is also governed by certain fixed laws and hence predictable. They believed that application of methods and assumptions of natural sciences will lead to '*positive science of society*' and evolution of society followed invariable laws. According to this approach, behavior of man can also be objectively measured and statements based on objective measures of cause and effect can be made leading to theories formulation. Durkheim concretely used for the first time scientific methods in social research in his study of suicide.

Positivism is an approach of studying sociology as a discipline which aims at employing principles similar to those in natural sciences. According to Saint Simon, '*positivism was rooted in a science of society which is analogous to natural sciences*' and he published a six volume '*Positive Philosophy, 1830-42*' which enunciated the principles of new disciplines for the first time.



AUGUSTE COMTE

Comte further concretized the conception of a positivist discipline as '*true knowledge is based upon thinking about physical and social world as causal relationship between realities which we can observe either directly or indirectly*'. He further stated that '*The search for laws of society uses both reason as well as observation*'. It aims at understanding the world as a sequence of '*cause and effect*'. According to Comte, Sociology is the last and the most sophisticated of all the sciences as it deals with all aspects of

humanity. He even suggested four methods for the study of new discipline, viz – Observation, Experimentation, Historical and Comparative. He defined the scope of new positive social science as – ‘*social dynamics*’, dealing with social change and ‘*social statics*’ dealing with the equilibrium and stability of social system. Later, Durkheim laid down its further principles. Others like Spencers also emphasized on a positive science of society.

Main features associated with positivism are –

- I. They laid particular emphasis on behavior that can be ‘directly observed’. Factors like feelings, meanings which cannot be directly observed are not important.
- II. It emphasized upon understanding ‘external realities’ and rejected the study of internal aspects like – meanings, motives etc. Durkheim called for studying ‘social facts’ as these are seen objectively in similar manner by everyone.
- III. Discovery of ‘cause and effect’ relationship while studying phenomenon.
- IV. It stressed upon use of ‘scientific methods’ similar to those used in natural sciences. For example Durkheim used statistical technique similar to natural sciences in his famous study of suicide.
- V. It focused upon ‘empiricism’ and rejected commonsensical speculations.
- VI. Positivism also focused on formulation of ‘theories’ and ‘universality’ of laws and principles.
- VII. Based upon the knowledge and theories, it also talked about ‘predictability’ of social events. For example, Comte believed that he has discovered a law of social organization which can predict future course of evolution of societies and he also mentioned various stages in this process.
- VIII. It emphasized upon using ‘inductive’ approaches. It gave primacy to inductive knowledge similar to natural sciences.
- IX. Finally, positivists argued that sociological knowledge should be ‘testable’. In fact, positivists believed that ‘*true knowledge is the one which can be tested*’.

Thus, positivism glorified the idea that human behavior and working of society is predictable and like natural sciences, it can also be quantified in concrete terms. Thus, they tried to make Sociology a scientific discipline different from other social sciences like History, Philosophy etc which have subjectivity, speculations and value elements.

Marxists and functionalists also fall under the category of positivists as they make deterministic and predictive statements about the social actors.

However, soon it was realized that sociology cannot be developed as a purely positivistic discipline. Primarily it was because sociology dealt with human element with a subjective conscience which cannot be deciphered totally by objective methods.

Positivism came under following major criticism –

- I. Phenomenologists like Peter Berger contend that facts never fall from sky, but develop in a particular context.
- II. Gradually, it was also realized that an inductive approach is less fruitful in sociology and instead a deductive approach would be more helpful as it is very difficult to collect facts about abstract phenomena.

- III. Positivism was also considered a fundamental misunderstanding of reality. Later non-positivists approaches favored the study of phenomenon in terms of meanings attached by the actors. Weber talked about emphasizing on social action and not social facts. Alfred Schulz contends that humans construct their world through common sense, ethical values, assumptions and presumptions. So, a sociologist must respect these while undertaking research.
- IV. Positivists were also criticized for their over-emphasize on universalism which is not always possible in sociology.
- V. Scientific methods also have their limited applicability in sociology as there is subjectivity over their use. Investigative methods are often accused of bias of participants. Similarly complete objectivity is also not possible.
- VI. Adorno indicates that social life exists in layers. Positivists focus on only one or two layers. Sociologist must use critical mind to analyze multiple layers.
- VII. Positivist explanations are also difficult to test contrary to their claim.
- VIII. Possible fallout of over emphasis on positivist sociology is emergence of 'scientific social theories', like racial-superiority, that have dangerous fallouts. Scientific Marxism led to great miseries in communist countries. Fascism led to mass murders of Jews on the back of scientific racial explanations by social scientists.

In short, in words of Habermas, *'positivism loses sight of the actors reducing them to passive entities determined by 'natural forces''*. As the actor in society is distinct, the critical theorists like Habermas would not accept the idea that the general laws of science can be applied without question to human action.

However, one big achievement of positivists was that, they freed social sciences from the clutches of religion and speculative philosophy and laid the solid foundation of a systematic investigation into society.

Fact, Value and Objectivity

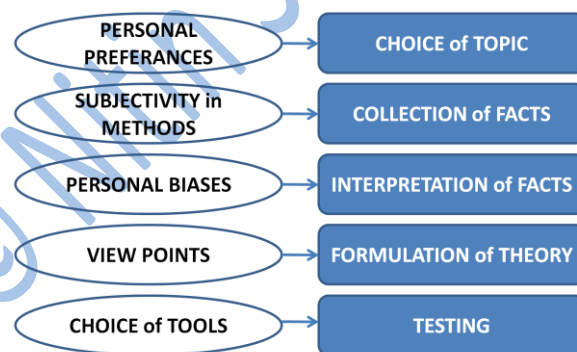
A **fact** is regarded as an empirically verifiable observation. It has its own independent existence. Facts can be perceived by our tactical and audio-visual senses etc in similar manner by each one of us. Facts remain same in every situation and for all observers. Objective facts constitute the subject matter of natural sciences. Similar attempts were made in sociology also by likes of Durkheim who gave concept of 'social facts'. Positivists conceptualized the new discipline of sociology lying on the bedrock of facts and empirical knowledge. According to Durkheim, social facts are the subject matter of the discipline. To make sociology a science, attention should be paid only on factual analysis and not on subjective interpretations and individual perceptions. Later it was argued that sociology cannot be based on facts alone as human consciousness is intangible and cannot be measured against factual standards.

Value in sociology refers to subjective disposition arising out of experience, bias, preferences, beliefs and so on. Values can be personal, cultural, temporal and situation specific and may not remain same over the period of time. Values represent what one believes and not necessarily what actually is. They refer to socially accepted standards of desirability and undesirability. They define what is important, worthwhile and worth striving for. They guide our objectives, goals, means for such goals and our

actions. According to functionalists, values are of society and not of individuals and values are media of social control. Early sociologists called for keeping values aside while doing social research as it affects an objective evaluation. They also argued that incorporation of values will make the discipline as merely a speculator exercise. Values are also associated with ideological thinking. What is valuable for communist may not hold worth for capitalists. Similarly, ideology of functionalists and conflict theorists will be at diverging ends.

Objectivity is an approach in which the attitude of a scientific investigator is detached, unprejudiced, value free and free from biases. Values are the basis of biases and subjectivity and they flow from different preconceived notions like caste, gender, culture, class, religion, ideology and so on. Robert Bierstedt defines it as '*objectivity means that conclusions arrived at as a result of inquiry and investigation are independent of the race, color, creed, occupation, nationality, religion, moral preferences and political predisposition of the investigator*'. Hence, objectivity pre-supposes value neutrality and predictability about outcome. It is one of the pillars of 'Scientific Method' and core of positivism.

Objectivity in social research can be improved by various scientific methods like – 'double blind' in research, use of scientific methods like – Verstehen, training the researchers to adopt a value free approach, enlarging the samples, expanding the research in both temporal and spatial dimensions for wider acceptability etc. Results should be subjected to organized skepticism for greater acceptability of results. Sociologist can also view his or her work from an outsider's perspective and it is called 'reflexivity'. A reflexive sociologist documents all his or her activities so that there is an objective evaluation.



OBJECTIVITY in sociological investigation is closely associated with the debate on scientific nature of discipline. It is generally agreed that at every step of sociological investigation, there is some scope of intrusion of 'bias'.

Objectivity in sociological research touches upon many dimensions of investigation and there are areas like 'objectivity in methodology', where objectivity is still desirable for credibility of outcome. As pure subjective investigation will lead to high inconsistency in results and will render sociological research unfruitful.

However, achieving an objective approach is fraught with difficulties. Since sociological investigation involves multiple stages, objectivity is required in all those stages. First of all, 'choice of topic and problem definition' for sociological research should be made objectively. However, personal preferences play an important role here. For example – problem of defining scope of sociology is treated differently by different scholars. Max Weber in his '*Methods of Social Sciences*' argued that values can be tolerated at this level, but there should be value neutrality in the later stages of research. Secondly, in the 'collection of facts' stage also various methods like – primary and secondary research pose issue of choice and many of them are highly subjective. Collection of facts also depends upon

ability of investigator as well. For example – interviewing method suffers from problems of values of both interviewer and interviewee. Thirdly, ‘representation or interpretation of facts’ can also be colored by personal biases. For example – a particular set of phenomenon, say caste or class, may be viewed as functional by one scholar and dysfunctional by another Marxist scholar. Fourthly, formulation of theories is also colored by various viewpoints and is not always supported by the facts. Durkheimian and Marxian Theories attempt to explain the same phenomenon in opposite terms. Finally, choice of testing tools to validate theories is also subjective. Since social research cannot be done in a confined environment in a laboratory, there is always subjectivity in choosing appropriate testing environment.

Proponents of objectivity earlier argued that sociology should refrain from indulging into questions of ‘*what ought to be*’, but instead focus on explaining ‘*what is*’. However, given the nature of discipline which deals with humans having consciousness, a complete objectivity is not possible. It is also unjustifiable to ignore the reformist agenda which is often considered falsification of history under which sociology emerged as a discipline.

In late 19th Century Non-Positivist ideas gained strength and it was argued that ‘*complete objectivity was neither desirable nor achievable*’. Dilthey was first to turn the nascent approach in sociology on its head. According to him, a fact based approach explores only one dimension as it ignores cultural, ideological dimensions. Weber further criticized the fact based approach and he laid down the fundamentals of an interpretativist approach. As there are different ideologies and viewpoints in study of sociology, absolute objectivity is not possible. Moreover, a particular social problem can only be understood within a particular cultural context and ignoring this context may lead to faulty understanding of the problem. According to post-positivist Elvin Gouldner – ‘*Value neutrality is an Elusive Goal in Sociology*’ as investigators have to deal with multi-layered truths. View points and values are hence considered essential. According to Gunnar Myrdal – ‘*Chaos itself cannot organize into Cosmos, we need viewpoints*’.

Objectivity is not an end in itself and it is not a fixed principle. Meaning of objectivity today is not the same and has undergone changes. Today, objectivity has to be thought of as a continuous, ongoing process rather than an already achieved end result. So, despite conflicting perspectives in sociology, objectivity can be maintained while adopting each one of them.

Non-Positivist Methodologies

When it was realized by scholars that sociological issues cannot be addressed using fixed laws only, they turned from positivism to non-positivism. While positivist methodologies saw society as given and man as mere part of it governed by its rules. Non positivists on the other hand considered man as independent thinking being who can influence society also. They rejected the over-socialized conception of man. Non-positivist methodologies, thus, tried to gauge what goes inside mind of man and how it affects society.

Even before establishment of sociology as a formal discipline, such ideas were prevalent during late 18th century when German ‘idealist’ school attempted to define social reality differently. Scholars like Dilthey and Rickert highlighted the difference between natural and social world. According to them social world is based upon uniqueness of human society in terms of meaning, symbols and motives. The leader of German idealist school George Hegel argued, ‘*Social phenomena are results of the ideas which are*

generated in the minds of individuals and these ideas are responsible for history'. This tradition was carried on and by the end of 19th century an alternate view to positivism has strongly emerged which contained variety of thoughts and was collectively known as non-positivist methodology.

Weber was one of the pioneers of non-positivist approach. Other early doyens were like Mead, Herbert Blumer, Schutz etc. Weber laid foundation of interpretativist methodology and Mead pioneered symbolic Interactionism. Various non-positivist methods which emerged include – Symbolic Interactionism, Ideal Types and Verstehen of Weber, Phenomenology by Alfred Schutz in 1930s, Ethnomethodology by Harold Garfinkel in 1940s and so on.

Various elements that run common to these methodologies are –

- I. Non-positivists study the internal processes represented through emotions, motives, aspirations and the individual's interpretation of social reality. For example – Ethnomethodology relies upon the everyday methods used by actors and their narratives.
- II. Non-positivists emphasized upon using qualitative methods and not scientific methods. Earlier non-positivists like Weber and Mead emphasized upon using of scientific methods, but later non-positivists like Alfred Schutz and Garfinkel out-rightly rejected their use.
- III. Non-positivists also suggested understanding of social reality and not prediction of events. They refrained from formulation of generalized universal theories. Weber and Mead though stressed upon cause and effect relations, but Schutz eliminated such possibility.
- IV. Non-positivists also highlighted impossibility of total objectivity and hence were accommodative of subjectivity in research.

Some of the prominent non-positivist methodologies are mentioned below.

INTERPRETATIVIST SOCIOLOGY

It is an umbrella term for various streams like Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and so on.

This approach was used for the first time by Max Weber in his book '*Methods of Social Science*'. Weber was highly influenced by idealists like Rickert and Dilthey. According to this approach, the task of sociology is to interpret the meanings attached by individuals to their actions in order thereby an explanation of its cause and effect.

The basis of this approach is that 'individual is having a voluntary will and his thoughts cannot be understood simply in terms of external influence'. Human beings have a consciousness which cannot be predicted. This approach also came to be known as voluntarist approach. Weber also proposed scientific methods for interpretative sociology. Methods used by Weber included – Verstehen, ideal type and comparative methods.

Approach of Weber later influenced the emergence of purely non-positivist approaches like Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology. Georg Simmel a German sociologist was another early doyen of this approach. In America, Chicago School led by Louis Firth, Robert Park, Mead etc took this tradition forward.

PHENOMENOLOGY

It refers to a group of perspectives and it is a distinctive European branch of sociology which emerged as an alternative to positivism. It simply means study of phenomenon in society. Phenomenology was the most radical departure from positivist approach and perhaps the first pure non-positivist perspective in sociology. It argued that subject matter of natural sciences and social sciences are fundamentally different – man has consciousness, material things don't have – and hence, methods of natural sciences cannot be applied on social sciences. Meanings don't have their own independent existence. Instead, they are constructed and reconstructed by the actors in the course of their social interaction. From a phenomenological perspective, the social world is a world of meanings and there is no objective reality which lies beyond the meanings of individual. Max Weber was a big influence on the development on this stream of sociology.

Effort to develop it can be traced to the publication of Alfred Schutz's *'The Phenomenology of the Social World'* in 1932, though its philosophical base was initially developed by Edmund Husserl. Schutz was focally concerned with the way in which people grasp the consciousness of others while they live within their own stream of consciousness.

It describes how from a stream of undifferentiated experiences individuals develop their own subjective reality and meanings. Since meanings are constantly negotiated in ongoing interaction process, it is not possible to establish simple cause and effect relationship.

Much of Schutz's work focuses on an aspect of the social world called the 'life-world', or the world of everyday life. Phenomenology studies the everyday phenomena that happen in our social lives. Our life world or everyday world is an intersubjective world in which people both create social reality and are constrained by the preexisting social and cultural structures created by their predecessors. Schutz focused upon the dialectical relationship between the way people construct social reality and the stubborn external social and cultural reality that they inherit from those who preceded them in the social world. He was particularly interested in 'typifications' i.e. way the phenomenon which is being experienced is classified according to previous experience. It helps in a quick understanding of reality and makes it more predictable.

Basic premise of Alfred Schutz was later more systematized by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their famous book *'The Social Construction of Reality, 1967'*. Phenomenologists reject a causal explanation, generalization of theory and use of any specific methods. The social meanings of the phenomena keep on changing with time with changing individual's subjectivity. According to Phenomenologists, there is no reality beyond the subjectivity of individual. They say that in order to decipher the phenomena, the sociologists must immerse themselves into the areas of life they seek to investigate, rather than attempting to fit the data into predefined categories.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Herbert Blumer, who was a student of Mead, coined the term symbolic interactionism in 1937 which originally flows from works of G H Mead who wrote several essays that were instrumental in its development. John Dewey, Cooley and William Thomas were other influences. Chicago School played significant role in its development for around 30 years till 1950s. Its basic tenets were similar to phenomenology, but it was distinctively American unlike Phenomenology which originated in Europe. It rejects both social and biological determinism and argues that man himself creates social reality by meanings created through interaction. It places a strong emphasis on symbols and language as core element of all human interactions.

Symbolic interactionists have been affected by Weber's ideas on Verstehen, as well as by others of Weber's ideas. Symbolic interactionism was developed, in large part, out of Simmel's interest in action and interaction and Mead's interest in consciousness.

Mead understood the human behavior as governed by the internal processes by which people interpret the whole world around them and give meanings to their lives. These meanings are reinforced and modified during the process of interaction. Symbolic interaction, thus, stresses upon that social phenomenon must be understood in terms of the interaction between the participating individuals. According to Mead, interactions are possible only through some symbols called 'significant symbols' like language, gestures etc. Thus, symbolic interactionism springs from a concern for language and meanings. It directs our attention to the details of interpersonal interaction. Irving Goffman is also one of the most successful symbolic interactionists and his studies of mental asylums and ways in which people present their selves in social encounters.

To Blumer, behaviorism and structural functionalism both tended to focus on factors (for example, external stimuli and norms) that cause human behavior. As far as Blumer was concerned, both theories ignored the crucial process by which actors endow the forces acting on them and their own behaviors with meaning. Individuals in human society are not seen as units that are motivated by external or internal forces beyond their control, or within the confines of a more or less fixed structure. Rather, they are viewed as reflective or interacting units which comprise the societal entity.

The crucial assumption that human beings possess the ability to think differentiates symbolic interactionism from its behaviorist roots. The ability to think enables people to act reflectively rather than just behave unreflectively. The ability to think is embedded in the mind and mind is different from physiological brain. Mind is a result of socialization process and it is not a thing, but is a process.

People possess only a general capacity for thought. This capacity must be shaped and refined in the process of social interaction. Such a view leads the symbolic interactionist to focus on a specific form of social interaction— socialization. The human ability to think is developed early in childhood socialization and is refined during adult socialization. Symbolic interactionists have a view of the socialization process that is different from that of most other sociologists. To symbolic interactionists, conventional sociologists are likely to see socialization as simply a process by which people learn the things that they need to survive in society. To the symbolic

interactionists, *'socialization is a more dynamic process that allows people to develop the ability to think, to develop in distinctively human ways'*. Furthermore, socialization is not simply a one-way process in which the actor receives information, but *'is a dynamic process in which the actor shapes and adapts the information to his or her own needs'*.

Interaction is the process in which the ability to think is both developed and expressed. All types of interaction, not just interaction during socialization, refine our ability to think. In most interaction, actors must take account of others and decide if and how to fit their activities to others. However, not all interaction involves thinking. According to Blumer, *'non-symbolic interactions don't require thinking, but symbolic interactions require thinking'*.

Symbolic interactionists conceive of language as a vast system of symbols. Words are symbols because they are used to stand for things. Words make all other symbols possible. Acts, objects, and other words exist and have meaning only because they have been and can be described through the use of words. Symbols are crucial in allowing people to act in distinctively human ways. Because of the symbol, the human being 'does not respond passively to a reality that imposes itself but actively creates and re-creates the world acted in'. In addition to this general utility, symbols in general and language in particular have a number of specific functions for the actor –

- I. First, symbols enable people to deal with the material and social world by allowing them to name, categorize, and remember the objects they encounter there. In this way, people are able to order a world that otherwise would be confusing. Language allows people to name, categorize, and especially remember much more efficiently than they could with other kinds of symbols, such as pictorial images.
- II. Second, symbols improve people's ability to perceive the environment. Instead of being flooded by a mass of indistinguishable stimuli, the actor can be alerted to some parts of the environment rather than others.
- III. Third, symbols improve the ability to think. Although a set of pictorial symbols would allow a limited ability to think, language greatly expands this ability.
- IV. Fourth, symbols greatly increase the ability to solve various problems. Lower animals must use trial-and-error, but human beings can think through symbolically a variety of alternative actions before actually taking one. This ability reduces the chance of making costly mistakes.
- V. Fifth, the use of symbols allows actors to transcend time, space, and even their own persons. Through the use of symbols, actors can imagine what it was like to live in the past or what it might be like to live in the future.
- VI. Sixth, symbols allow us to imagine a metaphysical reality, such as heaven or hell.

Symbolic interactionists' primary concern is with the impact of meanings and symbols on human action and interaction. Meanings and symbols give human social action (which involves a single actor) and social interaction (which involves two or more actors engaged in mutual social action) distinctive characteristics.

Basic principles of symbolic interaction are –

- I. Human beings, unlike lower animals, are endowed with the capacity for thought.
- II. The capacity for thought is shaped by social interaction and not by virtue of external force.
- III. While Functionalists and Marxists focus on society as a whole, interactionists focus on small scale interaction. They don't think that human action is in response to system.
- IV. In social interaction people learn the meanings and the symbols that allow them to exercise their distinctively human capacity for thought.
- V. Meanings and symbols allow people to carry on distinctively human action and interaction.
- VI. People are able to modify or alter the meanings and symbols that they use in action and interaction on the basis of their interpretation of the situation.

Most recently and famously, the perspective was used by Arlie Hochschild in her '*The Managed Heart, 1983*' which is based on her study of Delta Airlines. She studied how the air hostesses manage their emotions to serve the passengers better. She terms this as '*emotional labor*'. She used symbolic interaction to understand an aspect of life, which looked so basic and which most think as being understood, and concludes that a very personal thing like emotions is also commoditized.

Symbolic interactionism has also been criticized on various counts –

- I. Firstly, it ignores certain common social facts like power, structure and their constraining influence on human actions and interactions.
- II. Interactionists are accused of examining human interaction in a vacuum. They focus only on small face-to-face interaction and ignore the larger historical or social settings.
- III. Some researchers have also argued that modern service industry requires manipulation of emotional labor as well and very personal symbols like 'smile' are no longer voluntarily owned by individuals.
- IV. According to Skidmore, interactionists largely fail to explain 'why people consistently choose to act in given ways in certain ways instead of all other possible ways'. In this way, they conveniently ignore the social constraints that are there.
- V. Leon Shaskolsky also argue that Symbolic Interactionism embodies American values of liberty, freedom and individuality and is biased by it and deliberately ignore the harsher reality of life.
- VI. Marxists argue that meanings that are generated are not a result of interaction, but external force due to presence of class relationships.

ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

The term has Greek roots and Ethnomethodology literally means the 'lay methods' that people use on a daily basis to accomplish their everyday lives. People are viewed as rational, but they use 'practical reasoning,' not formal logic, in accomplishing their everyday lives. Ethnomethodology was proposed by American sociologist Harold Garfinkel beginning in the late

1940s, but it was first systematized with the publication of his '*Studies in Ethnomethodology*' in 1967.

It has various elements in common with European phenomenology because Harold Garfinkel was a student of Alfred Schutz at the New School who has a great influence on it. Garfinkel had previously studied under Talcott Parsons, and it was the fusion of Parsonian and Schutzian ideas that helped give Ethnomethodology its distinctive orientation. Aaron Cicourel was another big influence.

Conversation Analysis is the empirical study of conversations, employing techniques drawn from Ethnomethodology. Conversation analysis examines details of naturally occurring conversations to reveal the organizational principles of talk and its role in the production and reproduction of social order. In this, all facets of conversation for meaning – from the smallest words like Umm, Ooo etc to the timings of pauses, interruptions etc are also studied.

Whereas phenomenological sociologists tend to focus on what people think, ethnomethodologists are more concerned with what people actually do. Thus, ethnomethodologists devote a lot of attention to the detailed study of conversations.

It is defined as – '*the study of the body of common-sense knowledge and the range of procedures and considerations by means of which the ordinary members of society make sense of, find their way about in, and act on the circumstances in which they find themselves*'. To put it another way, Ethnomethodology is concerned with the organization of everyday life and it examines the methods and procedures that people use to construct and account for their social world. Like Phenomenologists, ethnomethodologists also reject an objective view of reality and social order which starts from society and not individual.

Like Durkheim, Garfinkel considers 'social facts' to be the fundamental sociological phenomenon. However, Garfinkel's social facts are very different from Durkheim's social facts. For Durkheim, social facts are external to and coercive of individuals. In contrast, Ethnomethodology treats the objectivity of social facts as the accomplishment of members.

There are two central ideas to Ethnomethodology –

- I. Indexicality – It means that sense of an object or phenomenon is context specific. For example, a same question may elicit different responses in different situations like informal conversations, interview etc. Members make a sense of a phenomenon in the context of phenomenon.
- II. Reflexivity – It refers to the fact that our sense of order is a result of conversational process. It is created in talk. It is a reflective action and it is subjective interpretation of order. It implies that order doesn't exist on its own, but is created by the individuals. Individuals compare a particular instance to the underlying pattern and vice-versa to reinforce each other.

Garfinkel argues that mainstream sociology has depicted man as a 'cultural dope' who simply acts out the standardized directives provided by the culture of his society. Instead members give meanings to situations, construct their own world rather than being shaped by it. While

ethnomethodologists refuse to treat actors as cultural dopes, they do not believe that people are 'almost endlessly reflexive, self-conscious and calculative'. Rather, following Alfred Schutz, they recognize that most often action is routine and relatively unreflective. In sum, ethnomethodologists are interested in neither micro structures nor macro structures; they are concerned with the artful practices that produce both types of structures.

Ethnomethodologists argue that social world is nothing more than the constructs, interpretations and accounts of its members. 'Accounts' are the ways in which actors explain (describe, criticize, and idealize) specific situations. *Ethnomethodologists devote a lot of attention to analyzing people's accounts*, as well as to the ways in which accounts are offered and accepted (or rejected) by others. This is one of the reasons that ethnomethodologists are preoccupied with analyzing conversations and 'conversation analysis' is one of the important parts of the Ethnomethodology.

Extending the idea of accounts, ethnomethodologists point out that sociologists, like everyone else, offer accounts. Thus, reports of sociological studies can be seen as accounts and analyzed in the same way that all other accounts can be studied. A good deal of sociology (indeed all sciences) involves commonsense interpretations. Ethnomethodologists can study the accounts of the sociologist in the same way that they can study the accounts of the layperson.

Early ethnomethodological studies carried on by Garfinkel and his associates took place in casual, non-institutionalized settings such as the home. Later, there was a move toward studying everyday practices in a wide variety of institutional settings—courtrooms, medical settings. The second variety of Ethnomethodology is conversation analysis.

Ethnomethodologists are criticized for taking a detached view of members of society. According to Giddens, they seem to have no goals. Alvin Gouldner says that they ignore the fact that interactions and the reality are shaped by the differential power relations that exist in society. According to Goldthorpe, it seems that what members don't recognize, doesn't exist for them and they remain insulated with that. This is, however, untrue.

However, the non-positivist methodologies cannot resolve the dilemma of objectivity and subjectivity. Even Weber and Mead favored objectivity. Non-positivists could also not develop a single methodological principle leading to wide variations in non-positivist research and some even stressed on using quantitative methods. Non-positivist methods also depend heavily on ability of interrogator and as a result, different explanations were given for same phenomenon. Non-positivists ignore independent existence of social phenomenon and overlook the fact that man is born in a pre-existing society.

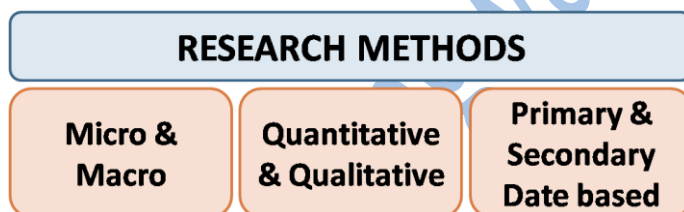
CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODS

Use of research methodology is necessary in sociology as it distinguishes sociological work from the layperson knowledge of society. Research work provides legitimacy and wider acceptance to the sociological work. Different methods are used for different purposes of the research – like positivist research or interpretativist research. Research methods that are used in sociology broadly fall in three categories –

- I. Quantitative or qualitative methods
- II. Micro methods or macro methods
- III. Methods based on primary data or secondary data

Depending upon requirement, different methods can be used. For example, large scale research involving large numbers of respondents and investigators. Survey research is the most common example of a

‘macro’ method that can be used in such a circumstance. On the other hand in the study of a particular group, a ‘micro’ method like participant observation can be used.



Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods

Since there are multiple truths and multiple perspectives in sociology, it is hardly surprising that there are also multiple research methods. There is no single unique road to sociological truth. It is futile to argue about the superiority or inferiority of different methods. It is more important to ask if the method chosen is the appropriate one for answering the question that is being asked. For example, if one is interested in finding out whether most Indian families are still ‘joint families’, then a census or survey is the best method. However, if one wishes to compare the status of women in joint and nuclear families, then interviews, case studies or participant observation may all be appropriate methods.

Quantitative methods were given a prime focus by the early sociologists. Positivism and non-positivism perspectives guided the method in sociology during its early years. Early positivist were influenced by their orientation towards natural sciences and emphasized on quantitative methods. Quantitative methods employ a systematic, scientific investigation of quantitative properties of a phenomenon in order to develop different types of theories and they generate a quantifiable image of reality. Quantified methods generate a quantified image of reality. So, positivists and functionalists use this method more often. Durkheim was one of the earliest pioneers – through his theory of suicide. ‘*Process of measurement*’ is central to these methods as it provides a fundamental connection between empirical observation and an expression of quantitative relationship. Thus, ‘data collection’ is primary aim and they use an ‘*inductive approach*’. Quantitative data is easy to represent through tables, graphs, pie-charts, histograms, histograms and other curves.

There can be various types of Quantitative Methods like – Statistics, Comparative Methods, Multivariate Analysis, Surveys, Structured Interviews, Close Ended Questionnaires, Sampling etc.

QUANTITATIVE DATA	
Main advantages –	Main Disadvantages –
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Objectivity is more b. Easy measurement as expertise is not required c. Easier to check validity and reliability d. Less user bias and subject bias e. Reproducibility is higher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Method becomes difficult as size of variables or population increases b. Cannot be used for non-observable attributes

Qualitative Methods refer to examination, analysis and interpretation of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationship to gain better understanding of symbols, motives and meanings. Qualitative methods emerged as a reaction to an excessive emphasis on positivist research, which is considered unsuitable for understanding of social phenomenon. They help in discovering underlying meanings, motives, patterns, symbols etc. So, interpretativists and non-positivists favor such methods. Weber pioneered interpretativist approach and used Verstehen and Ideal Types, Mead pioneered Symbolic Interactionism. Basic assumption behind use of such data is that human beings have subjective consciousness which is a non-measurable attribute through quantitative methods. Deductivism is often used as the basic approach.

There can be various types of Qualitative Methods like – Observation Method, Unstructured Interview, Case Studies, Focus Group Discussion etc are some of the methods.

QUALITATIVE DATA	
Main advantages –	Main Disadvantages -
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Cheaper b. Give complete understanding of reality c. Data collection is flexible d. It has helped in widening the scope of sociology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Requires expertise b. Trained investigator c. Difficult to use if sample is large

Attempts were made to reconcile the differences between the two broad methods by finding middle path. Hybrids like – ‘Socio logic’ by Michel Mann in 1980s, ‘Triangulation Method’ by Norman Denzin have also been devised.

Techniques of Data Collection

Techniques of data collection depend on whether the data required is quantitative or qualitative and whether the data required is primary data or secondary data or whether the approach is positivist or non-positivist. Hence, various techniques are also classified accordingly and some of them are like – questionnaire, sampling, field studies, surveys, secondary research and so on and some of them are mentioned below.

POSITIVIST RESEARCH	NON-POSITIVIST RESEARCH
Existing statistics, statistical methods, sample surveys, observation, structured interview etc.	Unstructured interviews, participant observation, verstehen, ideal type etc

SECONDARY DATA

Secondary data is that data which is already available as a result of previously done research. It is available in form of government surveys, reports, social studies by other researchers and so on. They provide an easy reference, especially when time is less or target audience is same. Durkheim employed such data from police stations for his study of suicide. However, such data is not always reliable as it may have been collected with a different purpose. Further, secondary data is also older. It may also be prone to errors which the researcher might not be aware of.

ETHNOGRAPHY, PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION and FIELD STUDY

According to Pauline V Young, '*Observation is systematic viewing along with consideration of seen phenomenon*'. Rationale behind using observation method is that sociological investigator should become a part of social phenomenon he or she wishes to understand. For reliability of results, observation should be systematic and scientific in nature and hence it is also called 'scientific observation' instead.

It is a method of qualitative research which is most predominantly used in interpretative sociology.

Observation can be of various types like –

- I. Structured and unstructured observation
- II. Participant, quasi-participant and non-participant observation
- III. Controlled and non-controlled observation etc

Because distortion can be a serious limitation of surveys, observational research involves directly observing subjects' reactions, either in a laboratory (called laboratory observation) or in a natural setting (called naturalistic observation). Observational research reduces the possibility that subjects will not give totally honest accounts of the experiences, not take the study seriously, fail to remember, or feel embarrassed.

To further, make observation more systematic and scientific, '*report writing*' is also preferred along with observation as depending upon memory is unscientific and unreliable. However, there can be certain limitations on this. An observer cannot write a report in an emotionally charged environment like funeral rites. Report writing may also make subjects conscious. Now a days, audio and video recorders have made observation easier.

Three types of observation are classified on the basis of degree of participation of the observer.

- I. **Participant Observation or Field Work** – Certain degree of participation and observation is inherent in all sociological methods. The overall goal of 'participant observation' field work is to learn about the 'whole way of life' of a community, target group etc and hence, researcher joins the everyday activity of those whom he or she wishes to study. For example, if one wishes to study the social life of Dalits or Tribes, one has to live among them and be like them in all aspects.

Raymond Gold has distinguished 4 types of participant observations –

- a. Complete participation

- b. Participant as observer
- c. Observer as participant
- d. Complete observer

It is the insider perspective that is the greatest return on the substantial investment of time and effort that field work or participant observation demands.

To be successful, a participant observer must have high degree of acceptability among the subjects. Gaining trust is a difficult task and failure to do so leads subjects to behave differently.

Since the 1920s, participant observation or field work has been considered an integral part of sociological research and the principal method through which knowledge is produced. In India, this became popular after independence. Bronislaw Malinowski is widely believed to have established field work as the distinctive method of social anthropology. Initial anthropologists of Chicago School are considered pioneer of this method. Aaroon Cicourel's study of Juvenile Justice and William Whyte's study of an Italian American Gangster in Boston are classic landmark studies. Some other famous instances of field work include the following – Radcliffe-Brown on the Andaman Nicobar islands, Evans Pritchard on the Nuer in the Sudan, Franz Boas on various Native American tribes in the USA, Margaret Mead on Samoa, Clifford Geertz on Bali etc.

In Indian sociology also, an important way in which fieldwork methods have been used is in village studies. Village studies were important because they provided Indian sociology with a subject that was of great interest in newly independent India. The government was interested in developing rural India. Famous village studies of the 1950s by S C Dube, Majumdar and Srinivas laid the foundation of field study in India.

Major advantages of using participant observation are –

- a. It gives a detailed, in depth and holistic view of the events about a social phenomenon or institution which is not possible by any other method. According to Aaron Cicourel in his '*The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice, 1976*', the actor's perception of objects and events cannot be extracted through the use of interview and questionnaire as they are essentially short in duration. Participant observation provides an in depth view of social phenomenon.
- b. Secondly, one can avoid any pre-conceived notions and can shape his research as new information arrives. As a result, researchers are able to ask such questions which he or she wouldn't have otherwise asked. Researcher also gets answer to those questions which he has not even asked.
- c. Participant observation allows for the correction of initial impressions, which may often be mistaken or biased.
- d. Participant observation also permits the researcher to track changes in the subject of interest, and also to see the impact of different situations or contexts.

For example, different aspects of social structure or culture may be brought out in a good harvest year and in a bad harvest year in a village community.

Limitations of participant observation –

- a. Its biggest limitation is problem of validity. Validity of findings is very difficult to test as there is no hard data and results are in the form of observations only.
- b. They also fair poor on count of reliability as same observations cannot be repeated again. According to William Whyte, approach of a researcher is unique to that researcher itself and cannot be replicated by any other researcher.
- c. According to William Whyte, the observer may develop sympathy for the group resulting in emotional attachment with them.
- d. Gaining trust of the target group can be difficult especially if the target group is like a criminal group, an asylum, a closed ethnic group and so on.
- e. After some time the observer may get accustomed to the behavior of the group and may fail to note the important details.
- f. It is time consuming.
- g. Difficulty of balancing too much detachment and too much attachment.
- h. It is very narrow in scope as focus area is too small.
- i. It also depends upon interpreter's ability.

The classic instances of field work like that of Malinowski, Evans Pritchard and countless others were made possible by the fact that the places and people where field work was done were part of colonial empires ruled by the countries from where the Western anthropologists came. This is also why, early anthropologists were also accused of colonial bias.

To counter the weaknesses associated with this method, it has been suggested that more 'dialogic' formats should be adopted i.e. the respondents and people can be more directly involved and the work of the scholar can be translated into the language of the community, recording their responses and opinions.

II. **Quasi Participant Observation** – It is also based on principles of participant observation, but degree of involvement is less and it uses best of both participant observation and non-participant observation.

III. **Non-Participant Observation** – In this, observation is detached. It is like eavesdropping. It has least bias. The observer keeps aloof and observes the subjects as they act. This facilitates proper and immediate recording of the incidents but at the same time it makes the subjects conscious and distorts their behavior. Naturalistic observation is a form of non-participant observation. The researcher takes care to see that he exerts minimal impact on the situation being observed.

It is argued that the researcher's ability to understand the experiences of the culture may be inhibited if they observe without participating. It also requires an extremely

good rapport of the observer with the group, so that they might not have any objection to the presence of researcher.

However, modern surveillance techniques now provide that a researcher can conduct non-participant observation even from a distinct place and leaving minimal impact on the subjects.

FOCUS GROUP TECHNIQUE

Focus group discussion is mainly used for non-positivist research. The focus group technique basically consists of bringing together a group of people to have an extensive, free flowing discussion relating to their experiences or opinion on a particular focus issue. In Sociology, Robert Merton popularized this method which was earlier limited to marketing exercises only. It is like a group interview. Researcher may act like a moderator to direct the discussion in a desired direction of research. The moderator, who has a fairly standardized way of establishing a relaxed and congenial atmosphere; initiating the discussion and keeping it on the desired focus.

The usual procedure is to tape record the conversations and later analyze them. The purpose of the focus group design is exploratory, seeking to get respondent opinions of experiences on a particular subject matter. The objectives of the focus group study are clearly specified, but there is no structure of the discussion pattern. In fact, a distinct effort is made to keep the discussion free flowing. It allows studying of people in more natural manner than as in an interview. Due to its interactive nature, any misunderstanding can be clarified and validity of research findings can be increased.

One pitfall in focus group discussion is that, if the moderator or researcher becomes too active, he may distract the group to respond as per his likings and expectations. So, observer bias is significant in focus group exercise as compared to participant observation.

CASE STUDY

It is a complete and detailed account of a social phenomenon in which every detail of an event is studied in depth. This method is inspired from the legal and management case studies. This method considers all related aspects like – antecedents and consequents – of an event in great detail and hence, offers a holistic treatment of the subject.

Particular situations and incidents like riots, disasters and conflicts are more appropriate for this method as they require an in-depth study. However, this method has a limitation that it has poor scope of generalization and cannot be applied to even similar events in future.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

It is also a qualitative technique of research in sociology and is often used in interpretative sociological research.

Content analysis or textual analysis is a methodology in the social sciences for studying the content of communication. Earl Babbie defines it as *'the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws'*.

It deals with the questions like – Who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect?.

Uses of content analysis –

- I. Make inferences about the antecedents of a communication
- II. Describe and make inferences about characteristics of a communication
- III. Make inferences about the effects of a communication.

INTERVIEW

It is also one of the most widely used research methods in sociology. An interview is basically a guided conversation between the researcher and the respondent. Interview is a technique in which there is a one to one interaction between subject and researcher. It may happen in various forms and types like – face-to-face, telephonic, group interview etc.

Interviews at the broadest level are of two types – structured and unstructured.

STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS
In structured interviews, the sequence of questions is pre-decided and the responses are recorded.	In unstructured interviews, there are no fixed questions and supplementary questions can be asked. In fact direction of interview depends upon supplementary questions that are asked.
Structured are more suitable to elicit facts like age, sex, data etc and hence suitable for quantitative/positivistic research.	Unstructured interviews are seen as more appropriate for eliciting attitudes and opinions.
It standardizes interview as much as possible. Structured interview also lead to more reliable information and are also more objective in their approach.	They are useful in situations which demand new information to deal with the problems which arise as interview proceeds.
Structured interview also facilitate easy comparison of responses between different respondents.	Its chief advantage is the extreme flexibility of the format. Ambiguities in questions and answers can be clarified by both the interview and respondent.

Its chief advantage is that, interviews in general are more flexible than other tools like questionnaires. In terms of flexibility, time consumption and quality of information, they lie in between questionnaires and participant observation. They can cover much larger samples as compared to participant observation. While participant observation gets information about present only, an interviewer can elicit information regarding past as well as future.

Its major limitations are –

- I. Interviewer bias, responder bias, situation bias etc are some of the biases that seep into interview. For example, Blacks in an interview by a white interviewer may answer what they feel the white interview would like to hear and not what they actually feel.
- II. Like participant observation, it also greatly suffers from problems of validity and reliability. Variation in context and change in interviewer can result into important changes into information provided. According to Allan William Junior, status difference between interviewer and respondent greatly affects the degree to which a respondent opens up.
- III. One of the biggest limitations is the 'social desirability bias' from which both interviews and questionnaires suffer. Respondents often make such answers which they think will present their best image.
- IV. They are also limited by their limited scope as only a limited number of respondents can be interviewed at a time.
- V. Amount of information is also limited. There are some taken for granted assumptions that respondents often fail to reveal.
- VI. Language is also another barrier. Individual accent, pronunciation, dialectics etc can also make situation difficult for respondent.

To counter some of the problems of the interviews, it is suggested that interviewers should remain non-directive, refrain from doling out opinions and judgments or expressions of approval or disapproval.

QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire has pre-set questions in a pre set order and is an organized activity of information gathering. It can be either administrated by an interviewer face to face (as used by Goldthorpe and Lockwood in their affluent worker study), may be sent by post, or may be distributed during a large gathering or may be pasted online. When questionnaires are administered face to face they have advantage of being under an expert observation and hence are more likely to be filled correctly on one hand and a risk of suffering from interviewer's bias on the other hand. It is the cheapest, fastest and efficient method of obtaining large amounts of information.

Great care must be taken while designing of a questionnaire design and questions should not be changed when a survey etc has already began and covered some of the sample population. To overcome this problem, a pilot study should be conducted first. For example, in a survey by Gallop on economic status in USA in 1939 seeking response from people for three choices – upper, middle and lower class – resulted in overwhelming response of 'middle class' in excess of 88%. When a similar survey was taken again, with 'lower class' replaced with 'working class', results changed dramatically.

A questionnaire is also qualified as – **close ended** and **open ended**. A close ended questionnaire has limited responses which are generally provided as different options to a question. Such type of questionnaire is more suitable to quantitative data collection and hence to positivist research.

Open ended questionnaire on the other hand requires descriptive answers and provides the respondent to present his or her own views as well. But descriptive response may be difficult to classify and quantify and hence may have low validity and reliability. A hybrid of two can be used in form of '*semi-structured questionnaire*'.

Some of the limitations associated with questionnaire technique are –

- I. One of the major deficiency of questionnaires is that researcher often asks 'leading questions' which may prompt the respondents to answer the questions in a way that researcher decides. Leading questions should be avoided.
- II. A respondent may also like to project himself as morally or socially correct while answering the questions leading to '*social desirability bias*'. A questionnaire should also avoid other similar traps as in case of an interview.
- III. Questionnaires, and hence surveys, also suffer from '*non-response bias*' of respondent as well. If a large number of respondents refuse to answer a questionnaire, the survey will be biased in favor of those who chose to answer the questionnaire.
- IV. Postal questionnaires have poor return rate and hence may not represent the sample population adequately and may suffer from 'response bias'. For example – main response on health conditions in an area may come from only those who have health problems or had a bad experience at a community health center.
- V. Further, different members of different social groups may attach different values to the contents of the questions. For example – Kevin Clancey conducted a study regarding mental health and found different responses from different classes for same set of questions. Lower classes had relatively higher chances of accepting the symptoms of mental illness symptoms.
- VI. It is also argued that when a researcher decides which questions have to be asked – especially in printed questionnaires – he has already decided what is important and hence suffers from his own biases.
- VII. It can also be not used when the target group is illiterate. Even if respondents consult someone else, they may be misdirected by the person who guides such a person.

SURVEY

Survey is probably the best known and most widely used sociological method and is best suited for quantitative or positivist research. When information is to be collected over a large set of population, techniques like focus group, participant observation cannot be used and survey is employed. Information collected through surveys can be analyzed through use of statistical techniques, mathematical models and computer simulations.

As the word itself suggests, a survey is an attempt to provide an overview. It is a comprehensive or wide-ranging perspective on some subject based on information obtained from a carefully chosen representative set of people. The survey questions may be asked and answered in various forms. Often, they are asked orally during personal visits by the investigator, sometimes through telephone conversations and sometimes through printed material. Close ended

questionnaires and structured interviews are most common tools of gathering information in a survey. Schedules can also be used. These days, online surveys are also popular.

In history of measurement in sociology, Le Play is often considered the father of the modern social survey. He had workers live with families in order to gather data on attitudes and beliefs, family budgets and family expenditures as ways to determine families' standards of living. Durkheim's survey on suicide was another pioneering effort.

The survey's main advantage as a social scientific method is that it allows us to generalize results for a large population while actually studying only a small portion of this population. The bigger the sample the more chance it has of being truly representative; the extreme case here is that of the census, which includes the entire population. Thus, a survey makes it possible to study large populations with a manageable investment of time, effort and money.

Often the whole population is not surveyed as it is a costly and time consuming exercise, so samples are taken for survey. Selection of sample size is one of the most crucial exercises in survey method and a sample should be representative of the larger population. A full survey should always be preceded by a 'pilot survey' so that defects in design of questionnaire can be rectified within time.

There are two principles that guide selection in a survey –

- I. The first principle is that all the relevant sub-groups in the population should be recognized and represented in the sample. Most large populations are not homogenous – they belong to distinct sub-categories. This is called **Stratification**. For example, when doing research on attitudes towards religion, it would be important to include members of all religions.
- II. The second principle of sample selection is that the selection of actual unit – i.e. person or village or household – should be based purely on chance. This is referred to as **Randomization**.

Surveys can be of various types –

- I. On basis of objective of survey – descriptive or analytical. Descriptive surveys provide a description of given situation – for example – poverty levels, analytical survey on the other hand aims to provide an explanation – for example – cause of poverty.
- II. On basis of sampling technique employed – simple random, stratified or cluster. Since it is not possible to survey the whole population, samples are used in survey to administer questionnaires or conducting structured interviews.

Success of a survey depends upon the quality of its data. If data is not valid, output of survey is also affected. One of the major criticisms of survey on Suicide of Durkheim was its poor quality.

Like all research methods, survey also has its disadvantages –

- I. Although it offers the possibility of wide coverage, this is at the cost of depth of coverage. Its results may provide only superficial information.

- II. Since, a large number of persons are involved in a survey, they may ask the survey questions differently and approach differently. Differences in the way questions are asked or answers recorded could introduce errors into the survey. That is why the questionnaire for a survey – sometimes called a ‘survey instrument’ – has to be designed very carefully since it will be handled by persons other than the researchers themselves, there is little chance of corrections or modifications in the course of its use.

In India, the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) conducts sample surveys every year on the levels of poverty and unemployment and other subjects. Census is another example of a decadal survey.

SCHEDULE

It is similar to a questionnaire, main difference is that a schedule is filled by enumerator who is specially appointed for this purpose. In a schedule an enumerator asks the questions in a proforma that is pre-defined. In this, questionnaire is only for internal consumption.

BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

It is a pure sociological method which is in use since recent times only. It includes oral histories, autobiographies, narratives etc which are used to explore how individuals experience social life and periods of social change. It provides new insights to already existing knowledge as texts like life histories provide new voices. Life histories and other biographical material yield information which is written over periods of time and hence a gradual and deep understanding develops with biographical research. A cross check is made by use of available letters, news reports and contemporary reports. However, this method is prone to suffer from biases and ideologies of writers who write biographies, narratives etc.

HISTORIC ANALYSIS or DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

It is a method which provides sociologists a luxury to look into past and connect the present with the past and provides a deeper perspective about current issues and problems. In order to understand the structure of present society, it needs to be linked to its past as well as present society is an outgrowth of past only. Various sources used in this method are government archives, historical records, historical works and personal diaries and so on. Historical facts are collected to gain an insight into past events related to a phenomenon. It shows the social values and ideas which present social structures are based. However, in this method, collection of facts is a stupendous task and reliability is a big problem. Historical data cannot be subjected to experimentation and statistics cannot be used in this method. ‘*Documentary research*’ is one particular type of historical analysis in which documents are used a source. Government documents, memoirs, newspapers can be source of such research.

Variables

Variables are those parameters whose value varies as situation changes and they are key elements of an experiment. Generally, there are two kinds of variables. In any research method, there are always some

'dependent variables' and there are some 'independent or fixed variables'. Value of dependent variables depends upon value of independent variables and other dependent variables. Variables can also be further classified as – *experimental variables, measured variables, discrete variables, continuous variables*.

In any study, generally measured variable is also a dependent variable. For example – in studying the educational level of an area, 'Education Level' is a dependent variable, which depend on other variables like – parental income, schools available, teachers quality, cultural values and so on. Dependent variable in one situation can be independent variable in another research. For example, in determining the causes of unemployment, education can be an independent variable with unemployment as an independent variable.

In any social experiment, the researcher first needs to identify the variables and then establish which of them are dependent and which are independent. After that, inter-linkages between these variables have to be established. In natural sciences, establishing correlations between variables is easy in controlled experimental settings through use of various 'controls' i.e. changing the values of independent variables and observing effect of these on dependent variable. But in sociology, direct controls are not available and instead methods of indirect experimentations are used.

Method used to establish and analyze the relationship between variables is known as '*multivariate*' or '*variable analysis*'. In sociology, this was earliest used by Durkheim in his study of suicide in which he studied effect of various independent variables like religion, gender, marital status etc on dependent variable viz suicide. Proper weightage has to be given to each variable according to its impact on outcome dependent variable. Other modern methods to establish correlation between variables are – regression analysis, chi-square test etc.

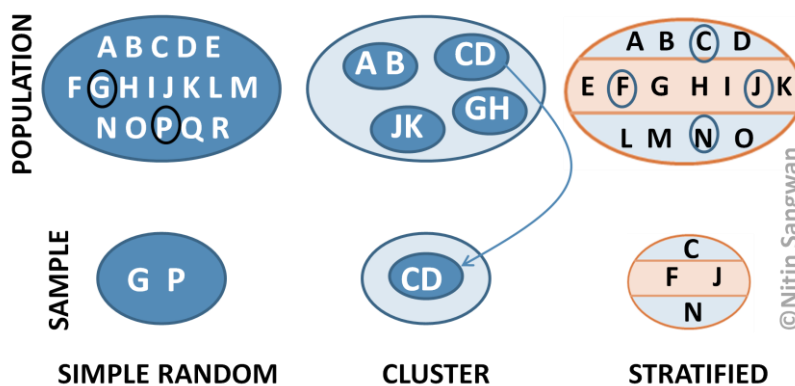
Sampling

Sampling is a process of selection of a limited number of items from a larger whole or universe of items. Process of sampling requires defining population set first from which samples will be chosen. After that sample frame is specified. After that, sampling method is specified. It is of primarily two types – Probability Sampling and Non-probability Sampling.

PROBABILITY SAMPLING

In this sampling method, every element in the sample population has equal chance of being selected. It ensures equal representation as each item has equal chance of being selected.

It is of following types –



- I. **Lottery or Simple Random Sampling** – In this, sampling units are either mixed or assumed to be pre-mixed and sample is selected by selecting the sample size. It is the simplest form of sampling with highest degree of randomness and hence true probability sampling. Now a days, computer algorithms are used to make random sampling a truly probability sampling which also enhances representation.
- II. **Systematic Random Sampling** – In this, absolute randomness is not there as sample is selected on the basis of some pre-defined criterion. For example – every 10th member of a population may be picked for sampling exercise.
- III. **Stratified Sampling** – It is basically a refined technique over random sampling. It leads to enhanced representation as no stratum of population is excluded. This type of sampling is used when the researcher wants to highlight specific subgroups within the population. Researchers also use stratified random sampling when they want to observe relationships between two or more subgroups. Stratified random samples generally require smaller sample sizes, which in turn can save a lot of time, money, and effort for the researchers. Sampling error is reduced, but is a complex method and hence run opposite to philosophy of sampling. Some of the most common strata used in stratified random sampling are age, gender, religion, educational attainment, socioeconomic status, and nationality.
Stratified sampling has homogeneity in the stratum, but heterogeneity across the strata.

Advantages of Stratified Sampling –

- a. Higher degree of precision.
- b. Enhanced representation.

Disadvantages of Stratified Sampling –

- a. One main disadvantage of stratified random sampling is that it can be difficult to identify appropriate strata for a study.
- b. A second disadvantage is that it is more complex to organize and analyze the results compared to simple random sampling.

- IV. **Cluster Sampling** – Cluster sampling may be used when it is either impossible or impractical to compile an exhaustive list of the elements that make up the target population.

Clusters are either spatial (area sampling) or temporal (at different times). It can be multistage – State > District > City. Its disadvantages are that sampling sizes may not be same, sampling error is larger.

Advantages of Cluster Sampling –

- a. One advantage of cluster sampling is that it is cheap, quick, and easy. Instead of sampling the entire country when using simple random sampling, the research can instead allocate resources to the few randomly selected clusters when using cluster sampling.

- b. A second advantage to cluster sampling is that the researcher can have a larger sample size than if he or she was using simple random sampling. Because the researcher will only have to take the sample from a number of clusters, he or she can select more subjects since they are more accessible.

Disadvantages of Cluster Sampling

- a. One main disadvantage of cluster sampling is that is the least representative of the population out of all the types of probability samples.
- b. A second disadvantage of cluster sampling is that it can have a high sampling error. This is caused by the limited clusters included in the sample, which leaves a significant proportion of the population unsampled.

There is also '**Multistage Sampling**' – in which first clusters are selected than simple random sampling is followed.

STRATIFIED SAMPLING	CLUSTER SAMPLING
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Its main objective is to enhance representation b. Population should be heterogeneous across the strata, but homogeneous in a stratum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Its main objective is to reduce costs b. Population should be homogeneous in clusters

NON-PROBABILITY SAMPLING

In many research situations randomness or probability is not possible in sampling process either due to unavailability of data, constraints imposed or costs involved. Since they are not based on random selection, they cannot claim true representativeness of the larger population from which they are picked. In such situations, non-probability sampling is used. They can also be of various types, most common of them are – Convenience Sampling, Quota Sampling, Snowball Sampling etc.

- I. In **Convenience Sampling** or **Accidental Sampling**, sample is drawn from that part of population that is closest at hand. It is used when there are enough controls and reasons to believe that such samples will lead to correct inferences. For example to understand the features of industrial classes, a researcher may go to industries that are most nearby and select a few employees which are known to him or easy to contact.
- II. **Purposive Sampling** is that type of sampling in which a purpose is already there in mind of researcher and sample characteristics are pre-defined. For example – male population, between 40-50 years can be a target of a socio-economic survey. Quota sampling and Snowball sampling are essentially subtypes of purposive sampling.
 - a. In **Quota Sampling**, people are selected non-randomly by fixing some quota to facilitate representation of a particular group. There are primarily two types of quota sampling – proportional quota sampling and non-proportional quota sampling. In proportional quota sampling quota are defined before hand in fixed terms say 40%, 60% etc, in non-proportional sampling only a 'minimum quota' is

specified. For example, if researcher knows that there are 40% of females in a given population, the researcher may keep drawing samples till the desired quota of 40% is not reached.

- b. In **Snowball Sampling**, the starting point is the pre-existing data of targeted sample. It works on the referral principle. It is useful when target population cannot be easily located. In this, one entity leads to information about other entities in a chain-reaction fashion. For example – In a survey of drug-addicts, one drug addict may lead to information about the other and so on.

ERRORS in SAMPLING

Sampling process is also prone to errors due to various reasons like – faulty design, respondent bias, and researcher bias and so on. Primarily, they are of two types –

- I. Sampling Errors – The unavoidable margin of error in the results of a survey because it is based on information from only a small sample rather than the entire population. These are due to over coverage, under coverage, non-response, subject bias.
- II. Non-sampling Error – These are errors in sample survey results due to mistakes in the design or application of methods.

Hypothesis

A hypothesis is a tentative statement, which formulates a precise and definite relation between two or more variables. It is an untested statement which awaits validation. It states the objective of a research and tells what a researcher is looking for. It can also be defined as a conjecture or an educated guess based upon previously accumulated knowledge about a given state of affairs put in concrete terms to provide the basis for empirical testing. According to Stebbing, '*Every hypothesis springs from the union of knowledge and sagacity*'.

Upon validation, a hypothesis may yield a theory, concept or generalization etc. Hypothesis should reasonably show the interconnectedness between two or more variables. For example – a researcher observes that 'number of marital breakdowns' goes up as one observes 'rise in annual total family income' or 'crime rates' are higher in 'slums' than in other parts of urban areas. A hypothesis will aim at finding interconnectedness between the two variables mentioned in the sentence.

Sources of a hypothesis are – existing theoretical propositions, common sense, existing base of knowledge etc.

Hypothesis can be of various types like – *inductive hypothesis, deductive hypothesis, research hypothesis, directional hypothesis, non-directional hypothesis* and so on. Steps to formulate a hypothesis are not fixed one and it depends upon the methodology used by the researcher.

Pre-requisites for a good hypothesis are –

- I. It should be simple in formulation. All variables should be clearly defined and their relationship with each other should also be defined.

- II. It should be based on sound reasoning and ample preliminary information. It should not be a wild guess.
- III. It should be specific and precise. It should be able to narrow down the scope of sociological investigation in manageable limits.
- IV. It should also direct the investigation on the right track. According to Northrop, '*Function of a hypothesis is to direct our research*'.
- V. It should also clarify the scope of enquiry.
- VI. It leads to general laws and principles and also exemplifies the causal relationships between the various variables. It should explain the general phenomenon and not the exception.
- VII. It should be able to be tested and its testability should be in time bound manner.
- VIII. It also provides a framework for organizing and summarizing the results.

Generally, a statement of hypothesis which is given at the start of testing a hypothesis is called '*null hypothesis*' and the one which is adopted after rejection of such null hypothesis is called '*alternate hypothesis*'. Soundness of a hypothesis is measured by '*testing*' it. Testing validates the presumptions made in a hypothesis. It proves that correlation shown in the statement of hypothesis also bear empirical validity i.e. testing shows that facts and assertions are in coherence. In sociological research, various factors may affect a hypothesis testing like – subject effect in terms of passiveness of subject, placebo effect, observer effect like Hawthorne effect etc. According to interpretativists, scientific hypothesis cannot be formulated in sociology as they are likely to be contaminated by the values of investigators. Further, due to changing nature of individuals and social circumstances, they can also not provide generalized results or true cause and effect relations.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are the two important parameters that determines the correctness and effectiveness of an observation and hence usefulness of a result. Reliability leads to repetition of same result; validity is the degree of meeting the desired goal.

These are two major challenges in sociology as outcomes of sociological research are not a result of a controlled experiment and a situation never remains same. Different ideologies also guide research methodology and hence, different results will be produced every time.

RELIABILITY

When a researcher talks about reliability of data, one is basically concerned with the question – '*Can the same result be produced again?*' Reliability is about consistency and is of two types –

- I. Temporal reliability – It concerns with reproducibility of same results at different times.
- II. Comparative reliability – It is concerned with change of targets, observers, testing method and so on. Comparative reliability is further classified as – Inter-item reliability, inter-observer reliability, Inter-test reliability.

Reliability raises many technical problems in qualitative research for sociologists as subjects change their mind as time passes. Reliability in research can be improved by inculcating

objectivity in methods, approaches. Standardization of procedures and methods also increase reliability.

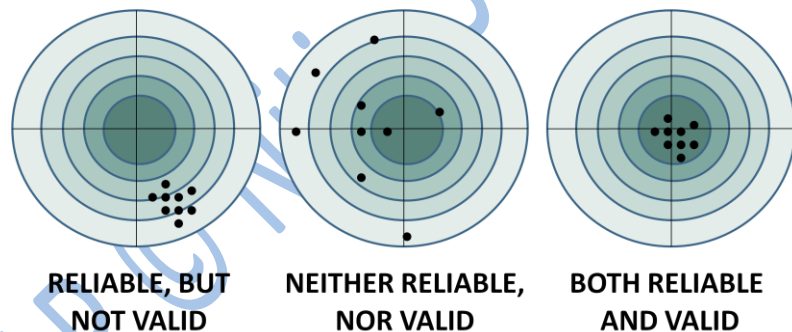
Some methods like statistical techniques, sampling etc are more reliable as compared to other methods like participant observation, open ended interview and so on. Subjectivity due to style of individual investigator and interference of values lead to lower reliability of sociological investigations.

VALIDITY

Validity concerns itself with the degree of achieving the intended result. A result is valid, if it measures what it was supposed to measure. Validity determines the success of a study or research. It is difficult to ascertain in qualitative research as there are no fixed goals in terms of outcome. Validity is measured in terms of a desired output or goal. When such goal itself is not fixed, there are problems in ascertaining the validity of a result.

Validity is broadly classified as '*Internal Validity*' – which affirms the causal relationship – and '*External Validity*' – which pertains to generalization aspect and the degree to which the results apply to the larger population.

There is also '*Test Validity*'. It is further divided as '*Criterion Validity*' – which checks the usefulness of the criterion, '*Content Validity*' and '*Construct Validity*' – which pertains to designing of a test.



A valid result is always reliable, but a reliable result may not be valid.

Factors Influencing Validity can be termed as –

- I. History or change in time
- II. Instrumentation – It refers to the effect caused by changes in measuring instrument or method during the research.
- III. Selection Bias – It occurs when test units are selected in such a way as not to be representative of the population.

Most of the sociological investigations don't lead to concrete data. Social situations change from time to time and different sociologists also have ideological orientations. There is also a little scope of controlled experimentation to test the validity.

So, in most sociological investigations, validity is poor. While positivists may argue that validity is possible in sociology by the use of scientific methods, interpretativists deny such possibility as human consciousness cannot be captured using any method. According to interpretativists, most of the sociologists tend to brush the problem of validity under the carpet and instead

spend their time accumulating more and more data and devising more and more sophisticated theories.

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

CHAPTER 4 – SOCIAL THINKERS

	Working period	Major contribution	Perspective and methods used	Context	Famous for
KARL MARX	1840-83	Historical Materialism, Class Conflict, Alienation	Macro, Conflict and Evolutionary perspective. Method of Dialectical Materialism	Chaos in industrial society, exploitation and poor workers condition, absence of welfare state	Radical approach, concern for the poor and the deprived and gave primacy to society over individual
DURKHEIM	1890-1912	Social Facts, Suicide, Division of Labor and Religion	Macro, Functionalist, Evolutionary and Positivist perspective. Society is sui-generis and individual is subordinate to it. Comparative, statistical, concomitant variations, indirect experimentation, inductive and causal functionalism	Social disorder in Europe in general and France in particular. Uncertainty and anxiety due to change.	First true sociologist, called 'Father of Sociology'. Known for purely sociological explanations, developed distinct methods for sociology, established first dept in France
MAX WEBER	1900-20	Theory of Social Action, Ideal Types, Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism	Micro, Interpretativist and Voluntarist perspective. Used methods of Verstehen, Ideal Types, Comparative, Causal Pluralism, Rationality	Rise of capitalism, industrialization and growth of bureaucratic institutions.	He led change in perspective of sociology from macro to micro and argued 'Social Action' as subject matter of sociology. Bridged gap between positivism and idealism.
MEAD	1910-30	Theory of Self.	Micro, positivist,	Understanding	Famous for laying

		Symbolic Interactionism	empiricist, symbolic interactionism, evolutionary. Used qualitative, inductive methods.	human personality and its development in a pre-existing society	foundations of Symbolic Interactionism and pioneering Social Psychology.
PARSONS	1937-79	Social Action, Social System	Macro and micro both, structure functionalist, synthesis perspective. Used abstract, deductive methods.	Post colonialism chaos, modern world complexities and emergence of welfare state	Famous for giving grand functional paradigm, combining macro and micro, employing a multi-disciplinary approach
MERTON	1949-2003	Theory of Reference Groups, Deviance, Middle Range Theories	Macro and micro both, functionalist and inductive perspective.	Failure of pure functional perspective and grand theories	Known for his 'Functional Paradigm'

Functionalism

Functionalism as a perspective evolved with the beginning of sociology as a discipline and August Comte, Durkheim and Spencer put forth ideas which formed its basis. Its basic premise is that society works as a system of interconnected parts and each part exists because it has to perform certain functional prerequisites of the whole system. This view is primarily shaped by the beliefs of functionalists that society behaves like an organism with various parts and each part is studied in light of the function it performs for the organism as a whole. Integration is the basic concern of functionalists.

It begins with the observation that behavior of the society is structured. Relationships between the members of society are organized in terms of the rules. Social relationships are therefore patterned and recurrent. These relationships are guided by generalized values in the society which guide our behavior. This value consensus also provides for certain degree of integration for various parts.

It was applied in different contexts by different thinkers. Malinowski used it to study religion, Murdock used it to evaluate universality of family, Davis and Moore used it to study stratification in society, Herbert J Gans used it to analyze functions of poverty, Merton used it to study deviance, and so on.

It became a dominant perspective in sociology during 1940s and 1950s as a variant of functionalism – Structural Functionalism – led by Parsons and Merton emerged and this time onwards, its popularity declined during the upheavals of 1960s and 70s when conflict perspective emerged as a more viable alternative. The fact that functionalists only look at the beneficial aspects of social relations, leads to

their criticism that their approach is conservative and status quoist. Functionalists are also accused of offering teleological explanations. They confuse cause with effect. For example, Davis and Moore's theory of stratification outlines the positive functions of stratification and then they use these effects to explain the origin of stratification. Critics like Alvin Gouldner point out that while stressing on values in society, functionalists fail to see whose values are these.

Conflict Perspective

Like functionalists, conflict theorists also stress on structure and, hence, are predominantly positivist in their approach. They too suggest a grand framework to explain working of society, but instead of emphasizing on consensus, they focus on the divisions in society. They seek to explain why unequal relations exist in society and how they are perpetuated. Marx was the first social thinker who gave this perspective through his dialectical materialistic conception of history. He saw societies as divided into a dominant upper class in form of the 'haves' and a subjugated class in form of the 'have nots'. His ideas had a reflection of not only of sociological analysis, but also of a radical agenda of political reforms.

Frankfurt School of Germany was another major carrier of Marxist ideas. But it also aimed at getting rid of deficiencies in Marxist perspective by introducing an element of culture into structural analysis. Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse and most recently Jurgen Habermas belonged to this school which is also known as 'Critical School' or neo-Marxist school.

German scholar Ralf Dahrendorf combined Marxist ideas with Weberian perspective and he related conflict in society to difference in interests of individuals and groups. Unlike Marx, who related conflict with class only, Dahrendorf, taking cues from Weber, also added dimension of power and authority as well.

Ivan Illich, Althusser applied Marxist ideas in the field of education and culture. Gramsci used Marxist thoughts to give the concept of 'hegemony'. Pierre Bourdieu used conflict perspective to develop his model of four fold 'capitals' in modern societies. Wallerstein used this perspective to study the effect of globalization and unequal trade among nations in his 'World Systems Theory'.

While the functionalist perspective declined significantly after 1960s, conflict perspective is more enduring and has continued to evoke interests of sociologists in wake of new events like – global financial crisis of 2011-12, Jasmine Revolution in the Middle East in 2012 and so on.

Marx – Historical Materialism, Mode of Production, Alienation, Class Struggle

Karl Marx was one of the early pioneers of the discipline of sociology. He laid foundation of '*conflict perspective*' in sociology which was radically different from the then prevailing functionalist view. Although Marxian theories came under severe criticism during the 19th century because of their radical nature, his contribution to sociology in terms of theories, concepts, methods and perspectives is unmatched.

He wrote in a background when industrialization and capitalism were in full swing and Europe was witnessing post-French revolutions changes. Changes in Europe were too profound and social environment was in huge flux. It prompted Marx to give a thought about the misery and suffering of the people whom he saw as the victims of new economic order called capitalism.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

‘Historical Materialism’ or ‘the materialistic conception of history’ is the pivot to all of Marx’ works. Its clearest exposition is done in his *‘Contribution to the Critique of political Economy, 1859’*. It is a conception of society in terms of evolutions from one stage to another, which Marx refers as modes of production, and material or economic factors have a pivotal role in historical change. It is an inquiry into nature of relations between man and man, and man and things as history proceeds.

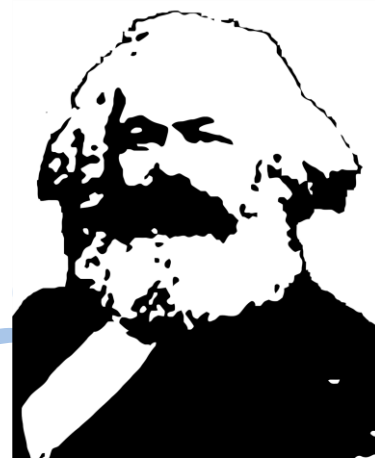
His theory is called ‘historical’ because analysis of society is in terms of evolution from one state to another in terms of history. According to Marx, *‘History is a process of man’s self creation’*. Since man’s involvement into relations of production creates history, it is necessary to understand history to understand society. It is called ‘materialistic’ for two reasons – firstly, his conception of society is based upon materialistic factors which are understood in terms of production. Secondly, understanding of change is based upon changing material conditions and not ideas.

Further, his theory of historical materialism has two aspects –

- I. His materialistic conception of society is in terms of ‘economic infrastructure’ and ‘social superstructure’.
- II. He understands the historical evolution process in terms of a ‘dialectic process’.

Marx borrowed ideas of Historical or Dialectical Materialism from Hegelian notions of ‘Dialectical Idealism’, but Marx felt that Hegel’s idealism led to a very conservative political orientation, and Ludwig Feuerbach’s – a Young Hegelian – notion of ‘Materialism’. Thus, he retained the dialectical approach of Hegel, but replaced the idealism with Feuerbach’s materialism. Marx believed that, material sources and conditions and not ideas per se are important in working of any ‘mode of production’. Material world is characterized by its own independent existence and is not a result of human thinking.

Marx was also influenced by ‘political economists’ like Adam Smith and David Ricardo who had postulated that labor was the source of all wealth. Marx also was influenced by the political economists’ depiction of the horrors of the capitalist system and the exploitation of the workers, but he didn’t deem such evils as inevitable as he saw their solution in communism.



KARL MARX

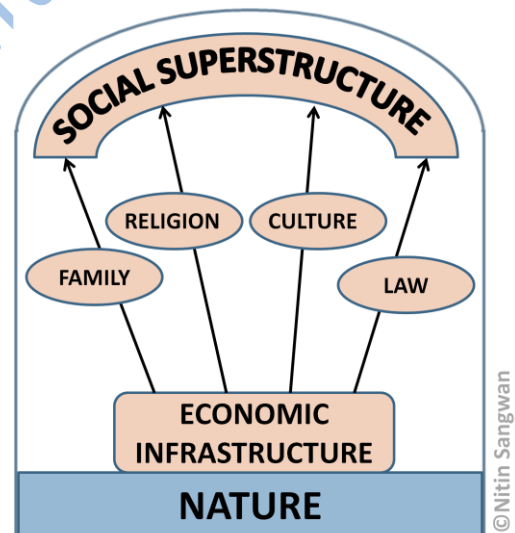
'In order to survive, man must produce' – Proclaimed Marx. Production is essential for the survival of human beings. It is the first historical act and had been universally part of human history throughout. While going for production man enters into relationships with the other men. It is the fundamental aspect of history. Man produces to satisfy his needs which are ever growing and according to Marx – *'Man is a perpetually dissatisfied animal'*. Once a set of needs is satisfied, new ones are created. Thus, production continues and history proceeds.

In order to produce, man must enter into 'relations' with others. Apart from relations, some 'forces of production' are also required which includes tools, techniques etc.

Relations of Production or social relations of production, according to Marx, are of two types in any mode of production –

- I. Relations between man and man – They pertain to the associations which individuals form in order to undertake production. These associations also lead to stratification and formulation of 'classes' depending upon different positions in the production process. Broadly, there are two classes – 'the haves' – who own the production and earn profit or benefits, and 'the have nots' – who sell their labor and earn wages in an industrial society. Nature of these relations is in form of *'antagonistic cooperation'*. This is because of an essential contradiction between the interests of the two classes.
- II. Relations between man and things – They are of nature of 'ownership' and 'non-ownership' of things required in the production. 'The haves' own the production process in a capitalist society, whereas 'the have nots' are non-owners in the production process and just own their own labor. Man is free to sell his labor in an industrial society. Similarly, in other societies or mode of productions, ownership and non-ownership relations exist.

According to Marx, these relations are dynamic. Antagonism keeps on increasing resulting into conflict between the two classes. Similarly, the relationship between man and things also keeps on changing. In a capitalist society, Marx foresees such a degree of exploitation that the man loses control over its own labor also. According to Marx, these social relationships determine the existence of man and not his own will. According to Marx, *'It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousnesses'* i.e. men themselves don't decide what type of social relations (in production process) they will have, rather social relations determine who they will be – the ruled or the ruler.



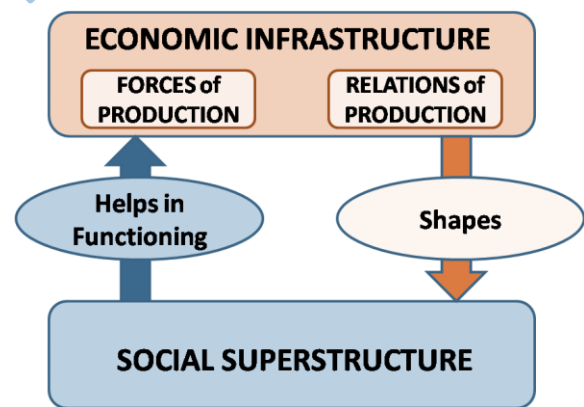
Marx' Systemic View

Forces of Production, according to Marx, has two aspects – men and things. Men are further categorized into – ‘the haves’ and ‘the have nots’. Things include – tools, techniques, equipments, skills etc. Major changes in society occur when new forces of production are evolved (which also create new relations of production) which replace the older ones and create a new mode of production. A contradiction between the older and new forces of production is resolved by replacement of older mode of production by the newer one. In every society, there is centrality of one major thing. For example – in feudal society, land is central, in capitalist society, capital is central. Forces of production help in transforming the things which are available in nature into things which can be exchanged in market. Forces of production also represent man’s control over nature. As the history proceeds, man’s control over nature increases. Thus, man and nature are in a state of constant struggle. Thus, the development in the forces of production can be seen in terms of man’s increasing control over nature.

Both the forces and relations of production change continuously and together the two constitute ‘economic base’ or ‘infrastructure’ of society. This constant interplay results into a particular type of social formation which is ‘*mode of production*’ or society or social formation according to Marx.

Marx had a systemic view of society and he deemed ‘*production as central in understanding the society*’. The forces and relations of production continuously interplay and influence each other. According to his systemic view, society or mode of production consists of two parts –

- I. **Economic Infrastructure** – It includes ‘forces’ and ‘relations’ i.e. man and things being involved in production including classes, tools, techniques etc.
- II. **Social Superstructure** – It includes all other aspects of society like – culture, law, state, family, religion, education etc and it is largely shaped by economic infrastructure. As economic infrastructure changes, social superstructure also change.



Economic infrastructure shapes social superstructure which in turns helps in functioning of economic infrastructure. Thus, nature of forces and relations of production will result in similar superstructure and consequently a typical organization of society will emerge.

A major contradiction in any production activity is that there is a conflict between forces and relations of production. There is a conflict of interest between the various social groups in the relations of production as forces of production are unequally controlled by such groups. For example, in capitalist production, forces of production includes collective production by a large number of workers, yet they are privately controlled by the capitalists. Contradiction is that – while production is collective or social in nature, control over forces is private.

Marx is criticised on following grounds regarding his materialistic conception of history –

- I. He is criticised as being reductionist for over-emphasising on material factors. Karl Popper termed his approach as 'economic reductionism' for ignoring ideas.
- II. Marx also over emphasised conflict and ignored social order aspect. Coser and Simmel even went on to say that conflict also has its own functions.
- III. Conflict is attributed to relations with economic infrastructure, but Dahrendorf says differential authority structure or is root cause of conflict.
- IV. Marx while propounding historical materialism focussed primarily on macro evolutionary aspect and ignored micro reality of social life which was explored by non-positivist tradition.

MODE of PRODUCTION

It is the term which Marx uses for a particular social formation or society. It is uniquely defined in terms of a particular 'force of production' and 'relations of production' in a materialistic context. Every mode of production has centrality of one thing.

Marx has conceptualised the society in terms of six stages or six modes of production. Every new mode of production displaces the earlier one because of various factors like – inherent weaknesses of the system, contradictions, class struggle etc. A revolution is often required to change the relations of production.

Out of six modes, four are historical and two are futuristic, historical stages include –

- I. **Primitive Communism** – In this mode of production, all are equal and have equal access to forces of production and society is hunting gathering society. Forces of production are at extremely low level and there was de facto equality in society as food is also abundant as population is low. Relations of production were based upon cooperation, rather than domination as ownership of forces of production was communal. With invention of new tools, forces became sophisticated. Communal structure of society starts to break up as new form of social organization emerge with emergence of private ownership. This leads to conflicts and contradiction between erstwhile mode of production and emerging new mode of production which is termed as '*negation of primitive communism*'. Those who held command over tools emerged as 'masters' and those who became dependent became 'slaves' in new mode of production.
- II. **Ancient Slave Mode of Production** – In this mode, some men have control over skills and tools and others were subordinate to them. This mode symbolises ancient slavery in which slaves didn't have control on their labor also. As population further increases, slaves are pressurised to produce more and more and their exploitation increases and slave revolt. New forces of production emerge in form of agriculture and feudalism emerges.
- III. **Feudalism** – In this mode, land was central to economic activity and feudal lords were in control of land and serfs were dependent on feudal lords. In this mode of production, erstwhile masters become feudal lords controlling the land and slaves become serfs.

Serfs were free, but were forced to cultivate on land of feudal lords and have to pay tax and service which kept on rising leading to revolt of serfs when mature conditions arrived. New mode of production in form of capitalism emerged with increase in trade and erstwhile feudal lords became capitalists and serf became workers in factories.

- IV. **Capitalism** – In this mode of production, capital was central to production and society is primarily divided into proletariat and bourgeoisie. Marx argued that capital produces nothing. Only labor produces wealth, yet wages paid are too low. The difference between the two is the '*surplus*' which is gobbled up by capitalists. Workers lose control over their labor as well and start feeling alienated. The most significant contradictions that leads to class conflict in capitalist society is – contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist form of appropriation. It leads to conflict and exploited workers will unite and revolt heralding new mode of production – socialism eventually leading to communism.

Marx terms Feudalism and Capitalism as '*negation of negation*' as these modes of production negate a mode of production which has itself negated another mode of production. Future stages include –

- V. **Socialism** – It is a transitory mode of production in which proletariat will topple bourgeoisie in a revolution and will control forces of production. Marx calls it as '*dictatorship of proletariat*' as, for a short while, worker controls the forces of production.
- VI. **Advanced Communism** – It is the final mode in which forces of production will be communally owned as workers too renounce their rule and everyone will carry on his own creative pursuit and there will be no class in society. There will be no state and a person's true self or being will be re-integrated with oneself. According to Marx, this will be the last mode of production as the contradiction will be resolved in it and hence there will not be any new relations of production. In this mode of production, collective production will remain, but the qualitative nature of relations will be transformed and ownership will also be now collective. Dialectical principle will cease to operate in this mode of production and this stage will be a closing chapter of dialectical materialism.

Thus, Marx' dynamic model of society is based upon following propositions – a continuous change in the forces and relations of production in response to changing material conditions; a continuous struggle between two classes till capitalism and its resolution in socialism and communism; a continuous struggle between man and nature throughout history will be resolved in communism; a continuous struggle to resolve the contradictions of previous stage through process of dialectic; a continuous struggle between being and social being that will end in communism.

General criticism of Marx against his Mode of Production theory is –

- I. First of all, his futuristic communist utopia never arrived even in the communist countries. Proletariats have never taken a leading role in toppling capitalism and

instead, intellectuals have filled the void by coming forward for the cause of the proletariat.

- II. He also suggested that some societies may have different mode of production as in Asia – Asiatic mode of production – which runs counter to his generalised ‘mode of production’ thesis.
- III. His mode of production theory is criticised of narrow empiricism and reductionist in approach. He has also limited his analysis to production and has ignored the aspects related to consumption.
- IV. He has also ignored the feminist dimension of production as patriarchy is also seen as an important factor in the growth of capitalism.
- V. His futuristic modelling smacks his obsession with social justice and communism is widely viewed as utopian.

MARX on INDIVIDUAL

According to Marx, man is perpetually dissatisfied, he creates new needs once existing needs are satisfied. Marx, however, sees man as driven by structure of society and subordinate to it. Individual consciousness is shaped by the production process. Consciousness is a function of the person’s position in the production process i.e. forces and relations of production influence human thoughts.

Marx’ view on individual are further elaborated in his idea of ‘being’. According to him, there two essential aspects of human nature, first which is constant and other which changes with changes in production.

- I. The constant part is called ‘**being**’ and is perpetually dissatisfied and creative. Man tends to create things which are expression of his creativity. Once the society limits the creativity of individual, he feels alienated.
- II. The other part of human nature is governed by a person’s social position. This is referred as ‘**social being**’. It is identified by the work done by the individual. In the existing societies, man is identified by his ‘social being’ and not by his ‘being’. Similarly, in existing societies, individual consciousness is determined by his ‘social being’, rather than his ‘being’.

Marx also talks of basic predominant nature of ‘social being’ in different societies. For example – In capitalist societies, social being is selfish, on the other hand in Communism it becomes cooperative.

ALIENATION

Marx believed that there is an inherent relation between labor and human nature and that this relation is perverted by capitalism. He calls this perverted relation as ‘*alienation*’. It explains the peculiar form that our relation to our own labor has taken under capitalism and labor in capitalism is no longer seen as serving purpose of human existence. Rather than being an end in itself – an expression of human capabilities – labor in capitalism is reduced to being a means to

an end i.e. earning money for the capitalists. Labor is now owned by the capitalist, it no longer transforms the workers, they get alienated from it and ultimately from themselves. Alienation is an example of the sort of contradiction that Marx's dialectical approach focused on. There is a real contradiction between human nature – which is defined and transformed by labor – and the actual social conditions of labor under capitalism. Thus, Marx uses this concept to show the devastating effect of the capitalist production on human beings and on the society.

Concept of alienation occupies a central role in Marxian understanding of exploitation and he dwell on it in his works '*Economic and Political Manuscripts, 1844*'. Alienation literally means separation from. Marx sees this separation in multiple dimensions. It is a feeling of estrangement and disenchantment from a group, a situation, society and even with oneself. It also refers to a situation of powerlessness, isolation and meaninglessness experienced by the people when they confront social institutions which they cannot control and consider oppressive. It is the breakdown of the natural interconnection among people and what they produce.

History of mankind has a dual aspect according to Marx – '*It was a history of increasing control of man over nature, at the same time it was history of increasing alienation of man*'. Primitive man felt alienated with nature as nature was too overpowering. Man devised means of production and forces of production to overpower nature, but alienation is transferred from natural sphere to social sphere. As man goes from one mode of production to another, alienation increases and in those modes of production, '*It is not the consciousness of the man that determines their existence, but on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousnesses*'. Hence, man becomes a slave of production and his individuality is lost. According to Marx, individual is essentially creative and his true consciousness is defined by his 'being', however man in a mode of production is identified by his 'social being' which is based on his work. Man uses his creativity to shape his material world. But his creativity is objectified as he loses control over what he produces.

Marx gives primary importance to alienation at workplace as it is part of economic infrastructure which shapes the superstructure. Work is considered central in the life of individual – it is an expression of creative 'being' of men. So, alienation of labor is key to alienation of human beings.

Its cause lies in the uneven structure of capitalism itself. Historically, in different modes of production, the economic infrastructure or the production process constrains the individual's creativity i.e. his being. When man feels unable to find expression of his creativity, he feels alienated. This happens in every hitherto existing society.

Alienation happens in two ways –

- I. In a given mode of production, it increases with time. This is because material forces become stronger and control over forces of production becomes tighter leading to increasing exploitation. For example – slaves in Ancient mode of production become

more alienated as they are burdened with more work and less food. Similarly, in feudalism also, taxes and hardship on serfs increases with time.

- II. Its degree increases as mode of production itself changes. Marx says, '*History of mankind is a history of alienation*'. It is least in primitive communism and peaks in capitalism and work becomes a suffering in capitalism.

Commodity Fetishism is a concept which is closely related to Marxian idea of capitalistic production. It is a condition under capitalism under which social relations become expressed as relations between things. Marx' work on commodity fetishism is central to highlight the social structure of a capitalist society in relation to human potential. By starting with the commodity, Marx is able to reveal the nature of capitalism. According to Marx, 'commodity' is a product of labor of man. Earlier, commodities were produced by man for satisfaction of his needs and personal use and hence, they had 'use value' according to Marx, but in modern capitalist industries when worker is not entitled to the fruit of his work, they have now 'exchange value'. Use value is connected to the intimate relation between human needs and the actual objects that can satisfy those needs. It is difficult to compare the use values of different things. For example, bread has the use value of satisfying hunger and shoes have the use value of protecting our feet and the two cannot be compared as both are 'qualitatively' different. But in capitalism commodities come in the market and are exchanged for money and other things as they are now only 'quantitatively' different. Commodities are the products of human labor, but they can become separated from the needs and purposes of their creators and the exchange value floats free from the actual commodity and seems to exist in a realm separate from any human use. In capitalism, it seems that the commodities and the market for them have independent existences. As the commodities take on an independent, almost mystical external reality, they appear like fetishes to those who produce them. By fetish, Marx meant a thing that we ourselves make and then worship as if it were a god or spirit. In capitalism, the products that we make, their values, and the economy that consists of our exchanges all seem to take on lives of their own, separate from any human needs or decisions. Even our own labor – the thing that, according to Marx, makes us truly human – becomes a commodity that is bought and sold. Our labor acquires an exchange value that is separate from us. Thus, commodities become source of alienation. Marx called this process the *fetishism of commodities*. The concept takes us from the level of the individual actor to the level of large-scale social structures – religious, political, and organizational structures – and people reify the whole range of social relationships and social structures in the same way as people reify commodities and other economic phenomena.

Marx explains alienation in capitalist mode of production in the chapter '*Fetishism of Commodities*' in his '*Das Capital, 1867*'. In capitalism, the commodities which are produced in factory and are sold in market become fetishes as they have to purchase in market what they produced in factory. They assume their own importance as if they have their own powerful existence. Labor of workers become dependent on production of these commodities. Very survival of workers becomes dependent on the commodities. This fetishism or fixation of commodities prevents workers from seeing the actual reality behind it. Workers start to treat commodities as if value is inherent in them at the expense of their own labor which is the real force that produces the commodities. Its other dimension is that relations between man and man become insignificant and more value is given to relations between the things. Labor of man is also commoditized.

Marx considers four dimensions of alienation in capitalism –

- I. Alienation from the process of production – Process of production is defined irrespective of individuality of workers. It is fixed and workers cannot change it. Workers only man the machines which are given more importance. Worker loses control over production
- II. Alienation from the product – In capitalism, product doesn't belong to those who produce it, but to capitalist. Workers don't have any control over quantity, quality or nature of the product. Moreover, same product has to be purchased from the market leading to sense of alienation from the product.
- III. Alienation from the fellow workers – Work is compartmentalized and a worker gets no time to interact with others, either inside or outside the workplace.
- IV. Alienation from oneself and one's potential – In such a situation worker feels so helpless that they even doubt their own existence. Work is not a choice, but a compulsion. '*Work is external to the worker, it is not a part of his nature*'. He loses control over his own thoughts also, as none of his thoughts can be transformed into reality. He gets alienated from his thoughts also. This is peak of alienation.

These four dimensions lead to '*inversion of subject-object relationship*'. Alienation is not a result of impersonal market forces, but relationship between men.

Solution to alienation was visualized in a state when production process was overhauled and relations of production modified. It happens in communism where forces of production will be collectively owned. In communism only, being of man is truly realized and he goes for all the creative pursuits that were inhibited in earlier modes of production.

Marx' idea of alienation is criticized on following grounds –

- I. Karl Popper says that alienation can be breeding ground for creative ideas also.
- II. Durkheim had highlighted that anomie and alienation can be corrected by existing structures also.
- III. Goldthorpe and Lockwood in their Affluent Worker study highlight that work is just a means to an end which is better standards of living. Workers are more concerned about the latter. Workers are more concerned about what happens outside the factory and it shapes their behaviors and attitude more than the work itself. Workers can satisfy their expressive and affective needs through family relationships.
- IV. According to C W Mills in his study of middle class entitled '*White Collar, 1951*', it is not just the working class that suffers alienation, but white collared staff also witness alienation. Even white collar staff has to assume a false personality at work in terms of fake smiles, artificial politeness etc which alienates them from their true self. According to him, their personality is also sold to employer.
- V. Robert Blauner in his study '*Alienation and Freedom. 1964*' has highlighted that alienation depends on technology used at work. In different industries using different technologies, degree of alienation is also different. Different technologies provide for different degree of control workers have on their own work and different degree of sense of meaning in their work. Different technology also allows different levels of social

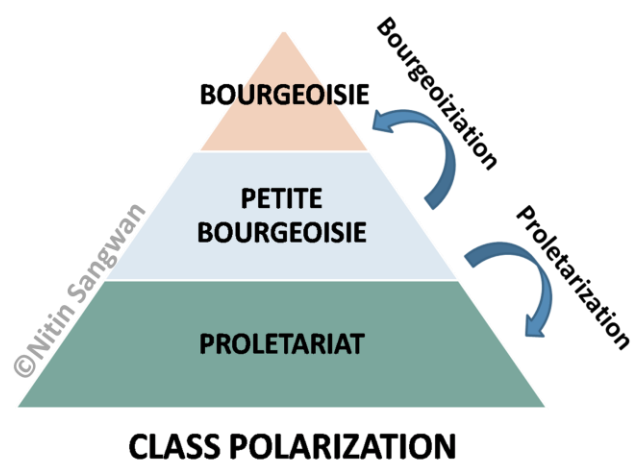
integration as well. For example – printing jobs involve workers creative inputs and division of labor is not very high and hence alienation is minimum on the other hand, automated automotive assembly lines are the most extreme form of alienation. He rejects the Marxian notion that workers in industrial society are autonomously alienated. He divides the concept of alienation into 4 dimensions – degree of control workers have over their work, the degree of meaning and sense of purpose they find in work, the degree to which they are socially integrated into work and the degree to which they are involved in their work. He finally concludes that change in technology used can go a long way in solving the problem of alienation. However, Marxian argue back that Blauner missed the big picture. Marx never said that industrialization leads to alienation, but it is the capitalism which leads to alienation.

- VI. Max Weber say over bureaucratization of society leads to alienation as man is guided by fixed rules and his creativity is suffocated.

CLASS and SOCIETY

Class is the fundamental unit of organization according to Marx and society is always divided into opposing classes. *'Man is born in a society in which property relations have already been determined. Just as a man cannot chose who his father will be, he has no choice over his class as well'* said Marx famously. Class is central concept in Marxian writings to understand society as a whole. In his seminal work *'Das Capital, 1867'* Marx writes that class results from the relations of production which create different positions and he defines it as *'A group of people sharing the same position in the process of production'*. However, he saw a class more than this and he saw it in terms of potential for conflict and a class truly exists only when people become aware of their conflicting relation to other classes.

Marx sees two broad classes in every society – the haves and the have nots. As mankind progressed from primitive communism, surplus started to emerge and some men started to control the forces of production and unequal relations of production emerged. This led to first class formation. In ancient society masters, in feudal society feudal lords and in capitalist society capitalists are 'the haves'. The haves are owners of forces of production and are dominant in society. Marx also talks of intermediate classes also. In his *'Revolutions and Counter-revolutions in Germany'*, he talks about 8 classes and in his *'Class Struggle in France'* he talks about six classes. However, he contends that as history proceeds, all the intermediary classes will be absorbed into two broad strata through the process of *'class polarization'*. Polarization involves



two processes – Bourgeoisisation which involves upward mobility and proletarianisation which involves downward mobility. Polarization will occur with increasing exploitation and will also be accompanied by class antagonism or class struggle.

Marx also sees class in terms of its objective and subjective expression in form of 'class in itself' and 'class for itself'. For Marx, a class truly exists only when people become aware of their conflicting relation to other classes. Without this awareness, they only constitute what Marx called a class in itself. When they become aware of the conflict, they become a true class, a class for itself.

- I. **'Class in itself'** is the objective manifestation of class. It is like a 'category' which is seen by others as so and the members are not aware of being part of a common stratum. It is only an analytical construct to Marx in order to stratify position. It is by virtue of people having a common relationship to the means of production. It is solely defined by position in relations of production. For example – Proletariat are a class in itself because they have some common attribute like – lack of ownership of production means. A 'class in itself' becomes a 'class for itself' when the contradiction between the consciousness of its members and the reality of their situation ends.
- II. On the other hand, **'Class for itself'** is a class in which workers are aware of their common condition, their mission etc and develops only when class consciousness develops among workers themselves. They start to see through the condition of exploitation and can themselves realize the unequal terms of production. It is a social class which has been defined on the basis of subjective criterion. It is only when workers become 'class for itself' that they will be in a position to unite against the capitalist. It is the phase which is a pre-condition for the change of mode of production to socialism. Transformation from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself' is governed by ever increasing exploitation, communal working in a factory and rising gap between the haves and the have nots. Polarization of two classes will further hasten process. Polarization will occur as a result of increasing mechanization and homogenization of workforce. As two strata become clear in their formation, the fault lines will also become apparent. According to Marx, the capitalist society by its very nature is unstable as it is based on contradictions and antagonisms which can be resolved only by its transformation. According to Marx, class in itself becomes a class for itself only in capitalist mode of production, as in earlier modes of production, change of mode of production resulted only in replacement of one set of contradiction by the other and no qualitative change in relationships of production occurs. Before communism arrives, 'class for itself' is merely transitory in nature as old contradiction is replaced with the new contradictions. Final transition of class in itself to class for itself occurs only in communism.

Marx sees classes in society in terms of antagonistic cooperation. So, **'Class Struggle'** is also inherent in Marxian conception of class. In each mode of production, the haves and the have nots enter into relations of production. Due to antagonistic cooperation, classes enter into struggle which keep on increasing. According to Marx – *'History of hitherto existing societies is*

history of class struggle'. He also states that – '*Class struggle acts as motor of the history*' – i.e. conflict between the two classes in every mode of production is the force behind historical developments. New things and new modes of production emerge as a result of class struggle. Class struggle is not smooth and is mediated by a number of factors and situations. Forces of production keep on changing which require entirely new set of relations of production. Old relations come into conflict with new relations thereby contributing to class struggle. For example – In feudal system, industrial production emerged which required geographically mobile labor, whereas agricultural production required people tied to their lands. Inherent contradiction in production process becomes a basis for class struggle. The interests of haves and the have nots are opposite leading to antagonistic relations. Increase in prices benefits only the capitalists and rise in wages is never proportionate.

Marx also sees increasing class struggle in terms of increasing alienation – which is a situation of separation. Productive forces constrain individual creativity, thereby leading to alienation. The alienation and class struggle reaches at its peak in capitalism.

Mechanism of class struggle differs in different societies depending upon the factors and situation. However, its fundamental nature remains same. The mechanism is same in ancient and feudal mode, but different in capitalist mode. In ancient and feudal mode, the have nots and their struggle was supported by the 'emerging class' which is representative of new forces of production. This emerging class people from the haves of new mode of production. Thus, ironically, the have nots in their own struggle, actually fulfill the interests of emerging class resulting in a situation of farce. The have nots get the same exploitative deal which they want to change. Their attempt to change or revolution turns out to be farce. The have nots fall into another exploitative relations which is a tragedy for them and they move from tragedy to farce again. In feudal system also, the serfs were aided by some enterprising feudal lords who pioneered the factory system of production. According to Marx, '*History repeats itself, first as a tragedy, then as a farce*'.

In capitalistic mode of production, people don't have any alternative and alienation is at its peak. While in earlier modes of production, class struggle resulted into mere change of mode of production with cosmetic change in relations of production, in capitalistic mode of production qualitative change happens. It is only in capitalistic mode of production that workers gained a critical mass in terms of 'true consciousness', leadership, ideology and change the structure itself. Thus, the ensuing revolution is for emancipation of all and end of perpetual class struggle as well and is a true revolution. According to Marx, revolution will not come on its own, but is possible only if some mature conditions exist. These mature conditions include – a critical mass of workers having consciousness, network of communication among workers, clear perception of common enemy, appropriate organization and an ideology which is generated by a leadership.

Workers' revolution will result into a state of transition where they will take over the state and abolish all the private property. The production will be communally owned. Each one will get according to one's need and not according to one's greed. This stage Marx refers to as socialism.

Workers will also further renounce their rule leading to state of communism where there will be no class and hence no class struggle.

General criticism of class struggle theory –

- I. Marx' futuristic conception failed to take shape even 130 years after his demise. Industrial capitalism has in fact grown stronger and socialist experiments have failed worldwide and communism is still a utopian concept. The qualitative transformation he talked so vociferously never happened.
- II. Frank Parkin in his '*Class Inequality and Political Order, 1972*' points out that classes exist even in socialist countries.
- III. Contrary to Marxian prediction that class struggle will intensify, it has moderated in most of the Europe which is epitome of capitalism. Workers themselves have become affluent and now have a stake in capitalist economy. Class is, in fact, given more importance as it is now used as a source of identity.
- IV. Weber and others have highlighted that apart from economic basis, there are other basis of stratification in society.
- V. Lenski asserts that even breakdown of capitalism may not lead to socialism, as other modes of production may emerge.
- VI. According to Dahrendorf, contrary to Marx' prediction, the manual working class has become increasingly heterogeneous or dissimilar.

In this, light, modern Marxists like Ralf Dahrendorf contend that modern capitalism has modified itself. Though Marxian ideas still hold, their context has changed. He also contends that classes have further fragmented as division of labor becomes more specialized. In fact, inequalities are now at individual level.

Marx says '*Capitalism sows its own seeds of destruction*' as Marx believed that capitalism was an exploitative and oppressive system, but was nevertheless a necessary and progressive stage of human history because it created the preconditions for an egalitarian future free from both exploitation and poverty. Capitalism is an inherently unstable system as it is based on contradictions and exploitation. There is also a contradiction between social production, but individual ownership by the capitalist. Apart from this contradiction, a process of class polarization will further make class divide more acute. Intermediate classes will merge into a single proletariat as mechanical production reduces semi-skilled, skilled workers in single category. Due to competition, only large companies will survive and wealth will be concentrated in hands of a few only. Further, capitalism provides the masses an opportunity to organize themselves for ultimate social change, thus sowing seeds for its self-destruction. Even when two classes are objectively opposed to each other, they do not automatically engage in conflict. For conflict to occur it is necessary for them to become subjectively conscious of their class interests and identities, and therefore also of their rivals' interests and identities. It is only after this kind of 'class consciousness' is developed through political mobilization that class conflicts occur.

Marx is still relevant in explaining conflict in various aspect of life. His concepts are still relevant in understanding social order, social problems and individual. Many great scholars like Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Habermas, Gramsci, Althusser carried forward Marxist ideas into newer fields of

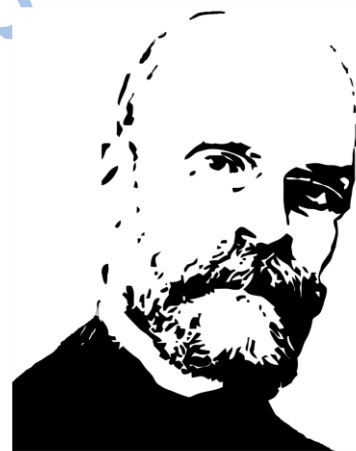
sociological study. Neo-Marxists understand today's world order in terms of neo-colonialism. World System Theory of Wallerstein is an example of re-definition of Marxian paradigm in a global set up. Similarly in India also, Naxal issue can be seen from Marxist lens.

Failure of socialist countries is cited by the detractors of Marxism as failure of Marxism, but they fail to notice that the proclaimed socialism was never similar to Marxist socialism and was at best pseudo-socialism which was more suffocating than emancipatory in nature. Ideals of equality were never practiced in these socialist countries and instead state acted as supra-power.

Some also accuse Marx of being economic determinist or reductionist, but they fail to notice that he also acknowledges influence of social superstructure on economic infrastructure. Further, Marx has also acknowledged that there was a different mode of production in Asia. While explaining 'mature conditions', he also acknowledges influence of leadership and ideology as well.

Durkheim – Division of Labor, Social Fact, Suicide, Religion and Society

Emile Durkheim was one of the pioneers of the discipline of sociology and was also founder scholar of functionalist tradition in sociology along with Spencer and Comte. However, it was Durkheim who gave distinctive sociological explanations in the field of functional analysis for the first time. He was also the one who is credited to liberate the budding discipline from the mysterious methods and terminology of theology and philosophy. According to him, individual is subordinate to society and is also governed by it. *'Society has a reality of its own over and above the individuals who comprise it'* said Durkheim.



EMILE DURKHEIM

He is considered father of sociology for following reasons –

- I. He attempted to develop a 'science' of society in form of sociology by clarifying its subject matter as 'study of social facts' and suggested scientific methods for its study.
- II. For the first time, he gave distinctively sociological explanations in his 'causal functional theories'. For example – theory of suicide and theory of religion.
- III. He developed methods specific to sociology and also demonstrated its use in its theories.
- IV. He also established first ever department of sociology in Europe and was first professor of sociology.

His methodology remains same during all his works – At the outset, he provides a fitting irrefutable definition of the phenomenon. Secondly, he refutes existing explanations and finally he gives a distinctively sociological explanation of the given phenomenon.

SOCIAL FACTS

Durkheim was highly influenced by the approach of natural sciences and inspired by that he saw discovery of universal social laws as a solution to the problems of society. His theory of 'social facts' is significant because, according to Susan Jones in her *'What Does Durkheim Mean by 'Thing'?*, 1996', it was crucial in separating the new discipline from philosophical discourse. To

discover such universal laws, the first precondition was that there should exist some 'social facts' in society like natural facts in natural world. According to him, just as behavior of matter in nature can be regarded as a reaction to natural stimuli, behavior of man can also be seen as a response to the external constrain of such social facts.

In his first monogram titled '*Montesquieu and Rousseau, 1892*' he laid down the general conditions for the establishment of a science of society. According to him, a social science should –

- I. Deal with 'specific subject matter' and not total knowledge that is around
- II. Aim at identifying the 'general types' rather than describing individual types
- III. Have a definite and observable field to explore and it should study objective reality
- IV. Its subject matter should yield general principles or laws
- V. Finally, science needs 'methods' and the methods similar to natural science can also be used in social science as well

Durkheim further clarifies the scope and methodology of sociology in his book '*The Rules of Sociological Method, 1895*'. According to him, task of sociologist is to study 'social facts' as 'things' as we study things in natural world. He defined social facts as '*social facts are ways of acting, thinking and feeling which are external to the individual and are endowed with the 'power of coercion' by reason of which they control of him*'. He considers social facts as those phenomena which exist outside the individual as a force which coerce the individual to think, act and feel in a particular manner. The task of sociology is to identify and study such social phenomenon or social facts.

Social facts, thus can be understood by their four characteristics –

- I. **Externality** – Social facts exist outside the individual and must be seen apart from the individual. These are '*sui-generis*' (coming into existence on their own as a part of autonomous development of society). They are expressions of autonomous development of society.
- II. **Constraining** – The social facts exercise constraining influence over the individual action. The constraint is in nature of coercion. The existence of constraints makes social facts as real as constraint is visible in terms of its consequences.
- III. **Generality** – Social facts are general in nature and must not be confused with the individual interpretations or 'individual facts'. These are in the form of generalized perception which is understood by all individuals in same manner. Durkheim rejects the study of exceptions and focuses upon identification of 'general types'. For example – he studies religion as a general type and not a particular religion.
- IV. **Independence** – Social facts are independent of the will of the individual. Individuals cannot change the social facts, but rather opposite is true.

Thus, Durkheim kept social facts above individual. According to him, social facts are not abstract phenomena and they can be visualized as objective reality. Durkheim conceded that social facts are difficult to study as they seem intangible and hence cannot be observed directly. In '*The*

Rules of Sociological Method, 1895, Durkheim differentiated between two broad types of social facts — **material** and **nonmaterial** Social Facts. Although he dealt with both in the course of his work, his main focus was on nonmaterial social facts – for example, culture, social institutions, morality, collective conscience, social currents etc – rather than material social facts – for example, styles of architecture, forms of technology, division of labor and legal codes. He concluded that earlier societies were held together primarily by nonmaterial social facts, specifically, a strongly held common morality, or what he called a strong collective conscience. He saw social facts along a continuum of materiality. The sociologist usually begins a study by focusing on material social facts, which are empirically accessible, in order to understand nonmaterial social facts which are abstract in nature and hence difficult to grasp and can be studied only indirectly with the help of material social facts.

For this, Durkheim suggested that social acts should be studied in terms of their effects or consequences in society. While doing so, scientific approach should be adopted and the researcher should be objective in approach without any bias or ideology.

There are two ways which can explain social facts –

- I. Determining cause of social facts – According to him, cause of social fact lies in another social fact. For example – cause of suicide doesn't lie in individual's will, but should be explored through various social facts like – population, integration, social order and so on.
- II. Determining functions of social facts – According to him, social facts perform certain 'functional pre-requisites' of society. Most important of which maintenance of social order. According to him, 'collective conscience' is that social fact that maintains social order. It has constraining effect individuals which affect their actions. Thus, society manifests itself in individual activities.

To visualize them as objective reality, he suggested certain 'rules of studying the social facts' which were explained in his *'The Rules of Sociological Method, 1895'* as a part of Durkheim's bid to establish a distinct methodology of sociology. The rules included –

- I. **Rules of observation** – Social facts should be studied as 'things'. Their reality can be observed objectively. Although, these may seem to be abstract, every social fact has some representation which exists in the form of objective manifestation of the social facts. It is through these manifestations that social facts can be observed as things. Durkheim called representations as 'collective representations' in the form of different types of 'symbols' which denote different types of social facts. Social facts must be observed as things in order to study them objectively. It will help us to view them as definite reality rather than as abstract phenomenon.
- II. **Rules of classification** – Durkheim says that every social fact is not unique, but part of a broad classification. Different types of social facts can be identified as –
 - a. Structural or Morphological Facts – These are the facts which give a particular society its appearance.

- b. Institutional Social Facts – These are facts which are institutionalized and accepted by the people. These include – religion, division of labor, rate of suicide etc.
 - c. Non-Institutional Social Facts – These are the facts which are not still accepted by the people, but have a potential of exerting constraints on individuals. They rise spontaneously and may or may not sustain. For example – mob behavior, crowd behavior etc. They are also termed as ‘socio-currents’.
- III. **Rules of distinction** – While studying social facts, a distinction must be made between ‘normal’ and ‘pathological’ state. Social facts remain in general in normal state, but sometimes in certain situation also display pathological characteristics. Social facts are considered normal when they are present in their general form and fulfill some functions of for society. They may become dysfunctional in their pathological state. For example – certain rate of crime is considered normal, when it increases beyond a certain level, it morphs into pathological.
- IV. **Rules of Explanation** – In order to explain social facts, Durkheim prescribes certain rules, like –
 - a. The investigator should observe complete objectivity and personal preoccupations and biases should be eradicated while studying the social facts.
 - b. Methods used by the natural sciences should be used to study social facts. He himself demonstrated use of methods like – concomitant variations, indirect experimentation, statistical techniques etc in his various explanations. His theory of suicide is a classical exhibition of use of quantitative methods in sociology till date. Similarly, indirect experimentation has also in his theory of religion.
 - c. Explanation of social facts must yield general theories. Durkheim proposed formulation of causal-functional theory, emphasizing on separation of cause and function in order to prevent illegitimate teleologies.

Criticism of Social Fact theory of Durkheim –

- I. Heidleman considers that Durkheim is more concerned about making of society, rather than describing a methodology for it.
- II. His emphasis on universalistic and general theories didn’t have much practical significance for their all encompassing nature. According to Merton, middle range theories are required.
- III. Stephen Lukes in his ‘*Power: A Radical View, 1974*’ contends that Durkheim has glorified empiricism and moralism and hence neglected emotions and individual subjectivity.
- IV. Peter Berger accuses him of doing an injustice to discipline by ignoring individual human behavior in his bid to objectivity. Further, objectivity is not possible in social observation.
- V. He couldn’t explain why same social facts influences different individuals differently
- VI. According to Weber, ‘*Social facts don’t exist as things in their own right waiting to be gathered like pebbles on beach*’. Social facts lie inside an individual and their influence is

on the basis of individual's own interpretation of social fact. In a nutshell, instead of a purely macro perspective, a micro view is also required in understanding of society.

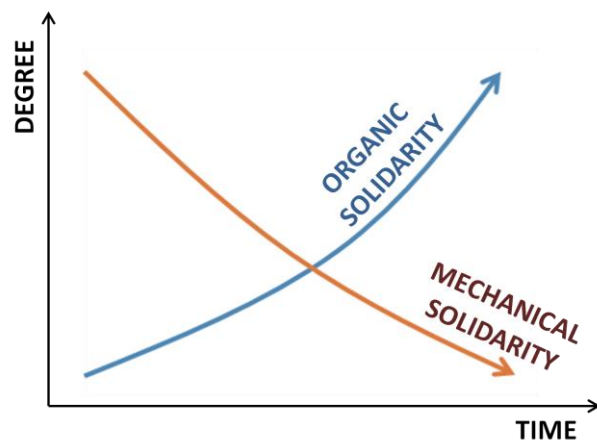
DIVISION of LABOR

In the background of the upheaval in French society, Durkheim was concerned with the maintenance of solidarity and social order in the society. He states that – '*In the modern society where differentiation, heterogeneity and complexity exists, what holds the society together?*'. He attempts an explanation of it in his '*Division of Labor in Society, 1893*' as a part of his doctoral thesis which, according to Tiryakian, is now regarded as the first classic of sociology. It was written at a time when there was a widespread feeling of moral crisis in France and Durkheim wanted to find a solution to it in form of bringing the social order back in shape. While Marx was pessimistic about the division of labor, Durkheim was cautiously optimistic. Through this work, he also rejected the view of Comte that high division of labor is the cause of disorder in French society. He also rejected the view of earlier economists and philosophers – especially Hedonists and Utilitarian – and argued that as it is not based upon individual's interest, pleasure or utility. He explained that morality in society has not come down, but it has been replaced by a 'new morality'.

Since division of labor is a social phenomenon, according to Durkheim, its cause must also be social. Division of labor is splitting of activities in a number of parts or smaller processes undertaken by different persons or groups. It implies specialization within particular activities or occupations. Occupational differentiation is symbolic of division of labor. Durkheim considered division of labor as social phenomenon and rejected all classical and neo-classical economic explanations of division of labor. Earlier explanations understood it in terms of increasing productivity and hence profit. Durkheim argued that division of labor exists not only in economic activities, but in all spheres of life. For example – Even at home there is a domestic division of labor. Therefore it is a social phenomenon.

According to Durkheim, it is a social fact and is a product of autonomous development of society and is '*sui-generis*'. He developed causal functional explanations of division of labor in order to prove it as a social fact.

To explain the cause of division of labor, he employed an evolutionary perspective. In primitive societies, division of labor is very low and in modern societies it is very high. According to him, in primitive societies, the actions of individual are controlled by the 'norms' and 'values' of society or the 'collective conscience' of society. But in modern society, the control of norms and values has weakened and strength



of 'collective' conscience is weak.

Primitive society is 'segmentary' in nature where people used to live in independent segments. Life is simple and all the individuals perform similar activities. 'Collective conscience' is very strong. Durkheim calls this state as '**Mechanical Solidarity**' i.e. solidarity due to likeness. Such societies are very religious, very few specializations are there and people are living together. Finally, laws in such societies are repressive – conformity to the social norms is must and there is minimum deviation. Population is also very low i.e. '*material density*' is low. Further, interaction between segments of population is also low i.e. '*moral density*' is also low.

Durkheim believed that the cause of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity was '*dynamic density*' which refers to the number of people in a society or moral density and the amount of interaction that occurs among them i.e. moral density. With time, population increases resulting into increase in the material density. This increased chances of interaction. Durkheim calls it increase in moral density. A situation exists when there is a high degree of interaction between different segments. People from different segments have now access to activities prevailing in other segments. It results into competition or struggle for the existing occupations and the fittest survive in an existing occupation and the unfit creates the new occupations and specializations. Thus, the problems associated with dynamic density are resolved through differentiation. It initiates a never ending process of division of labor and emergence of an organic solidarity based society.

Mechanical Solidarity based Society	Organic Solidarity based Society
Differentiation in such society is very low and is primarily based on age and sex	There is complex differentiation in such society
Division of functions is simple	Division of functions is complex and there is great degree of interdependence
All members are alike and have great collective conscience	Members become differentiated and interdependent
It has repressive laws to ensure conformity to will of community	Laws are reformative
Mechanical solidarity is prevalent in the entire society	Organic solidarity is there among particular groups which are interdependent

Durkheim also envisages division of labor as functional and he enumerates its various functions. First of all, the increased division of labor makes for greater efficiency, with the result that resources increase, making the competition over them more peaceful. Society is now based upon heterogeneity of relationships with high degree of material and moral density. In modern societies collective conscience is weak and hence the binding force is also weak. Supreme value is attached to the individual. Durkheim calls such society as being based upon '**Organic Solidarity**' i.e. solidarity based on differences and dependency. With the increase of the volume of population, material and moral density also increase. Division of labor is a peaceful solution to the needs created by the increase of population, in size and density. In absence of strong

collective conscience, it integrates modern societies. The society is secular, laws are reformative and restitutive. In this context, he explains following functions of division of labor –

- I. Integration of society – Division of labor is the basis of organic character of the society in which people are different, but still live together because of functional interdependence upon each other. The social life has become highly complex and existence of an individual is not possible without an indirect association with the others. Although at conscious level an individual may feel independent, but at unconscious level he is dependent upon so many people.
- II. Individual autonomy for the individual – According to Durkheim modern society is based upon mass production of goods and services. Needs of people are increasing and leading to further specialization. Individuals are now relatively free and hence have better freedom to innovate. Thus, division of labor grants autonomy to individual.

Durkheim finally states that, '*Individual while becomes autonomous comes to depend more heavily on society*'. Division of labor fulfills dual needs of both individual autonomy and integration of society.

As social facts can have abnormal forms also, division of labor also has certain abnormal forms as it is also a social fact. Study of abnormal states is necessary to get a better understanding of normal state also. There are primarily three '**abnormal forms of division of labor**' –

- I. **Anomic division of labor** – Anomie is a state of normlessness in a situation in which people in general don't follow norms attached to their activities. Unchecked division of labor and rapid expansion of industrial activity leads to anomie as social controls are weak. In such a situation, division of labor generates unhealthy competition and becomes dysfunctional. It generally happens during transition phases, for example from shift to mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity as Durkheim noted towards end of 19th century. Durkheim notes that '*The scale is upset, but a new scale cannot be immediately improvised*'. When economic pace is too fast and moral regulation is unable to keep pace with increasing differentiation, it leads to anomic pathological state of division of labor. Durkheim argued that the customary limits to what people want and expect from life are disrupted in times of rapid change. According to Durkheim, desires can be satisfied only when they are limited. In industrial society, desires become unlimited and traditional ceiling on them disintegrates leading to anomie. A new moral consensus on what men can reasonably expect from life is required. Not only rapid change, but the specialized division of labor itself also produces anomie as it promotes self-interest and individualism which is a threat to social unity.

Symptoms of anomie are reflected in high rates of suicide, marital breakup and industrial conflict as desires become limitless and traditional ceiling on desires in disintegrated. Since a new economic consensus doesn't develop immediately, anomie is resulted.

While Marx provided a radical solution to the problem of alienation, Durkheim said that its solution can be found in the existing framework of the society. Self-interest should be

replaced by a code of ethics which emphasizes the need of the society as a whole. Occupational associations can play an important role in this by acting as agents of moral regulation. He saw in professional associations many features which were lacking in business and commerce.

- II. **Inadequate organization or poorly coordinated division of labor** – If work is not organized properly, it creates imbalances and generates conflicts. In this abnormal form the very purpose of division of labor is destroyed. Work is not well organized and coordinated. Workers are often engaged in doing meaningless tasks. There is no unity of action. Thus solidarity breaks down and disorder results.
- III. **Forced division of labor** – For division of labor to generate solidarity, it is not only sufficient that each individual have a specialized task, it is still necessary that this task is appropriate for him. Forced division of labor is a result of those structural conditions in which the distribution of tasks is not in correspondence of with the distribution of talent and will. Such division of labor is based on inequality of opportunity, according to Durkheim, and fails to produce long-lasting solidarity. Such an abnormal form results in individuals becoming frustrated and unhappy with their society. Thus tensions, rivalries and antagonism result.

Abnormal division of labor also explains why there was a situation of chaos in Europe at that time, despite his claim that division of labor brings integrity in society. According to Durkheim division of labor must be kept in a normal state and there must be some mechanism to take care of abnormal forms. Durkheim gives a conception of a socialist state in which division of labor will be kept in normal state by a large number of occupational associations which will implement the ethical code corresponding to their own occupation. This will also help in organizing the work properly. But unlike Marx who suggested a radical solution to overcome alienation, Durkheim believed that solution can be provided within existing framework of society. Self-interest which dominates business and commerce should be replaced by a code of ethics which emphasizes the needs of society as a whole.

DIVISION of LABOR – DURKHEIM and MARX

	DURKHEIM	MARX
Basic approach	Functional	Conflict
Causes of division of labor	Both, Durkheim and Marx make a very clear distinction between division of labor in simple societies and complex industrial societies and acknowledged that division of labor is inevitable.	
	Durkheim explains division of labor in industrial societies as a consequence of increased material and moral density. Specialization makes it possible for harmonious coexistence.	Marx does not see it as a means of cooperation and coexistence. He views it as a process forced upon workers in order that the capitalist might extract profit.

Nature of division of labor	Durkheim sees Division of Labor as functional and leading to cooperation.	Marx sees division of labor as 'Unequal relationship' which legitimizes the relationship between the haves and the have not.
Consequence of division of labor	It leads to integration in society.	It leads to dehumanization of workers and alienation in industrial society.
Solution to the problems related to division of labor	Anomie is abnormal and according to Durkheim can be handled by making workers conscious of their role in society. By making them feel organically linked and involved with the life of society.	According to Marx, capitalism itself is the problem. Problems of alienation can be ended through revolution.

SUICIDE

It was the first serious effort to establish empiricism in sociology. In his theory of suicide, Durkheim attempts to examine a seemingly personal phenomenon in a sociological way. He exhibited the use of scientific methodology in sociology for the first time and showed that '*real laws are discoverable*' in sociology as well. His study of suicide is often taken as a starting point of research methodology in sociology as it is based on data which can be directly observed and measured. This theory is well known for the pragmatic approach of Durkheim in understanding social problems.

Durkheim in his '*Le Suicide, 1897*' defines suicide as '*Suicide is any case of death caused by directly or indirectly, positive or negative action of the victim himself, which he knows will produce this result*'. Positive actions are those actions taken by the individual to end one's life, for example – consuming poison. Negative actions are in form of inaction which causes death, for example – starvation, remaining inside a burning house etc. Indirect causes are those when a person has no intention of dying, though he knows that he may die, as in case of army, fire fighter etc.

As a sociologist, Durkheim was not concerned with studying why any specific individual committed suicide, instead, he was interested in explaining differences in *suicide rates* among different groups.

For the purpose of theory building he took data from police records from various regions of Europe at different time periods. With the help of this data, he established that suicide is a social phenomenon and not an individual phenomenon. He gave following arguments in his support –

- I. Firstly, he proved that suicide cannot be explained through psychological, geographical, climatic, hereditary factors etc and hence rejected existing explanations. He used data to show that there were no positive correlation between rate of suicide and different non-social factors like – temperature, insanity, race, alcoholism etc.
- II. He explains sociological causes of suicide.

- III. He proved that certain rate of suicide is normal for society with the help of statistical data.

Analyzing data from different countries, races etc, he concluded that the factors like – race, hereditary, climate etc don't produce consistent explanations. For example – if temperature were a cause, then warmer countries or for that matter colder countries were expected to have a differential rate of suicide. Similarly, if mental illness were a cause, then there has to be some relations with illness, but neither such causal relation can be established and rate of suicide was found fairly consistent in different countries over the time.

He, therefore, explored causes of suicide by using statistical techniques and found concomitant relation between suicide rate and different social variables attached to the people who committed suicide. Different 'social variables' that were taken by Durkheim were – marital status, rural or urban, developed or under-developed, Protestant or Catholic, Jews or Christians, male or female. He undertook the multivariate analysis to establish concomitant relation between rates of suicides and social factors. He concludes that –

- I. Males have greater suicidal tendency
- II. Rate of suicide is found more among the bachelors as marriage protects individuals against suicide by integrating individuals into stable social relations.
- III. Underdeveloped countries have less rate of suicide than developed
- IV. On the basis of religion, Protestants commit more suicide than Catholic. Durkheim reasoned that since Protestant religion gives its members more freedom of interpretation of religion and free inquiry, and as a result they are less integrated to Church than Catholics.
- V. Some categories of people who are men, Christians and unmarried commit more suicide than women, Jews and married group

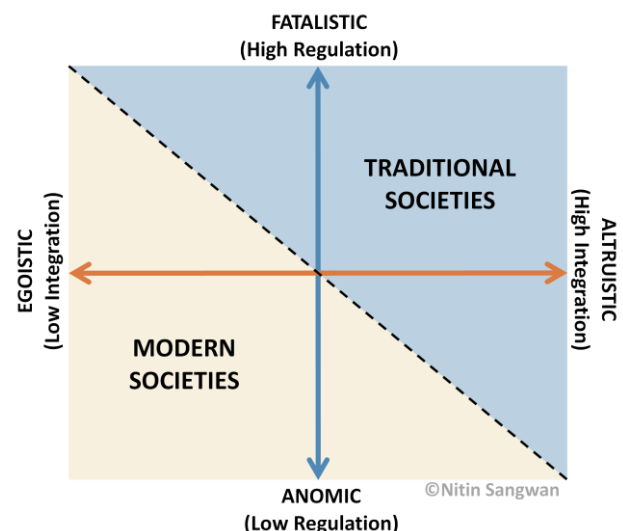
In each of the above cases, he contended that those who have higher tendency of committing suicide are less integrated to society in one way or the other. On the basis of above causal relationship between social variables and suicide rate, Durkheim concluded that suicide is a social phenomenon. According to him, though individual may have some psychological pre-disposition, but it is the impact of suicidogenic impulses which lead to actual suicide. On the basis of his analysis, he identified two types of suicidogenic forces or bonds that integrate individual to the society –

- I. **Forces of integration** – These result into two types of suicides associated with two states of integration – 'over-integration' and 'low integration'.
 - a. **Altruistic suicide** – It results from over-integration of an individual. It is characteristic of traditional societies with high degree of mechanical solidarity. He quoted various examples like – Sati in India, soldiers in war, Japanese kamikaze pilots etc are acts of altruistic suicide. Terrorist attack of 9/11 also qualifies in this category as the terrorists deliberately rammed the airplanes into the Twin Trade Towers.

- b. **Egoistic suicide** – In this case, suicide is result of low integration of individuals in society. Social bonds are feeble and individual feels alienated and they feel that they are not part of society, and this also means that society is not part of the individual as well. Examples of egoistic suicide are – suicide resulting from failure, depression, success, depression etc. Societies which have such values that bind individuals strongly have fewer incidences of egoistic suicides. According to Durkheim, Protestant Christians have higher rates of egoistic suicides than Catholics as Protestantism gives more freedom to individual. Low rates during war time reflect that individuals are more integrated in wake of external threat. According to Durkheim, whereas higher rates of egoistic suicide stem from '*incurable weariness and sad depression*', the increased likelihood of altruistic suicide '*springs from hope, for it depends on the belief in beautiful perspectives beyond this life*'.

II. **Forces of Regulation** – It implies control of individual by the society. There can be further two types of suicide in society – due to over-regulation and under-regulation.

- a. **Anomic suicide** – When the social regulation disappears, people fail to follow the norms and values. Anomie is the result of sudden changes leading to the situations of 'desperation' or 'dejection'. Social regulation over individuals disappears. Such loose regulations generally occur in situation of economic boom or bust and as a result individual's desires either become limitless or confused leading to state of anomie and anomic suicides. Periods of disruption unleash currents of anomie – moods of rootlessness and normlessness – and these currents lead to an increase in rates of anomic suicide. Anomic suicide is further classified as – '*acute economic*', when there is sporadic decrease in ability of traditional institutions to regulate and fulfill social needs; '*chronic economic*', when there is abolition of social regulation, but failure to replace them with new ones; '*acute domestic*' and '*chronic domestic*'. However, likes of Merton argue that anomic condition occur when there is disjunction between structural goals and the means that are available to achieve those goals.



- b. **Fatalistic suicide** – These are the results of excessive control of society over individual, an act of over-regulation. Oppression of individual leads to suffocation and powerlessness. According to Durkheim, '*persons with futures*

pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline' are more likely to commit such suicides. The classic example is the slave who takes his own life because of the hopelessness associated with the oppressive regulation of his every action. Such suicides are rare in modern societies.

Thus, according to Durkheim, a particular case of suicide can be case of problems of integration or regulation. In traditional societies, altruistic and fatalistic suicides were more prevalent as individual was over-regulated and over-integrated.

So, suicide is a result of suicidogenic forces comprising of varying state of integration and regulation in society. These forces are conceptualized in form of social currents in society. If an individual comes under influence of these currents, he has a tendency to commit suicide.

Finally, Durkheim acknowledges that there may be a secondary role of psychological factors too, but the real cause of suicide is social. He concludes that rates of suicide are fairly consistent in different societies, making it a social phenomenon, linked with nature of a particular society. A particular rate is normal in society as it highlights the problem of integration and regulation.

Once suicide is committed, the whole society works to reinforce appropriate levels of integration and regulation. If suicide rate increases beyond certain limit, it becomes pathological or abnormal.

Criticism of his theory of suicide is –

- I. J M Atkinson in his '*Discovering Suicide, 1978*' contends that quality of statistics used by Durkheim is questionable. For example, there is evidence to suggest that religious censure of suicide is Catholics than among Protestants. As a result, Catholics may go to a great length in disguising suicides. Similarly, higher rates of suicide in some countries over others may be due to different methods of investigations used in different countries.
- II. His data has poor reliability as it is taken from police station which doesn't include unreported suicides.
- III. He also didn't include 'attempted suicides'.

RELIGION and SOCIETY

Durkheim's theory of religion is also borne out of his concerns for social order and integration. He evolved a functional explanation of existence of religion in the world and observes its existence as a social fact and not a supernatural phenomenon. It was also partly in reaction to the existing explanations of religion which Durkheim deemed as 'non-sociological' explanation especially that of Tylor's animistic theory based on supernatural and of Max Muller based on nature-myth.

He dwells upon idea of religion in his '*Elementary Forms of Religious Life, 1912*' and he defines religion as '*A unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things, that is to say – things set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite them into a single moral community, for all those who adhere to them*'. According to Durkheim, beliefs are 'system of

ideas' which explain the sacred, they constitute of myths, spiritual ideas, ethical code etc. Practices are rites or rituals explaining individual's behavior towards the sacred. There are two types of such rites – positive and negative. Positive rites bring individual and sacred together and are easier to perform, for example – worship. Negative rites help in maintaining the distance between the two and keep them separated, for example – fasting, sacrifice etc. These are difficult to perform

His concept of religion is based on his systematic view of society. According to him, society consists of two parts – the sacred and the profane and this process of dividing the world into the sacred and the profane starts with the totems. **'The sacred'** are the things which are set apart and are forbidden. Sacred refers to all the things which are connected to supernatural. A relationship of distance and fear is maintained with respect to these things. **'Profane'** are the things apart from the sacred. It includes all the day-to-day things which people use in their lives. Sacred and profane are two worlds apart and both are mutually exclusive.

Durkheim also gave a causal explanation of religion by using method of '*indirect experimentation*'. Modern religion is complex and full of variations, so, establishing a causal linkage is difficult. But at the same time, the simple forms of religion exist if the cause of such simpler forms is established; the same will apply to the modern religions also.

Durkheim conducted an experiment on simplest form of religion i.e. 'totemism' in which totems are worshipped. Durkheim argued that the totem is nothing but the representation of the clan itself. He drew this analysis from the study of religious practices among 'Arunta' – the Australian aborigines. If cause of totem is established, same will be the cause of modern religion.

Primitive men were wanderers and they kept on moving from one place to another. Occasionally when they came together for some purpose (for clan festivals etc) and interacted on such occasions, they felt different. This feeling disappeared, once they separated. Individuals who experience the heightened energy of social force in a gathering of the clan seek some explanation for this state. According to primitive logic, they explained this feeling in terms of presence of some supernatural force. But, according to Durkheim, the gathering itself was the real cause and it was a showcase of social forces. Durkheim calls this feeling as '*state of exultation*' or '*collective effervescence*' i.e. the heightened feeling of energy generated in collective gatherings. It takes individuals away from the concerns of profane social life to an elevated sphere which they feel as a contact with higher forces. These higher forces are deemed as divine and attributed to certain 'totems' by the primitive tribes. Once they are separated, they feel lonely and sad. They feel the need to re-experience that feeling. Primitive people create a 'totem' to represent and regain that feeling. When people assemble near the totem, they relive that feeling again. They fail to explain this phenomenon and by their primitive logic, they give it 'sacred' status. The clan member mistakenly attributes the energy he or she feels to the symbols of the clan. The totems are the material representations of the nonmaterial force that is at their base, and that nonmaterial force is none other than society. This feeling which was due to feeling of being together was, instead, interpreted as the sacred.

According to Durkheim, there is nothing particular about totems which make them sacred, so, totems or sacred things must represent something. So, totem is a symbol of collectivity or the symbol of society itself as it represents those social forces which are felt by individuals at the social gatherings. As society evolves, religion also evolves. He states that – *'If it is at once symbol of God and society, is it not because God and society are one and same?'*. Ultimately, he suggests that we worship society and religion is an example of self-creation and autonomous development of society. Religious experiences are real experiences of social forces, forces that unite us.

Social obligations are represented in sacred terms and hence transformed into religious duties. For example – marriage becomes a sacrament, to work become a symbol of pleasing of gods, and death in battle becomes a gateway to heaven.

One may ask, why man worships totems or sacred things and why not society itself? According to Durkheim, it is easier for man to visualize and direct his feelings of awe towards a symbol like totem, idol etc rather than towards a complex thing like a society.

Like his other functional theories, he sees religion also in functional terms. He sees religion also as a social fact. He rejected the earlier philosophical and psychological explanations and averred that it is a product of self-creation and autonomous development of society like other social facts. All the people following a particular religion follow specific beliefs and practices. These are also in nature of moral codes which each member follows. This binds them into a single community and integrates them together and they feel comfortable living together. He further explains the functions through his idea of similarity. Religion becomes basis for similarity, thus brings people together. In modern societies which are highly individualized and differentiated, religion performs the function of bringing people together.

His theory of religion is significant because it demonstrates that any subject can be approached from a sociological perspective. He demystified the subject of religion and encouraged its empirical study.

Durkheim's theory of religion was criticized on following grounds –

- I. The dichotomy of profane and sacred is not absolute and there can be things which are mundane also as per Weber.
- II. Durkheim also didn't explain why a particular totem is chosen. Even a tribe may have more than one religion.
- III. His theory is termed as an armchair theory by Malinowski – he didn't visit the Arunta tribes even for one time
- IV. Narrow basis – generalization of a primitive religion to modern sophisticated religions is a bit far fetched
- V. According to Edmund Leach, profanity and sacred are two extreme, all social actions fall in between.
- VI. Scholars argue that it is not religion, but secularism which is binding societies together in modern industrialized societies and his ideas are applicable only to simple societies.

- VII. His theory fails to explain the cause of solidarity in multicultural polytheistic societies like India.
- VIII. Durkheim ignored the conflict caused by it and focused only on its functional aspect.

RELIGION – DURKHEIM and WEBER

	WEBER	DURKHEIM
Basic approach	Weber focused on meanings that individual generates.	Durkheim stresses the exteriority of social facts, which he regards as 'things'.
Basic view of society	Individuals are 'actors' in society	Society is 'sui-generis'
Unit of analysis	Weber studies the major features of the great world religions.	Emile Durkheim studies religion in what he believes is its most elementary form. He generalized it.
Role of religion	He saw religion as a force behind new ways of thinking – Protestants lead to rise of capitalism, Buddhism in India opposed caste system, Judaism was the religion of oppressed Palestinian peasantry	Durkheim emphasizes the role of religion as a collective phenomenon which serves to strengthen social bonds.
	Weber sees religion as part and parcel of a larger historical trend, namely, the move towards capitalism, industrialization and rationality.	Durkheim views religion as the reflection of society itself.
Supernatural	Weber does not hesitate to use the idea of gods and spirits. Weber, unlike Durkheim, attaches great importance to prophets in propagating religious beliefs.	Durkheim denies that religion is concerned with the mysterious, with gods and spirits. He calls religion as society itself.
Science and religion	Weber's comparative studies showed that how religions across world advocate values that differ and are invariably in opposition to rationality. Science on the other hand is empirical. So, he sees an opposition between the two.	Durkheim views both religion and science as providing society with its collective representations. So he doesn't see any conflict in the two.

Durkheim gave the much needed subject matter to the nascent discipline. He, hence, defined its scope as study of social facts. His sociological theories and vocabulary is still undisputable as being distinctively sociological. His concepts of religion, suicide and anomie are even used in inter-disciplinary studies as well. His contribution to perspectives in sociology is also immense as he was one of the early founder of structural functionalist perspective.

His relevance lies in his approach towards establishing social order in society. His concepts like division of labor are used in understanding in even global division of labor. His pragmatic understanding of crime and suicide has helped social thinkers to understand them in broader social context rather than just in terms of individualistic manner. It helps in understanding the social dimension of individual's problem. We have also got insights how individuals while becoming more free are becoming more dependent on society.

Max Weber – Social Action, Ideal Types, Authority, Bureaucracy, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

Max Weber, like Durkheim and Marx, was one of the pioneers of the discipline of sociology and one of the early founders of the interpretativist approach. Like Durkheim, he addressed the problem of scope and nature of the discipline and he also established first department of sociology in Germany. Sometimes he is also referred as father of modern sociology.



MAX WEBER

He is also considered to have bridged the gap between positivism and idealism. Sticking to positivism, he favored the use of scientific method in sociology for the purpose of achieving objectivity, on the other hand drawing from idealists like 'Neo-Kantians', he developed the scope of sociology as '*the meaning attached by the actors to their actions*'. He was opposed to pure abstract theorizing. Instead, his theoretical ideas are embedded in his empirical, usually historical, research. According to him, the behavior of man in society is qualitatively different from physical objects in natural world and organisms in biological world. In his book '*Methodologies of Social Sciences*' written during first decade of 20th century, he defined sociology as '*Sociology is a science which attempts interpretativist understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at an explanation of its cause and effect*'.

SOCIAL ACTION

According to Weber, subject matter of sociology is to study 'social action' which he defines as – '*Any action is social by virtue of the meanings attached to it by the actors, it takes into account the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course*'. In this definition, Weber mentions two conditions for any action to become social –

- I. Action is social if some *meaning is attached to it* by the actor i.e. actor must be conscious to his action. The meaning are in form of 'motivation' of an individual which is his 'own subjective state'. Weber rejected the independent influence of 'values' on individual, rather the values are interpreted by an actor according to his motivation and according to that action is taken.
- II. Action is social if it is oriented to some other i.e. only those actions are social which are taken in *orientation to some other object*. The orientation can be physical or mental i.e. the other person may or may not be present in a social action. Weber also differentiated

between 'action' and 'behavior'. Behavior is a biological concept and is spontaneous in nature with no attachment of meaning.

He also excluded 'imitative actions' and 'mass conditioned actions' from his definition as they are not oriented to some other object and no conscious meaning is attached to them. The establishment of 'cause and effect' should be aim of sociology. Understanding the meanings attached by the actors to their actions can help us to establish 'cause and effect' relationship.

But how to establish the meanings? He suggested some methods for it, like –

- I. **Verstehen** – This method literally means 'comprehending or understanding' at the level of actor. It is one of the tools for interpretative understanding. It involves, the comprehension of the meaning by using simple steps of investigation, which include –
 - a. Investigator should reconstruct the situational choices and constraints of the actor. It involves developing the description of an actor by using secondary resources.
 - b. The investigator should be at the same wavelength of actor. It involves developing communication abilities which help the investigator to effectively interact with the actor. For example – medium of instruction, mode etc.
 - c. The investigator should not have any sympathy with the actor or the situation i.e. there should be indifference and interest should be confined to establishment of meanings alone. This will help in ensuring objectivity in the analysis.
 - d. Finally, the investigator can enter into conversation with the actor and use primary sources of data collection to establish meanings.

In this way, Weber maximizes the probability of establishing meaning. He discusses two types of understandings which can be used to understand the meanings –

- a. Direct observation understanding i.e. what the investigator observes
 - b. Explanatory understanding i.e. in which investigator draws meanings by explaining the situational constraints and meanings.
- II. **Causal Pluralist Methods** – Weber rejected the mono-causal explanations, the causes can be multiple or plural. This approach is also termed as 'probabilistic approach'. He favored identification of probable factors, rather than emphasizing upon the singularity of the causes.
- III. **Ideal Type** – Verstehen cannot be used alone and should be used with other methods like ideal types. Ideal types are used to further understand the meanings attached by the actors. Ideal type is a mental construct which is used to identify certain regularities in social life. It doesn't deal with notion of perfection, but commonly understood meanings in terms of regularities. At highest level of abstraction, he developed four ideal types of his basic unit of analysis i.e. of social action. Four types of social actions are –

- a. **Traditional Social Action** – It is that type of social action in which meanings are drawn from certain ‘beliefs’ and ‘traditions’. It involves least conscious thinking over action. Examples can be religious actions.
- b. **Affective Social Action** – In this case, the meanings are generated due to emotions of an actor. It involves orientation of emotions like – love, hatred, anger, fear etc. Here consciousness is relatively higher than traditional action. Example of such action is a mother slapping her child out of anger.
- c. **Zweckrational Social Action** – Such actions are also called ‘end/goal-rational’ actions. In this type, action is carried out by taking into consideration the means and goals/ends. Hence action is more logical as ends are logically defined. Here cause and effect relations are established in actions which will finally help in achieving the goals. It is the most conscious action.
- d. **Wertrational Social Action** – It is also called ‘value oriented rational actions’. In this goal is defined by the values of the society and the actor takes logical action in order to fulfill that goal. Its example is – soldiers going to save the country.

Any actual action can be compared with these ideal types of actions and meanings can be attached. A particular action may contain a combination of elements of ideal type. His work on ideal types is significant because, ideal type methodology provides investigator with ready models and hence saves time of investigator.

Thus, Weber acknowledges the existence of ‘regularities’ in societies, but unlike Durkheim, he insists that these regularities exist in the mind of the individuals. The expression of these regularities is visible in terms of actions on the basis of ‘subjective interpretation’ of these regularities.

His idea of social action and other methods and approaches are generally criticized on following grounds –

- I. According to Hans Gerth and C Wright Mills, although Weber implied that he had a great concern with mental processes, he actually spent little time on them.
- II. He laid greater stress on individual meanings and ignores influence of social structure in the understanding of reality.
- III. His claim of objectivity is also not true. His methods of Verstehen and Ideal Type are highly susceptible to subjectivity of investigator.
- IV. His idea of social action has focus on individual and collective action is ignored.
- V. Weber also ignores unintended meanings and consequences of social action. Merton highlights such consequences in terms of latent functions.
- VI. His definition of social action is also handicapped by inclusion of ‘orientation towards others’. Parsons expanded meaning of social action by including situational choices, constraints and aspiration of actor as well.

IDEAL TYPES

Weber believed it was the responsibility of sociologists to develop conceptual tools, which could be used later by historians and sociologists and one such conceptual tool was 'Ideal Type' which he defined as – *'An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct... In its conceptual purity, this mental construct... cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality'*. In Weber's view, the ideal type was to be derived inductively from the real world of social history and not deductively or from personal judgments alone.

According to Weber, 'Ideal Types' is a type of objective methodology to study social action. The concept is not new per se, for example – Durkheim's types of suicides are ideal types of suicide. According to him Ideal Types are 'abstractions' or 'pure types' (not 'most desirable') constructed through emphasizing on certain traits of a given social item which are employed in order to understand the complexities of social world. It constitutes various 'elements' which though are abstract, but can be later recombined and reconstituted to understand a particular reality. Highest level of abstraction is in form of ideal types of social action itself.

According to Lachman, Ideal Types act as '*measuring rod*' for the investigator to understand the actual phenomenon. They are heuristic devices. They are to be useful and helpful in doing empirical research and in understanding a specific aspect of the social world. According to Weber, Ideal Type is not a reality in itself, but a way to express the reality. The individual elements may be meaningless, but when combined with other elements form reality. Ideal types act as fixed point of reference. According to Weber himself, '*Its function is the comparison with empirical reality in order to establish its divergences or similarities, to describe them with the most unambiguously intelligible concepts, and to understand and explain them causally*'. Ideal type is not a conception of a perfect or desirable, but it is a pure or typical form of certain phenomenon.

Although ideal types are to be derived from the real world, they are not to be mirror images of that world. Rather, they are to be one-sided exaggerations (based on the researcher's interests) of the essence of what goes on in the real world.

Need for building an ideal type arises from the nature of social reality itself as it is complex to comprehend. One can know the reality in parts, and not whole at a time. To understand each part, features of that part must be understood separately. In this process, some critical features have to be given more importance over the others. Construction of ideal type depends upon the inquiry and the features may vary.

Formulation of ideal types – ideal types are formed by a number of elements which though found in reality, may or may not be discovered in their specific form. These elements must be found by trained investigator in the form of abstractions drawn from subjective meanings of the individual. Investigator must be capable of looking at the phenomenon from the eyes of an individual actor. These elements are thus based upon interpretation of investigator, but are definitive specific traits which constitute the reality.

Weber used ideal types extensively in his works like '*Economic and Social Organization*', '*The City*', '*Sociology of Religion*' and so on. Ideal types developed by Weber are grouped into many categories –

- I. **Ideal Types of Historical Particulars** – These are ideal types of particular historical phenomena like – some ancient city, protestant ethics, capitalism etc.
- II. **Ideal Types of Abstract Phenomena in Social Reality** – It involves developing abstract phenomena like – social action, authority etc which can be used to understand a social phenomenon.
- III. **Ideal Types of Particular Behavior** – He also developed ideal types of particular behaviors like economic or political behavior.
- IV. **Structural Ideal Types** – These are forms taken by the causes and consequences of social action (for example, traditional domination)

In line with Weber's efforts to find a middle ground between nomothetic (general) and idiographic (specific) knowledge, he argued that ideal types should be neither too general nor too specific. For example, in the case of religion he would reject ideal types of the history of religion in general, but he would also be critical of ideal types of very specific phenomena, such as an individual's religious experience. Rather, ideal types are developed of intermediate phenomena such as Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and Baptism.

Ideal types are also not developed once and for all. Because society is constantly changing, and the interests of social scientists are as well, it is necessary to develop new typologies to fit the changing reality.

Ideal types perform various functions for the researcher. First of all they act as measuring rod for a social process. Secondly, they act as ready reference and save the researcher from hassles of studying a phenomenon afresh. For example – ideal type of capitalism can be used as a ready reference for a host of commercial activities of 17th century. Thirdly, it makes prediction possible. Situations which approximate an ideal type will have similar outcome. Ideal type of bureaucracy has made it possible for sociologists to predict many of its consequences in organizations. Fourthly, it also helps in establishing linkages between multiple social phenomenon as demonstrated by Weber in his Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism.

His ideal type methodology is criticized for following reasons –

- I. Weber has not suggested any specific method to identify elements of ideal type and it is totally left on investigator.
- II. Despite his claim of objectivity, ideal type is highly susceptible to subjectivity of investigator, especially in selection of elements of ideal type.

AUTHORITY

Weber's conception of authority is a demonstration of his concept of ideal type in action. According to him, both power and authority are social in character and come into play where relations are there. Power is defined by Weber as '*The chance of a man or a number of men to*

realize their own will in a communal action, even against the resistance of those who are participating in the communal action'.

Authority according to Weber is a form of 'legitimate power' i.e. power which is considered legitimate in society. Weber identifies three sources of legitimacy – tradition, rationality and affective or charisma and on the basis of these, he developed three 'pure types' of authority.

Like all other concepts, concept of authority is also developed by Weber as an ideal type. According to him, coercion differentiates power from authority. Power has an element of coercion in it. Power is capability of individuals to influence others irrespective of their will.

According to Weber, there are three elements of authority or three ideal types of authority which are based upon his conception of various type of social action –

- I. **Traditional Authority** – It is that type of authority which stems out from Traditional Social Actions i.e. authority based upon beliefs, customs and values. An example would be a leader who comes to power because his or her family or clan has always provided the group's leadership. For example – authority exercised by a hereditary monarch, a feudal lord, a caste Brahmin. Weber also used his ideal-type methodology to analyze historically the different forms of traditional authority. He differentiated between two very early forms of traditional authority. A 'gerontocracy' involves rule by elders, whereas primary 'patriarchalism' involves leaders who inherit their positions. Still more modern form is 'feudalism'. Weber saw structures of traditional authority, in any form, as barriers to the development of rationality. Weber argued that the structures and practices of traditional authority constitute a barrier to the rise of rational economic structures – in particular, capitalism – as well as to various other components of a rational society.
- II. **Charismatic Authority** – This is a result of personal qualities of the person who exercises it. It corresponds to Affective Social Action. For example authority exercised by Mahatma Gandhi over masses. Although Weber did not deny that a charismatic leader may have outstanding characteristics, his sense of charisma was more dependent on the group of disciples and the way that they define the charismatic leader. If the followers fail to recognize a leader as a charismatic leader, he ceases to remain one. To Weber, charisma was a revolutionary force the rise of a charismatic leader may well pose a threat to that system and lead to a dramatic change in that system. This type of authority becomes more pronounced in times of crisis and turmoil when other types of authority seem to be failing. A charismatic system is inherently fragile; it would seem to be able to survive only as long as the charismatic leader lives or the crisis lasts. This type of authority is also not as effective as legal-rational authority as organization is not done on rational criterion and members are not technically trained. An organization based on charismatic authority has no formal rules, no established administrative organs, and no precedents to guide new judgments.
- III. **Legal Rational Authority** – This authority is based on 'Zweckrational Social Action' or total rational action. Rational-legal authority can take a variety of structural forms, but

the form that most interested Weber was bureaucracy, which he considered '*the purest type of exercise of legal authority*'.

Actual authority may be a combination of above ideal types of authority. For example, Franklin D Roosevelt as a president of the United States and Nehru, the Indian prime minister ruled on all three bases as they were elected in accordance with a series of rational-legal principles. By the time they were elected three times, a good part of the rules had traditional elements. Finally, many disciples and followers regarded them as charismatic leaders. In the real world there is constant tension and, sometimes, conflict among the three bases. For example – the charismatic leader is a constant threat to the other forms of authority.

Further, a particular type of authority may change over time and transform into another type. Weber refers to the routinisation of charisma and traditionalisation of rationality.

Criticism of his authority theory –

- I. Weber's conception of authority is primarily criticized for anomaly in ideal type of social action and ideal type of authority. He mentions four types of social action, but mentions only three types of authority.
- II. Michel Foucault has argued that authority and power don't lie with particular institutions and persons as Weber suggested. Power is highly dispersed in society and operates at all levels in different situations.
- III. According to Robert Dahl, authority is situational and one may hold different kinds of authority. It is also relative. One may be in a controlling position in one instance and may be controlled by others in another instance.

BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracy is also linked to the ideal type concept of Weber and Weber links it to the rising rationalization of society. It is an ideal type of organization in which structure is based on legal rational authority. According to Weber, bureaucracy is the type of organization which suits most the modern societies where work is done rationally. It is '*a hierarchical organization designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in the pursuit of large scale administrative tasks and organizational goals*'. Capitalism which is the basis of economy in the modern world also works on rational organization and requires bureaucratic organizations for its working. According to him, '*From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency, and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of exercising authority over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability. It, thus, makes possible a particularly high degree of calculability of results for the heads of the organization and for those acting in relation to it. It is finally superior both in intensive efficiency and in the scope of its operations and is formally capable of application to all kinds of administrative tasks.*'

Weber distinguished the ideal-typical bureaucracy from the ideal-typical bureaucrat. He conceived of bureaucracies as structures and of bureaucrats as positions within those structures.

Typical elements of bureaucracy according to Weber are –

- I. Bureaucracy works on the basis of written legal rational rules. Activities of bureaucrats are in form of official duty.
- II. There is a hierarchy of officials in authority.
- III. Work is specialized in bureaucracy and staff is trained accordingly.
- IV. Bureaucrats are permanent and paid and they may have to work overtime.
- V. Office work is vocation for bureaucrats and they are expected to their work honestly.
- VI. The incumbent is not allowed to appropriate the position; it always remains part of the organization.
- VII. Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing.

This ideal type bureaucracy is only approximated in reality, but Weber argues that bureaucracies of modern societies are slowly moving towards this pure type as this type of organization has technical superiority over other type of organizations.

Weber also has certain skepticism about bureaucracy and despite it being most efficient type of organization, Weber foresee it as a source of alienation of human being. He refers it as 'iron cage of rationality' which makes human beings slave of rationality who cannot escape it as they get too addicted to it. His major fear was that the rationalization that dominates all aspects of bureaucratic life was a threat to individual liberty. He described bureaucracies as 'escape proof', 'practically un-shatterable' and among the hardest institutions to destroy once they are established. Unlike Marx, he didn't see future in terms of dictatorship of proletariat, but in terms of dictatorship of official.

Weber's concept of bureaucracy attracted wide criticism. Roberto Michels in his '*Political Parties, 1911*' said that bureaucracy becomes so dominating in democracy, that it reduces a democracy into an oligarchy.

PROTESTANT ETHICS AND SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

Weber's theory of Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism is contained in his '*The Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism, 1904*' widely known for – its use of scientific methods in sociology, possibility of studying 'macro' phenomenon in terms of 'micro' and a demonstration of his idea of 'causal pluralism' or 'probabalism' as he factored in political, economic and religious factors in the rise of capitalism. His study of capitalism is that of modern capitalism and, unlike Marx who gave primacy to economic structure and material aspects, Weber put more emphasis on ideas leading to an economic system. He was concerned with Protestantism, mainly as a system of ideas, and its impact on the rise of another system of ideas, the 'spirit of capitalism', and ultimately on a capitalist economic system.

His analysis starts with an observation – *‘In modern Europe, business leaders, owners of capital as well as higher grades of skilled laborer and even more, the higher technologically and commercially trained personnel of modern enterprise are predominantly protestant’*. Further, he observes that, it is not only a contemporary fact, but also a historical fact also. The individuals in this statement are representatives of capitalism in Europe. In contrast to Feudal mode which was represented by aristocracy, capitalism was represented by the entrepreneurs and skilled personnel. This observation led Weber to ponder over that *‘Is there any correlation between Protestantism and Capitalism?’*.

Thus, Weber makes an empirical observation based on existing records as a basis for initiating the study of ‘protestant ethics’ and spirit of capitalism. It points towards the scientific methodology used by Weber in his theories. In order to explore the possible correlation, Weber developed the ideal types of Capitalism and Protestant ethics. He chose ‘Calvinism’ as the most original form of Protestant ethics for this purpose. Later he made a comparative study to establish causal linkages between the two. Finally, he validated his theory by taking ideal types of other religions and again comparing them ideal type of capitalism.

Ideal type of Calvinism was proposed with following elements –

- I. Doctrine of predestination – some people are chosen by God to enter into heaven and nobody can know whether one is chosen or not
- II. This worldly asceticism – protestant ethics suggest strict self-discipline with no enjoyment and more hard work for the glory of God
- III. All work is sacred – it is not mere work, it is ‘calling’ or mission and should be done with devotion for the glory of God
- IV. God created the world for his own glory and he is unknowable
- V. No mediation of any priest can help us know God
- VI. Riches earned through hard work should not be spent on luxuries, but in the glory of God

Ideal type of capitalism is explained with following elements –

- I. It is an economic system which is aimed at unlimited accumulation of profit
- II. Work in modern capitalism is organized rationally
- III. Various ethics in capitalism are – time is money, work should be done well, work is for an end called profit
- IV. Capitalism honors individualism, innovation, profit pursuit and hard work

After developing these two ideal types, Weber draws comparison to explore the possibility of correlation between the two. According to Weber, ‘Doctrine of Predestination’ results into uncertainty about the destiny of Protestant Calvinists resulting into anxiety. As their destiny was unknowable, a feeling of insecurity is generated. This leads to intense this worldly activity as ‘success in this world’ was considered as being ‘the chosen one in that world’. Among other factors, Weber also sees role of Charismatic leaders also in this development.

This leads to much needed hard work that is required for the rise of capitalism. Asceticism produced savings and much needed reinvestment in nascent capitalism. Notion of calling made them hard working, similarly, other ethics of Calvinism also suited for the growth of capitalism. In this way, Weber concludes that there is an 'elective affinity' between some elements of 'protestant ethics' and 'spirit of capitalism' i.e. there was a coincidence between requirements of 'Calvinism' and 'Capitalism'. Working hard and making money became both religious and business ethic. Protestant ethics only provided 'spirit', there were other factors as well in rise of capitalism like 'substance' in form of capital and technology which led to rise of capitalism.

Weber believes in plurality of causes. In this theory as well, dual variables exist in form of – 'spirit' and 'substance'. Spirit may have been provided by the protestant ethics, but only spirit cannot lead to 'practice' of capitalism and substance should also be there. During this time, substance was already present in the form of – new factory system, new techniques of accounting, newly invented tools and machines, democratic political system for stable governance and market etc.

Further, Weber tried to validate this correlation through 'historical comparative studies' of various world religions. He developed ideal types of them and proved why capitalism didn't rise in their context in other countries. In his book '*Religion of China, 1951*', he concludes that despite the presence of developed economy, trade and commerce the Confucius ethics didn't permit the rise of capitalism as it stressed upon collective harmony, traditionalism and family obligation. Similarly, in his book '*Religion of India, 1958*', he concluded that ideas of '*Karma*', '*Dharma*' and '*Punarjanma*' prevented rise of capitalism. In India too substance was there, but spirit was absent as there were many structural barriers in form of caste and spiritual barriers in form of ideas of karma and punarjanma. As a result, for Hindus, activity in this world was not important, because the world was seen as a transient abode and an impediment to the spiritual quest. Similarly, in case of Judaism in his '*Ancient Judaism, 1952*', Judaist ethics had elements which could have promoted capitalism, but certain Historical factors scattered Jews. So, spirit was there, but substance was absent.

While Durkheim made a generalization from narrow examples of aboriginals, Max Weber took much wider observations of religion across the world. His writings also differ from those of Durkheim in the sense that his writings concentrate upon religion and social change something which Durkheim gave little attention to.

Weber's idea of rise of capitalism is criticized on following grounds –

- I. Ideal types which Weber draws may be erroneous. He seems to have concentrated on certain aspects of religion only.
- II. It is also argued the doctrine of calling was already present among the Catholics.
- III. He seems to be selective while drawing elements for his analysis. For example, according to Milton Singer, he took selective elements out of Hinduism, there is an equivalent of Calvinists in forms of Chettiyars of Madras.
- IV. Lawrence Stone's studies in England concluded that it were not Protestant ethics, but British aristocracy which had accounted for the rise of capitalism.

CAPITALISM – MARX and WEBER

	MARX	WEBER
View of society	Karl Marx takes society as his unit of analysis.	Weber studies society in terms of meanings attributed or given by individuals to the world around them
View of capitalism	Marx describes capitalism as one of the historical stages and gives a mono-causal explanation of its rise	Weber understands capitalism in terms of the psychological motivations of individuals and gives a plural-causal explanation of its growth
Emergence of capitalism	Marx sees the emergence of capitalism in terms of a shift in mode of production.	Weber sees rise of capitalism as a result of mutual affinity in Protestant Ethics and factors conducive to growth of capitalism.
Consequences of capitalism	It leads to alienation of workers	It is a symbol of growth of rationality, but also acknowledges that bureaucracy and capitalism grow side by side and will ultimately lead to disenchantment of human beings
Stratification	Marx sees 'class' as the only dimension of stratification in society as it overshadows all other dimensions.	Weber argues that 'class' is only one dimension and there are other dimensions also in form of 'status' and 'party'.
Solution	Marx foresees a revolution	Weber is pessimistic about future and see no end to rationality as it is necessary in modern societies

Contribution of Weber is immense as he managed to rise above the positivism and non-positivism debate. He added many new perspectives, concepts, methods to sociology and was later followed closely by Chicago School and others also. He enriched the subject matter and scope of the discipline. He never claimed of giving universalistic theories, but rather focused upon establishing cause and effect through multi-causal approach.

In present society, his ideas are still relevant in understanding of society in wake of tremendous rise of individualism, isolation etc. His prognosis of bureaucracy as an '*iron cage of rationality*' is also found correct and we have seen tremendous growth of such institutions. His concepts are still widely used by the contemporary scholars. George Ritzer in his '*McDonaldization of Society, 1993*' used Weberian bureaucratic model to explain the increasing mechanization/rationalization of human experiences and its negative impacts. Ritzer argues that McDonaldization is dehumanizing as we make queues to get a burger as if we are on a conveyer belt and staff repeats the same mundane tasks again and again like robots.

Parsons – Social System, Pattern Variables

Parsons is said to be pioneer of structural functionalism in sociology which sees society as a system and every part of this structure performing some functions.

His theory of Social Action borrows ideas from economic sociology, culturology and psychology and combined them he developed a grand theory of social action that claims to capture every possible human behavior in time and space. He integrated French Positivism with German Idealism and British Utilitarianism to develop his own synthetic approach. He synthesized micro and macro view which is evident in his theory of social action and social system respectively.



TALCOTT PARSONS

He took a systemic view of society and problems of order and integration were his central concerns. He rejected the Hobbesian view that man is a rational and calculating man and order in society exists because members of society fear the consequence of punishment from state if they didn't behave properly. According to Parsons, fear is insufficient to motivate men to obey rules and a moral commitment is essential which is due to shared values. According to him, 'Value Consensus' is the integrating force in society. Value consensus is a result of role performance which are institutionalized in society. By the process of socialization, role expectations, values and goals of society are inculcated in individual actors. According to him, the main task of sociology is to analyze the '*institutionalized pattern of values*'.

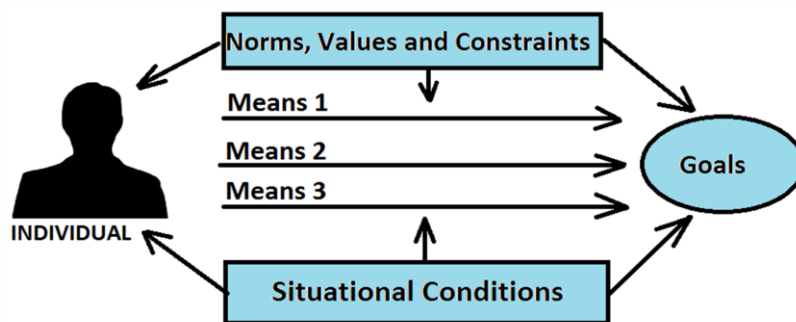
Second problem, apart from value consensus, is the apparent incompatibility between the needs of society or social system and individual needs. This is referred by Parsons as 'motivational problem' and is dealt by the respective systems by meeting individual needs.

SOCIAL ACTION

He considers that all possible empirical action of the people can be arrested into a universal theoretical framework. Hence he developed 'structure of social action' in contrast to Weber's four ideal types of social action.

Social Action is defined by Parsons in his '*Structure of Social Action, 1937*' as – '*Any act consciously performed is Social Actions*'.

Thus, unlike Weber who says that action should be oriented towards others for it to be 'social', Parsons instead gave four conditions –



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- I. It occurs in a *social situation* i.e. actor is a member of society while performing a social action
- II. It is oriented towards attainment of a particular *goal*; i.e. actor is motivated
- III. Action is regulated by *norms and values*

IV. It involves investment of energy

According to him, an actor is a goal seeking individual with alternative means to attain those goals and is influenced by two factors –

- I. **Motivational Orientation** – It is due to personal condition of the actor. It is affected by cognitive, cathectic (emotional response) and evaluative needs of an individual.
- II. **Value Orientation** – It refers to the influence of norms and values of society. It is influenced by values in 3 ways – Cognition, Appreciation and Moral.

Like Weber, he also classified actions as 3 types –

- I. **Instrumental Action** (similar to Zweckrational Action of Weber) – In this, evaluative component is most dominant. Both means and ends are logically decided.
- II. **Expressive Action** (similar to Affective Action of Weber) – In this appreciative component is dominant.
- III. **Moral Action** (similar to Traditional and Wertrational Action) – Here, the actor's own motivation is subordinate to values of society.

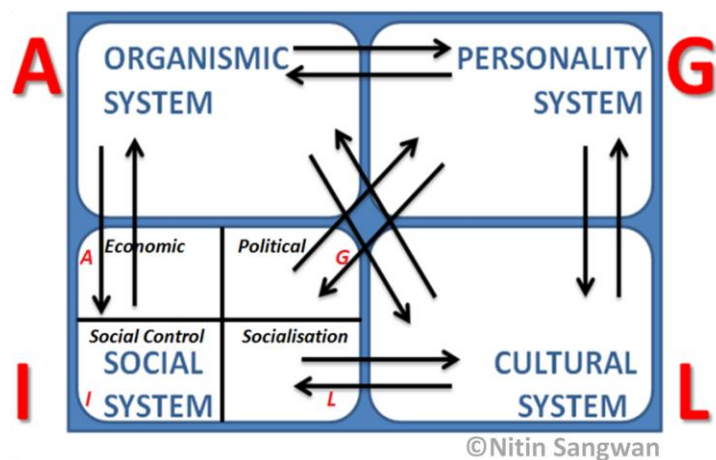
Further, actions don't occur in isolation, but in constellation. Such constellation in form of institutionalized social interactions is called 'Social System'.

SOCIAL SYSTEM

Parsons gave his structural functionalist theory as a master framework for working of all social institutions, including society. His idea of social system is explained in his '*Structure of Social Action, 1937*', and '*The Social System, 1951*'.

Social actions don't occur in isolation, but in constellations which are various social systems. Parsons developed his idea of Social System from the works of Tonnies, Durkheim etc. He also took the idea of 'Cultural System' from Malinowski, W H R Rivers etc and idea of 'Personality System' from G H Mead, C H Cooley etc. 'Social System' is just one of the four highest abstractions in his grand structural functional framework and it is made up of a constellation of social actions and it fulfills some functional pre-requisite.

Social interaction is a pre-requisite for Social System to emerge. Social system is defined as – *'Consisting of plurality of individuals actors interacting with each other in a situation which has an environment with actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the optimization of gratification'*. It is clear from this



definition that a system has two parts – structure (actors, environment, relation etc) and functions (performance of which leads to gratification). Structure has various parts like – institutions, organizations, kinships, stratification, power relations, religion and moral values etc. As Parsons was not simply a structuralist but also a functionalist, he delineated a number of functional prerequisites of a social system –

- I. First, social systems must be structured so that they operate compatibly with other systems.
- II. Second, to survive, the social system must have the requisite support from other systems.
- III. Third, the system must meet a significant proportion of the needs of its actors.
- IV. Fourth, the system must elicit adequate participation from its members.
- V. Fifth, it must have at least a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behavior.
- VI. Sixth, if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled.
- VII. Finally, a social system requires a language in order to survive.

However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. Parsons was interested in the ways in which the norms and values of a system are transferred to the actors within the system.

Initially, Parsons through his '*Mechanism Equilibrium Phase*' viewed Social System only in terms of 'structure' only i.e. how different mechanisms like family, law education maintain an equilibrium which according to Parsons is 'Moving Equilibrium', but later through his '*Requisite Functional Phase*' Parsons talked of Social System in terms of '*fulfillment of functions or functional prerequisites*' – or AGIL functions. Thus introduction of AGIL was a subtle shift from analysis of structure to analysis of function. Every system fulfills certain functions; Social System itself performs function of Integration in society. Further, he generalized his AGIL model and said that every system has further four sub-systems, for example, Social System also has four subsystems and so on.

At the highest abstraction/generalization he gave four 'action systems' –

- I. **Organismic System** or **Biological System** or **Behavioral System** – It is the physical or biological aspect of social reality. It is the 'storehouse of energy'.
- II. **Personality System** – Internal, hidden aspects of society resulting from motives alone. It is the 'storehouse of motivation'.
- III. **Social System** – It refers to pattern of 'actual interaction' between units in society. Institutionalized roles are viewed as a social system. It also has four subsystems – Economic System (for Adaptation), Political System (for Goal Attainment), Social Institutions for Social Control (for Integration), Socialization System or fiduciary system e.g. Family, Educational Institutions (for Latency or Pattern Maintenance). Although the idea of a social system encompasses all types of collectivities, one specific and particularly important Social System is 'society'.
- IV. **Cultural System** – It consists of Norms and Values. Also termed as 'storehouse of information'.

The four action systems do not exist in the real world but are, rather, analytical tools for analyzing the real world.

Though, he viewed the social system as a system of interaction, he did not take interaction as his fundamental unit in the study of the social system. Rather, he used the '*status-role*' complex as the basic unit of the system which is defined by the structure and not individual who performs them. Status refers to a structural position within the social system, and role is what the actor does in such a position, seen in the context of its functional significance for the larger system. Thus, he gives primacy to structure over individual.

According to him, every action system has following characteristics –

- I. System is a unified whole made up of interdependent parts called subsystems, and each such sub-system can be treated as a system itself.
- II. Each system has a boundary that separates it from other systems and environment.
- III. Systems or subsystems are organized in a relatively stable manner, so that definite patterns of inter-relations come to exist between subsystems.
- IV. Systems are dynamic in nature
- V. There are certain functional pre-requisites which needs to be fulfilled for the existence of a system

Parsons distinguished among four structures, or subsystems, in society in terms of the functions (AGIL) they perform. According to him a system exists because it performs certain functional pre-requisites which are necessary to sustain the system in equilibrium. To visualize the system and its functional prerequisites, Parsons gave an **AGIL framework** where there are four problems or functional pre-requisites of any system – Adaptation (to physical environment), Goal Attainment, Integration, Latency or pattern maintenance (stability). A society must find solution to these problems, if it is to survive.

- I. In order to survive, social system must gain some control over environment (for needs like – food, security). The economy is the subsystem that performs the function for 'society' of adapting to the environment through labor, production, and allocation. Through such work, the economy adapts the environment to society's needs, and it helps society adapt to these external realities. Adaptation refers to the relationship with environment.
- II. The polity (or political system) performs the function of goal attainment by pursuing societal objectives and mobilizing actors and resources to that end.
- III. The fiduciary system or institutions of socialization (for example, the schools, the family, religion etc) handle the latency or pattern maintenance function by transmitting culture (norms and values) to actors and allowing it to be internalized by them. It helps in maintaining the basic patterns of values in society.
- IV. Finally, the integration function is performed by the societal community or institutions of social control (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.

Thus, through his AGIL concept, he understands all the parts of society in terms of the functions they perform.

Parsons took a synthetic approach (Action theory or micro and Systems theory for macro explanations) which is called as structural functional view of society. His idea of system and social system was

said to be a master analytical framework. He saw existence of society in terms of a social system which in terms has various subsystems and so on and each performing a unique pre-requisite.

A social system is distinct from other systems and maintains a boundary as do other systems from each other. A social system survives by maintaining this boundary.

In his conceptualization of systems, Parsons also sees their inter-relation and inter-linkages. Social System is linked with other systems through '*Energy flow*' and '*Information control*', which Parsons termed as '**Cybernetic Hierarchy of Control**'.

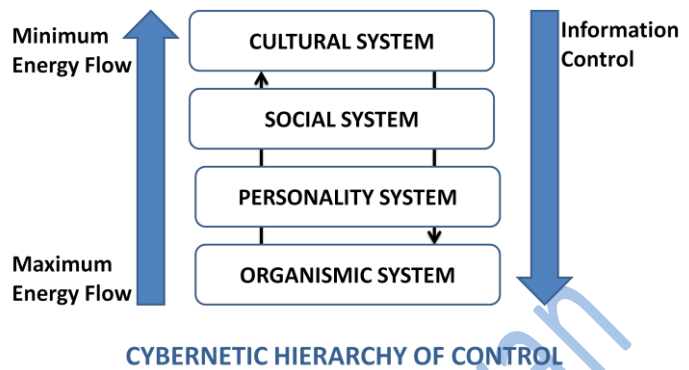
Social Change occurs when there is change in the energy flow or the information control as equilibrium stage is disturbed. This is restored by –

- I. Socialization – shared values are transmitted from one generation to another by various institutions like family, education etc.
- II. Social Control – it discourage deviance and various institutions enforcing it are law, police etc.

Parsons also views social change as a change in terms of 'evolution from simple to complex societies'.

Parsons concept of social system is criticized on various grounds, some of which are –

- I. Grand functional theory with little practical utility and low on empirical testability. His ideas are too abstract with little empirical verifiability. Dahrendorf called his conception as utopian.
- II. He takes an over-socialized view of man in which man is influenced by the values and norms alone like a cog in machine.
- III. Merton takes much realistic view and he included latent functions, dysfunctions as well in his analysis. Merton termed such a grand conception as both futile and sterile.
- IV. According to Jonathan Turner, structure functionalism of Parsons suffers from illegitimate teleologies and tautologies which are the two most important logical problems confronting structural functionalism. They often take cause and effect and vice-versa.



- V. The emphasis in the writings of Parsons and Merton on the scientific character of sociology has been criticized by many later sociologists as 'positivism'.
- VI. Marxist sociologists criticize functionalism for its neglect of class conflict or class antagonism that exist in society. Political sociologists have criticized it for neglecting the role of power and domination in the structure and function of social institutions.
- VII. He ignored conflict. According to Turner he was obsessed with integration.

However, despite its limitations, the social system framework can be used as a framework to understand various social sub-systems and their problems or functional pre-requisites. Social problems like insurgencies in tribal areas can be understood from systems view as –

- I. Poverty (Adaptation – Economic System)
- II. Vested Interests (Goal Attainment – Political System)
- III. Alienation (Integration – Cultural System)
- IV. Stress and Lack of Motivation (Latency – Family)

PATTERN VARIABLES

In more general terms it is referred as '*types of orientation*'. He defines these as the fundamental dilemmas that actors face in any situation. Pattern Variables are to simply put are choices between alternative variables while performing 'roles.' (According to him, 'Action Systems' in society exist in form of 'Roles'. Society develops such roles in order to achieve certain goals. Roles are vital link between individual and society).

Parsons' idea of Pattern variables is closely linked with his idea of social actions and inspired from Weberian idea of Ideal Types. 'Pattern Variables' is the connecting link between the Parsonian idea of social action and social system, while pattern variables are dilemmas, social system is the solution. Actions according to Parsons never occur in isolation, but in constellation in form of Action Systems and there are some dilemmas that exist in social systems while performing social action.

Talcott Parsons' concept of Pattern Variables bridges the gap between social action and social system. It was a result of his commitment to develop a set of concepts which reflected the properties of all action systems. Pattern variables allow for the categorization of the modes of orientation in personality systems, the value patterns of cultural systems and the normative requirements of the social systems. Thus, they represent a broad framework which helps in categorization of dichotomies of the personality system, normative demands and value orientations.

A 'Social System' may be characterized by the combination of solutions offered to these dilemmas that actor faces or in other words, these pattern variables structure any 'system of interaction'. These dilemmas confronting every actor are exhaustive in coverage.

According to Parsons, such dilemmas can be resolved by '*role institutionalization*' and '*role internalization*'.

According to Parsons, such dichotomous variables exist in 5 pairs –

- I. **Self Orientation vs Collective Orientation** – It refers to the dilemma between fulfillment of self-interest or collective interest.
- II. **Affectivity vs Affective Neutrality** – It refers to dilemma between emotional attachment and emotional detachment in a particular situation. For example, relation of doctor with his or her patient is largely affectively neutral.
- III. **Particularism vs Universalism** – It refers to dilemmas regarding the standard of values to be used in an evaluation process. Particularism refers to traditional values and beliefs. Universalism refers to modern and rational value system.
- IV. **Ascription vs Achievement** – These are patterns which help the actors judge others in a situation. Whether the judgment is to be done in terms of ascriptive (based on birth) attributes or on the basis of achieved attributes.
- V. **Diffuseness vs Specificity** – It refers to dilemmas regarding relations and obligations. For example – Buyer-seller relation in strict terms in a modern economy is specific and guided by rules and money market, but in rural areas they are diffused. In rural areas, price of commodity are not specific, but depend upon who the buyer is)

Further, according to Parsons social institutions in society tend to cluster around opposite poles in these dichotomies. For example – in a family, relations are Particularistic, affective, diffused. It is also true for Gemeinschaft as well. On the other hand at the workplace they are universalistic, affective neutral, achievement based which is also true for Gesellschaft ideal type of Tonnies. Choices of individuals of one pattern over another are dictated by the cultural values and institutionalized norms i.e. 'social action' is guided by 'social system'. When values and norms are not settled properly, as in case of economies in transition, such dilemmas are difficult to resolve.

At broadest level, Pattern Variables also represent two dichotomies which stand for traditional and modern society. Traditional society/system emphasize upon Ascription, Diffuseness, Particularism, Affectivity, Self-Orientation.

Further on the basis of his idea of pattern variables, he further identified 4 types of structures of social systems –

- I. **Universalistic Achievement Pattern** – Its nearest example is modern American Society
- II. **Universalistic Ascription Pattern** – Nazi Germany is its example as organization was rational
- III. **Particularistic Achievement Pattern** – Classical Chinese family one of the examples
- IV. **Particularistic Ascription Pattern** – Traditional Indian Caste system is one of its examples

Significance of pattern variables lies in the fact that they help in distinguishing between types of societies and also indicate that no society is absolutely static or absolutely dynamic. Significance of pattern variables according to Parsons is not limited to setting 'Role Expectations' in society, but they in addition provide the overall direction in which most of the members chose their roles.

Merton – Latent and Manifest Functions, Conformity and Deviance, Reference Groups

Merton, like Parsons, is a prominent American sociologist known for his various path breaking concepts like – Middle Range Theories, latent and Manifest Functions, Anomie etc. Merton was one of the biggest doyens of structural functionalism along with Parsons. Due to his modified functionalism, he is also known as '*neo-functionalism*'. Functionalism as dealt with by Merton is located in time and space. It deals with empirical reality. He particularly draws our attention to the reasons why functional theories of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski which were formulated to deal with the realities of a simpler tribal society, isolated from rest of the world, could not be applied to contemporary societies of our own time which are complex and where historical traditions have overlapped on social institutions over several centuries.



ROBERT MERTON

Therefore, Merton says that an institution such as religion, which is universally integrative in simpler tribal societies, may cause disharmony in our own society where there are many religions, which often compete against one another. So religion instead of being functional (integrative), may become dysfunctional (disintegrative) in society.

He modified earlier functionalist view and criticized the three fundamental postulates of earlier functionalist and suggested their modification in following paradigms –

- I. Modification of postulate of *functional unity* – According to him, social reality has to be viewed in terms of a system and various objects or phenomena ensure the unity of the system. Durkheim, Spencer and Radcliffe Brown emphasized on functional unity. Merton argued that today's world is complex and it is not necessary that whatever exists provides the function of unity of the system. Investigator has to study 'dysfunction' and 'non-functions' of a particular 'social item' as well. This idea was novel in functionalist approach as earlier structural functionalist never looked beyond pure functionalist perspective.
- II. Modification of postulate of *functional indispensability* – Earlier functionalists like Radcliffe Brown and Parsons argued that there are some indispensable functions to be performed in society and there are also some social institutions which are indispensable to perform such functions. However, Merton argued that 'social items' are not indispensable in nature and there may be '*functional alternatives*' i.e. same function may be performed by different items as well. By recognizing that some structures are expendable, functionalism opens the way for meaningful social change. Merton states 'just as the same item may have multiple functions, so may the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items'. Our society, for example, could continue to exist (and even be improved) by the elimination of discrimination against various minority groups.
- III. Modification of postulate of *universal functionalism* – Earlier functionalists believed that all existing social and cultural forms are invariably functional and fulfill some positive function.

Merton argued that the context in which the 'social item' is studied should also be taken into account. The item may be functional in one context and dysfunctional in other context. He also distinguished between latent and manifest functions.

Merton's position was that all these functional postulates rely on non-empirical assertions based on abstract, theoretical systems. According to Merton, an all encompassing theory is at best a philosophical system marked by its architectural splendors as well its sterility. He believed that empirical tests, and not theoretical assertions, are crucial to functional analysis. To this end, he developed his own '**functional paradigm**' of functional analysis as a guide to the integration of theory and research. His addition of concepts of 'non-functions', 'dysfunctions' and 'manifest and latent functions' define his new paradigm. Further, according to his paradigm, 'social items' must be in standardized pattern and they must not be too abstract or too concrete. Social context of study should be specified clearly as meaning of social item may change with change in context. Then, a general description of social item must be made using available information. Then investigator should identify manifest and latent functions. Then, dysfunctions should also be studied. Investigator should also highlight functional alternatives also.

LATENT and MANIFEST FUNCTIONS

Merton criticized some of the aspects of structural functionalism and tried to add new dimensions to functional analysis. 'Latent and manifest functions' was one such important dimensions. He rejects the earlier dominant postulates of traditional functionalists and sought to modify them. According to him, a social item like slavery may be functional in one situation or for one group and dysfunctional in other. To cope up with such issues, he suggested there should be multiple level of analysis while dealing with social items.

Identification of latent and manifest functions of social items helps us in deepening our analysis. Earlier functionalists looked only at the manifest functions, but ignored the possible unintended functions. Thus, his approach combined 'Psychological' and 'Socio-cultural' aspect respectively.

Difference between Manifest and Latent function can also be seen as difference between 'Conscious Intention' and 'Actual Outcome'.

Manifest function is seen in terms of the actual intention of the actor. These are the functions understood by the actor himself. These are the subjective dispositions of the actor. It refers to the micro aspect of reality and is usually studied through mainly non-positivist approach.

Latent functions on the other hand are the functions that are not perceived by the actor. These functions are actually established by an investigator and are objective manifestations of actions of actor. According to Merton, they mostly include dysfunctions, non-functions and unanticipated functions also. The manifest function of slavery, for example, was to increase the economic productivity of the South, but it had the latent function of providing a vast underclass that served to increase the social status of southern whites, both rich and poor.

He took example of Hopi Tribes and their rain dance. While Manifest function of such rain dances is to appease rain gods, but according to Merton their latent function is to reinforce the solidarity of tribals.

Similarly, in his '*Theory of Leisure Class*', Thorstein Veblen takes example of conspicuous consumption in terms of purchase of new cars. Transportation is manifest function, but latent function is the reassertion of social status.

MIDDLE RANGE THEORIES

Merton proposed middle range theories in wake of apparent failure of Grand Functional Theories to help in study of society. Middle range theories are a middle path between the macro theories, which were too ambitious, and micro theories, which had little consequence. Middle range theories focus on limited set of assumptions from which specific hypothesis can be derived and empirical testing is possible. Middle range theories are more suitable for sociological analysis for its limited set of assumptions, specific hypothesis and empirical testability.

Major task of middle range theories is to fill the gap between 'raw empiricism' and 'grand theories'. The middle range theories will take specific aspects of social reality which can be theorized and tested empirically. Middle range theories must be supported by quantitative as well as qualitative method and should use both primary and secondary sources of data. Thus, middle range theories are a triple alliance of – theory, data and method.

Advantages of middle range theories include – scientific nature, testability, empiricism, practical applicability etc. However, subjective identification of middle range phenomenon is challenging while recouring to middle range theories.

CONFORMITY and DEVIANCE or MERTON's STRAIN THEORY

Conformity is that action which is oriented to social norms or expectations and which falls within the toleration prescribed by society. Cause of conformity lies in socialization, hierarchy in society, laws and rules, ideology, religion, vested interests etc.

Deviance on the other hand is non-conformity or deviating from the accepted path. Deviance may be positively sanctioned by rewarding it – for example, Nobel Prize for 'deviant' activities – or negatively sanctioned by punishment etc or simply accepted without any reward or punishment. Deviant in one society may be normal in other societies. For example – Teton Sioux Indians of the USA as part of their Sun Dance ceremony mutilate their bodies as a display of valor, but same activity is termed as masochism or madness in other societies. There are two main approaches of dealing with deviance – psychological and sociological. Psychological approaches invariably see deviance as undesirable negative phenomenon. Sociological theories like that of Durkheim and Merton, however, offer a different sociological view.

Merton explains his idea of deviance in his '*Social Structure and Anomie, 1938*'. It is an analysis of the relationship between culture (according to Merton, culture is the organized set of normative values governing behavior), structure, and anomie. Merton's theory of Deviance is based on his own conception of 'Anomie' which was drawn in backdrop of 'The Great Economic Depression'.

His idea of Anomie is different from Durkheim's idea of Anomie. Durkheim defines Anomie as a form of normlessness and defines it as a pathological state due to pathological division of labor. According to Durkheim it always has negative consequences and is only transitory in nature.

Merton on the other hand views Anomie as a part of system and a general feature of society which is always there. He sees it in terms of goals and means and it can lead to positive deviance also. He defined anomie as '*A situation in which there is a discrepancy between culturally defined goals and structural means available to achieve them*'. The culture calls for some type of behavior that the social structure prevents from occurring. Deviance is considered as a result of anomie.

He takes example of '*American Dream*' which mentions the very feasibility of journey from 'Log Cabin to White House' for everyone. According to Merton, in American society, the culture places great emphasis on material success, but many people fail to achieve such success due to their position in society. Merton argues that this is so because structural means are not sufficient and only a few privileged reach at the top. This creates a feeling of deprivation among the others. The legitimate means to economic success are education and jobs. Not all groups of people have equal access to these means, however.

The result is '*Structural Strain*' that produces deviance. Lower class individuals are most likely to experience these strains because they aim for the same goals as the rest of society, however they have blocked opportunities for success. These individuals are therefore more likely to turn to crime and deviance as a way to achieve economic success. There is a high correlation that exists between unemployment and crime and the structural strain theory helps explain this relationship.

According to Merton, structure of society itself produces deviance rather than psychological factors or personality types.

A deviant person may resort to various responses and Merton enumerates five responses which he also calls as 'adaptive responses' –

- I. **Conformist** – He or she is the one who accept both goals and means and despite their utility or fairness, he or she keep on pursuing them with some degree of indifference.
- II. **Innovator** – It occurs when an individual accepts 'culturally defined goals', but rejects 'socially accepted means'. According to this broad definition, scientists are also deviants apart from thieves, robbers etc. On the other hand if a person who may accept cultural goal of material progress, but resort to means like theft and crime can also fall in same category of innovator. Merton argues that the members of the lower strata of society are most likely to resort to this route to success. He also argues that innovators are imperfectly socialized. So, that they abandon institutional means while retaining success aspiration.
- III. **Ritualist** – A ritualist accepts socially understandable means, but fails to understand goals. Red-tapism in bureaucracy follows ritualism. A ritualist is least concerned with the achievement or non-achievement of goals. Members of lower middle class are the most

likely adopters of this response as their occupations provide them little chances of great success, but their lower middle class values deter them to take other means.

- IV. **Retreatist** – It involves rejection of both means and goals. Alcoholics, drug addicts, vagrants etc fall in this category.
- V. **Rebellion** – It involves first rejection of both goals and means and then creation of new means and goals. Social reformers fall in this category as they propose new goals which become institutionalized later on. They most predominantly belong to a rising class rather than the most depressed strata.

	Means	Goals	
Conformist	+	+	
Innovator	–	+	Criminals
Ritualist	+	–	Bureaucrats
Retreator	–	–	Drug Addicts
Rebellion	– → +	– → +	Revolutionaries

Out of these five responses, except for the first one, other responses are '*anomic responses*'. According to Merton, majority of people remain conformists, even if there is a discrepancy between means and goals.

His theory of deviance is important for following terms –

- I. Deviance represents a middle range phenomenon which is an exemplification of Merton's idea of middle range.
- II. He highlighted unintended consequences of culturally defined goals and means in terms of dysfunctions also and thus, he modified existing functional approach.

Thus, in anomie as a particular example of structural functionalism, Merton is looking at social (and cultural) structures, but he is not focally concerned with the functions of those structures as in case of earlier structure functionalists. Instead, as per his functional paradigm, he is mainly concerned with dysfunctions and anomie is such an example.

Through the idea of anomie, Merton also introduces an element of criticism to the process of stratification in society which is seen as totally functional by the earlier structural functionalists like Davis and Moore.

According to Merton, conformists are conformists not because they stand opposite to deviants, but due to following reasons –

- I. Those who are conformists at one point are deviants at another point of time.
- II. Further, even a deviant also confirm to either means or goals (except a Retreatist)
- III. Many cultures diverge from each other, such that deviance in one culture is conformance in another. For example – Homosexuality in India vs Germany.

Criticism of theory of anomie –

- I. According to interactionists like Howard Becker in his article '*Labeling Theory Reconsidered, 1974*', Deviance is not the intrinsic quality of behavior itself. One is

'labeled' as a deviant and one 'is' not deviant. Same person may not be labeled as deviant by one group, but can be by another group.

- II. Lemert in his '*Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control, 1972*' as well as Laurie Taylor in his '*Deviance and Society, 1971*' argue that those who wield power also decide who will be deviant. Definitions of deviance don't reflect consensus of society, but views of the powerful.
- III. Merton refers to only goals and means, there may be other aspects of social structure which may cause anomie.
- IV. Albert Cohen in his '*Deviance and Control, 1966*' argues that deviance is due to a specific subculture that members of particular subgroups develop. Hence, it is collective in nature and not at individual level as Merton has tried to prove.
- V. Albert Cohen further argues that Merton has failed to take into account 'non-utilitarian crimes' such as vandalism which don't produce any rewards which can be explained by idea of a subculture.
- VI. Chicago School also develops a distinctive explanation of deviance in form of an 'ecological approach' according to which, in a given city or town etc, deviance levels vary from area to area depending upon relative economic prosperity and other factors.
- VII. A person at different times may respond to same type of social impetus differently. It shows that anomic behavior depends individual as well.

MERTON and DURKHEIM on ANOMIE and DEVIANCE

DURKHEIM	MERTON
Durkheim sees anomie as a result of pathological consequences of certain social facts.	Anomie is a structural phenomenon.
Anomie is a temporary stage, occurring when there is a transition from one set of values to another and there is lack of value consensus during this transition.	According to Merton, Anomie is ever present in society as some degree of structural strain is always there.
Durkheim sees anomie as synonymous to normlessness and since it is pathological state, it has negative consequences.	Anomie is not normlessness per se, but a result of frustration from inability to achieve culturally defined goals. It may also lead to positive effects like innovation, revolution etc.

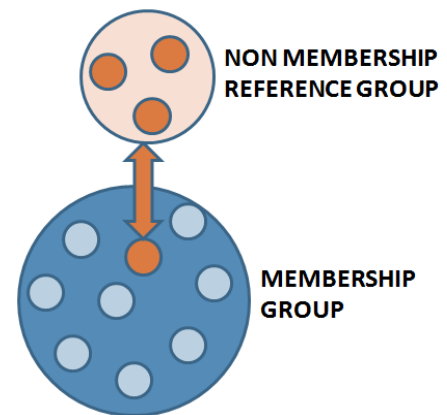
REFERENCE GROUP

Reference group as a concept first appeared in – '*Archives of Psychology*' of Herbert Hayman, but it was Merton who added a functional dimension in his '*Contribution to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior, 1950*'.

This theory was primarily inspired from the Samuel Stouffer's – '*The American Soldier*' which highlights the feeling of *relative deprivation* of a soldier despite no apparent deprivation in terms of actual hardship.

It is defined as a group to which one always makes comparison to in order to evaluate one's achievement, aspirations, role performance and ambition. They act as normative standards for the individual.

Merton later on distinguished between 'Reference Group' and '*Interaction Group*'. Interaction groups are a more general part of the individual's social environment – but may neither set 'normative standards' for individual nor secure as a standard of comparison. On the other hand reference group is the aspirational group and is defined in normative terms as a standard of comparison. It implies that relative deprivation is also akin to reference group behavior.



Reference groups can be of two types –

- I. Membership Groups
- II. Non-Membership Groups

Further, according to Merton, reference groups can be of two more types – *positive* and *negative* reference groups. Positive reference groups are one that individual wishes to join; negative are those which individual wishes to avoid.

He also gives concept of '*anticipatory socialization*' in which individual starts to behave in a manner in which members of aspirational reference group behave. It leads to change in value system of individual and it facilitates easy merger of individual in the aspirational group.

He also sees some dysfunctional aspects of anticipatory socialization in case of '*Closed Systems*'. In such a situation, an individual becomes a pariah in his own social group and also fails to gain entry into reference group and is reduced a '*marginal man*'.

It is totally up to an individual to decide upon what reference group will one will make. So a membership group may not be a reference group, but a non-membership group can be.

Merton also suggested some factors which are decisive in making a group as reference group –

- I. Power and prestige
- II. Isolation in membership group
- III. Open vs close group
- IV. Reference individuals or role models in a group

Further, reference groups don't remain same always. The choice of reference groups depends on the nature and quality of norms and values one is interested in and as interests change, reference groups also change. One's reference group in political field may not be same as those in religious field. As choice of reference group is entirely upon an individual, often there is a considerable difference in type of groups chosen by different generations. This to some extent explains the phenomenon of 'Generation Gap'.

Merton's theories and concepts are considered relevant especially, developing a concept of holistic explanation in terms of both intended and unintended consequences. Social problems can be approached in a more pragmatic way undertaking its manifest and latent analysis. By using Merton's functional paradigm a number of middle range theories were formulated which have strengthened the understanding of society. For example – his theory of deviance has led to development of a number of sub-cultural theories of deviance. The study of limited phenomenon is followed till now. Finally, his reference group concept is so widely used in practice, that it has now become a part of common vocabulary.

Mead – Self and Identity

Mead was one of the most important scholars that were associated with Chicago School and he rejected a behavioristic view of human beings, the view that people blindly and unconsciously respond to external stimuli. He believed that people had consciousness, a self, and that it was the responsibility of the sociologist to study this aspect of social reality. He was highly influenced by *psychological behaviorism* and included many of its principles in his works. Mead offered sociology a social-psychological theory that stood in stark contrast to the primarily societal theories offered by most of the major European theorists. His works were also central towards evolution of symbolic interactionism.



HERBERT MEAD

SELF and IDENTITY

The two most significant intellectual roots of Mead's work in particular, and of symbolic interactionism in general, are the *philosophy of pragmatism* and *psychological behaviorism*. His ideas are contained in '*Mind, Self and Society, 1934*' – a work compiled from notes of his students, in particular of Herbert Blumer. His major theoretical work in the field of Symbolic Interactionism is his idea of 'Self'. "Self" according to Herbert Blumer is the foundation of Symbolic Interactionism.

In Mead's view, traditional social psychology began with the psychology of the individual in an effort to explain social experience; in contrast, Mead always gives priority to the social world in understanding social experience. A thinking, self-conscious individual is logically impossible in Mead's theory without a prior social group. The social group comes first, and it leads to the development of self-conscious mental states.

The '**gesture**' is in Mead's view the basic mechanism in the social act and in the social process. More generally it can be physical or vocal. What distinguishes humans is their ability to employ '*significant gestures*', or those that require thought on the part of the actor before a reaction. The 'vocal gesture' is particularly important in the development of significant gestures. Not all vocal gestures are significant, for example – a grunt. However, it is the development of vocal gestures, especially in the form of language that is the most important factor in making possible the distinctive development of human life.

A '**significant symbol**' is a kind of gesture, one which only humans can make. Gestures become significant symbols when they arouse in the individual who is making them the same kind of response they are supposed to elicit from those to whom the gestures are addressed. Only when we have significant symbols can we truly have communication. Communication in the full sense of the term is not possible among ants, bees, and so on. Physical gestures can be significant symbols, but they are not ideally suited to be significant symbols because people cannot easily see or hear their own physical gestures. Thus, it is vocal utterances that are most likely to become significant symbols, although not all vocalizations are such symbols. The set of vocal gestures most likely to become significant symbols is 'language'.

In a conversation of gestures, only the gestures themselves are communicated. However, with language the gestures and their meanings are communicated. Another effect of language is that it stimulates the person speaking as it does others. From a pragmatic point of view, a significant symbol works better in the social world than does a non-significant gesture. For example, in communicating our displeasure to others, an angry verbal rebuke works far better than does contorted body language.

Of crucial importance in Mead's theory is another function of significant symbols — that they make the 'mind', mental processes, and so on, possible. It is only through significant symbols, especially language, that human 'thinking' is possible. Mead defines thinking as '*simply an internalized or implicit conversation of the individual with himself by means of such gestures*' or it is a *conversation between 'I' and 'Me'*. In other words, thinking involves talking to oneself and this is possible only when there is present a language or significant symbols. Significant symbols like language also make possible symbolic interaction.

Mind is defined by Mead as a process and not as a thing. It is as an *inner conversation with one's self*, is not found within the individual; it is not intracranial but is a social phenomenon. It arises and develops within the social process and is an integral part of that process. The social process precedes the mind; it is not, as many believe, a product of the mind. Mind can be distinguished from other like-sounding concepts like consciousness etc. in Mead's work by its ability to respond to the overall community and put forth an organized response. Mind involves thought processes oriented toward problem solving. The real world is rife with problems, and it is the function of the mind to try to solve those problems and permit people to operate more effectively in the world.

SELF

Self is the *peculiar ability to be both subject and object*. As is true of all Mead's major concepts, the self presupposes a social process – communication among humans. Lower animals do not have selves, nor do human infants at birth. The self arises with development and through social activity and social relationships. To Mead, it is impossible to imagine a self arising in the absence of social experiences. However, once a self has developed, it is possible for it to continue to exist without social contact.

The self is dialectically related to the mind. That is, on the one hand, the body is not a self and becomes a self only when a mind has developed. On the other hand, the self, along with its reflexivity, is essential to the development of the mind. However, even though we may think of it as a mental process, the *self is a social process*. In this way, Mead seeks to give a behavioristic sense of the self.

The general mechanism for the development of the self is *reflexivity*, or *the ability to put ourselves unconsciously into others' places and to act as they act*. As a result, people are able to examine themselves as others would examine them. The *self also allows people to take part in their conversations with others*. That is, one is aware of what one is saying and as a result is able to monitor what is being said and to determine what is going to be said next. In order to have selves, *individuals must be able to get 'outside themselves' so that they can evaluate themselves, so that they can become objects to themselves*. To do this, people basically put themselves in the same experiential field as they put everyone else. However, people cannot experience themselves directly. They can do so only indirectly by putting themselves in the position of others and viewing themselves from that standpoint. The standpoint from which one views one's self can be that of a particular individual or that of the social group as a whole.

In Mead's analysis, 'Self' is greatly dynamic because –

- I. It carries the capability to read the self of others.
- II. It has capability to go for internal interaction between 'I' and 'Me'
- III. It has capability to communicate with 'mind'

According to mead, 'Self' of an individual is *a process and not a thing*. It is not a biological phenomenon and individual is not born with a self, but it develops as individual grows in society and is developed through communication and interactions. Mead traces the genesis of the self through two stages in childhood development –

- I. **Play Stage** – The first stage is the play stage; it is during this stage that children learn to take the attitude of '*particular/discrete others*' to themselves. Although lower animals also play, only human beings '*play at being someone else*'. Children play various roles in which they learn to take roles of others who are around them. As a result of such play, *the child learns to become both subject and object* and begins to *become able to build a self*. However, it is a '*limited self*' because the child can take only the roles of 'distinct and separate others'. For example, children may play at being 'mommy' and 'daddy' and in the process develop the ability to evaluate themselves as their parents, and other specific individuals, do. However, they lack a more general and organized sense of themselves.
- II. **Game Stage** – It is the next stage, the game stage, that is required if a person is to develop a self in the full sense of the term. Whereas in the 'play stage' the child takes the role of '*discrete/particular others*', in the game stage the child must take the role of everyone else involved in the game i.e. take the roles of

'generalized other'. In the play stage, children are not organized wholes because they play at a series of discrete roles. As a result, in Mead's view they lack definite personalities. However, in the game stage, such organization begins and a definite personality starts to emerge. Children *begin to become able to function in organized groups and, most important, to determine what they will do within a specific group*. In other words, *to have a self, one must be a member of a community and be directed by the attitudes common to the community*. While play requires only pieces of selves, the game requires a coherent self.

'Generalized Other' is one of the central concept in Mead's theory of 'self'. The *generalized other is the attitude of the entire community*. The ability to take the role of the generalized other is essential to the self. It is also crucial that people be able to evaluate themselves from the point of view of the 'generalized other' and not merely from the viewpoint of 'discrete others'. Taking the role of the generalized other, rather than that of discrete others, *allows for the possibility of abstract thinking and objectivity. Not only is taking the role of the generalized other essential to the self, it also is crucial for the development of organized group activities*. The generalized other also represents Mead's familiar propensity to give priority to the social, because it is through the generalized other that the group influences the behavior of individuals.

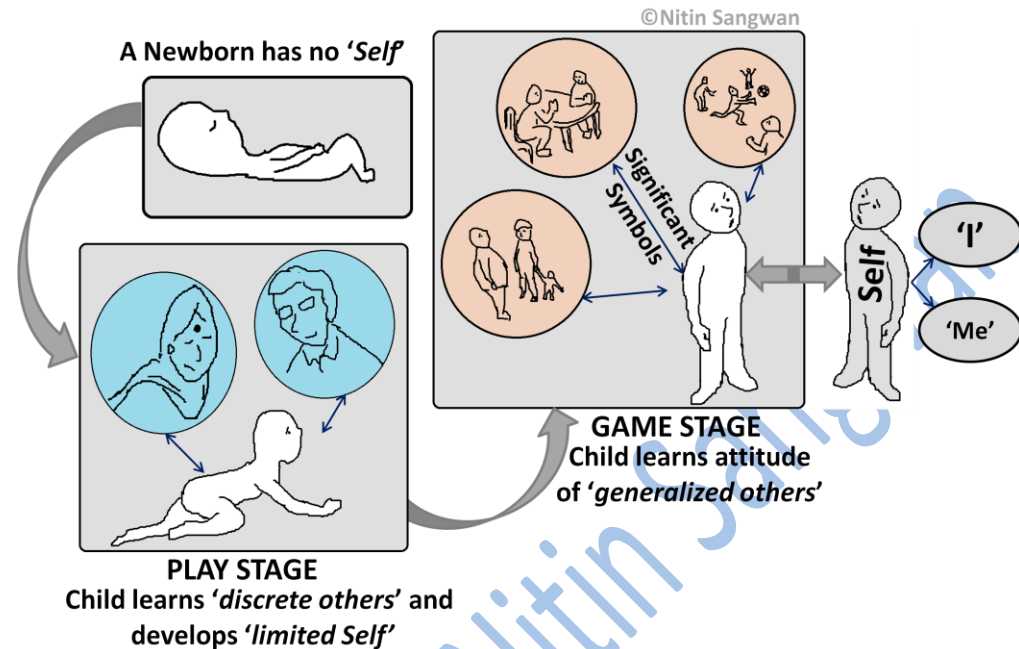
Mead also looks at the self from a pragmatic point of view. At the individual level, the self allows the individual to be a more efficient member of the larger society. Because of the self, people are more likely to do what is expected of them in a given situation. Because people often try to live up to group expectations, they are more likely to avoid the inefficiencies that come from failing to do what the group expects. Furthermore, the self allows for greater coordination in society as a whole. Because individuals can be counted on to do what is expected of them, the group can operate more effectively.

Though community plays a large role in formation of self, it doesn't mean actors are little more than conformists and that there is little individuality, since everyone is busy conforming to the expectations of the generalized other. But Mead is clear that each *self is different from all the others*. There is not simply one grand generalized other but that *there are many generalized others in society*, because there are many groups in society. People therefore have multiple generalized others and, as a result, multiple selves. Each person's unique set of selves makes him or her different from everyone else. Furthermore, people need not accept the community as it is; they can reform things and seek to make them better. In other words, to stand up to the generalized other, the individual must construct a still larger generalized other, composed not only from the present but also from the past and the future, and then respond to it.

I and ME

Mead identifies two aspects, or phases, of the self, which he labels the 'I' and the 'Me'. According to Mead, the self is essentially a social process going on with these two

distinguishable phases. 'I' and the 'Me' are processes within the larger process of the self; they are not 'things.'



The 'I' is the immediate response of an individual to others. It is the incalculable, unpredictable, and creative aspect of the self. People do not know in advance what the action of the 'I' will be. We are never totally aware of the 'I' and through it we surprise ourselves with our actions. We know the 'I' only after the act has been carried out. Thus, we know the 'I' only in our memories. Mead lays great stress on the 'I' for four reasons –

- I. First, it is a key source of novelty in the social process.
- II. Second, Mead believes that it is in the 'I' that our most important values are located.
- III. Third, the 'I' constitutes something that we all seek — the realization of the self. It is the 'I' that permits us to develop a 'definite personality.'
- IV. Finally, Mead sees an evolutionary process in history in which people in primitive societies are dominated more by the 'Me' while in modern societies there is a greater component of the 'I'

The 'I' gives Mead's theoretical system some much-needed dynamism and creativity. Without it, Mead's actors would be totally dominated by external and internal controls. Since every personality is a mix of 'I' and 'Me,' the great historical figures are seen as having a larger proportion of 'I' than most others have. But in day-to-day situations, anyone's 'I' may assert itself and lead to change in the social situation. Uniqueness is also brought into Mead's system through the biographical articulation of each individual's 'I' and 'Me'. That is, the specific exigencies of each person's life give him or her a unique mix of 'I' and 'Me'.

The 'I' reacts against the 'Me,' which is the *'organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes'*. In other words, the 'Me' is the *adoption of the generalized other* and Mead calls it *'Social Self'*. In contrast to the 'I,' people are conscious of the 'Me'; the 'Me' involves conscious responsibility. As Mead says, 'The 'Me' is a conventional, habitual individual'. Conformists are dominated by the 'Me,' although everyone – whatever his or her degree of conformity – has, and must have, a substantial 'Me.' It is through the 'Me' that society dominates the individual. Indeed, Mead defines the idea of social control as the dominance of the expression of the 'Me' over the expression of the 'I'.

Mead also looks at the 'I' and the 'Me' in pragmatic terms. The 'Me' allows the individual to live comfortably in the social world, while the 'I' makes change in society possible. Society gets enough conformity to allow it to function, and it gets a steady infusion of new developments to prevent it from stagnating. The 'I' and the 'Me' are thus part of the whole social process and allow both individuals and society to function more effectively. We achieve self-awareness when we learn to distinguish between 'Me' and 'I'. Individuals become self-conscious when they begin to see themselves as other see them.

I	Me
Both are two dimension of 'Self' which is created socially.	
The 'I' is the immediate response of an individual to others.	Me' is the adoption of the generalized other and also called 'social self'
It is the incalculable, unpredictable, and creative aspect of the self.	'Me' is a conventional, habitual individual
We are never totally aware of the 'I' and we know the 'I' only after the act has been carried out.	We are conscious of the 'Me'
It initiates change	It promotes status quo
It is the storehouse of novelty and creativity	It is a storehouse of conformity

G H mead gave a distinct social-psychologist explanation when sociology was dominated by macro theories. He indicated that foundation of human life is human behavior i.e. not normatively defined as earlier sociologists like Emile Durkheim have argued nor it is purely driven by instinct as indicated by Sigmund Freud nor behavior is totally guided by material considerations as explained by Marx. Rather, human behavior is reflective, reactive and modifiable in interactional situations

Mead is often criticized for ignoring biological/genetic influence on human attitude. According to Ropers, Mead's analysis sees social activities as only discrete episodes without any historical continuity. However this criticism is largely unwarranted as Mead has highlighted that self is not same for every individual and 'I' of individual offers much dynamism to his theory.

This theory of mead debunked all the predecessors and it offered a cornerstone to the rise of Symbolic Interaction. He was a true founder of micro sociological tradition which emerged as twin pillar of the discipline. According to John Dewey, '*Mead was a seminal mind of very first order*'.

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

CHAPTER 5 – STRATIFICATION & MOBILITY

All societies are marked by differences on various counts like – sex, wealth, skills, color, status, power and geography and so on. Such differences may be natural or man-made. But such differences rarely remain differences. Society tends to attach values on such differences in terms of superior or inferior, desirable or undesirable and so on. Attachment of these values leads to evaluation of differences. ‘Social differences’ now become ‘**inequalities**’. While *differences are created by nature, man creates inequalities*. Thus, social inequalities come into existence into every society. This makes inequalities culture specific. These inequalities occur in specific pattern. These patterns are understood through concept of ‘Social Stratification’.

Social stratification is a process in which social inequalities exist in form of structural hierarchical strata one placed above the other. It is defined by Sutherland and Maxwell as ‘*a process of differentiation which places some people higher than the others*’. Stratification is viewed as a social process (social phenomenon) as well as a method (mental construct). As a social process, it has 4 sub processes –

- I. Differentiation – Differences exist socially as well as naturally and they exist in every society.
- II. Evaluation – Differences are evaluated in terms of prestige, desirability and so on. It leads a feeling of superiority, inferiority etc among people with differences.
- III. Ranking – The differences and inequalities also don’t exist in objective state, but are compared. Ranking is applied on people who share a common characteristic which are evaluated in terms of desirability and undesirability.
- IV. Rewarding – After differentiation and evaluation, society develops a system of rewards and punishment in form of differential opportunities to those belonging to different strata, and stratification is further reinforced.

Strata are either closed or open. In closed strata mobility is not possible. For example – caste is largely a closed stratification type. Modern democracies are example of open stratification.

Social stratification can be traditionally classified into four forms by T B Bottomore – slavery, estates, caste and class.

- I. **Slavery** is the earliest form of social stratification. It is the legally recognized division of society into slaves and citizens. Citizens have the citizenship rights where as the slaves doesn’t have citizenship rights. It existed in most of the parts of Europe and other ancient nations between 500 BC to 600 BC.
- II. **Estate system** is a later form of social stratification, which according to Bottomore, developed as a result of development of feudal system. They were established in the Europe in 7th century and they lasted into the 17th century. Estates were legally defined with each estate having special privileges and duties. Feudal estates were also political groups. Estates include serfs, clergy and feudal lords or the nobility as three estates. The nobility were ordained to defend all, the clergy to pray for all and the commons to provide food for all. Feudal lords were in control of land also. Clergy and feudal lords controlled economy and oppressed the serfs. A vestige of estate system still remains in England in which hereditary titles are still recognized and some other persons are also knighted for their services.

- III. **Caste** is a type of social stratification in which occupation, status and rights are fixed by birth.
- IV. **Social classes** may have existed since long, but had more definite origin in the feudal estates of Europe. Classes are the consequences of economic factors. According to Marx the ownership of the means of production is the crucial factor that shapes the class system. Those who own the means of production like land and capital, form one class and those who do not, form another class. Classes also connote greater degree of mobility than other erstwhile modes of stratification like estates, slavery etc.

Inequality and Equality

G D Berreman suggests that out of 'differentiation' of persons, which is a natural and universal phenomenon, inequality or social evaluation of differences arises. They are a result of association of individuals to different social groups which are evaluated differently by society.

Patterns of unequal access to social resources are commonly called social inequalities. In every society, some people have a greater share of valued resources – money, property, education, health, and power – than others. These social resources can be divided into four forms of capital according to Pierre Bourdieu –

- I. Economic capital in the form of material assets and income
- II. Cultural capital such as educational qualifications and status
- III. Social capital in the form of networks of contacts and social associations
- IV. Symbolic capital which refers to social status, good reputation etc

Often, these forms of capital overlap and one can be converted into the other. For example, a person from a well-off family (economic capital) can afford expensive higher education, and can acquire cultural or educational capital. Someone with influential relatives and friends (social capital) may – through access to good advice, recommendations or information – manage to get a well-paid job.

Inequalities existed long ago and they have been studied even before the dawn of sociology as a discipline. Rousseau identified two kinds of inequality among people, first, *natural* or physical inequality referring to difference of age, health, bodily strength, and mental abilities; and second, *moral* or political inequality referring to differences in privileges that are established or authorized by the consent of people themselves e.g. power, honor.

Inequalities in society exist in various forms – income, political, economic, wealth, capability, social capital and so on. These inequalities become repressive when they are rigidly enforced. Caste, slavery, bondage etc are such examples. Inequalities take form of stratification in society when they are present in structure of the society in different hierarchical patterns. Inequalities exist at micro level as well as at macro level. Globally, nations are also divided as – first world countries and the third world countries. Dependency theory expresses these inequalities from a Marxist perspective.

Marxists attribute inequalities in societies to the unequal access to the forces of production. According to them, opportunities and resources are monopolized by a few at the expense of the others which lead to inequalities in societies.

Functionalists on the other hand argue that inequalities in society are inevitable as they ensure that all kinds of jobs get done in the society. Inequalities are a result of unequal capabilities of individuals and they get unequal rewards for that.

Attempts have also been made to measure inequalities – especially economic inequalities – in objective terms. Gini Coefficient is used by the economists to measure economic inequalities at the national level.

Excessive inequalities are seen as undesirable in both communist and capitalist societies as it is a potential source of unrest, conflict and antagonism. Indian constitution mentions reduction of social and economic inequalities as one of the directive principles which state should strive to follow. Similarly, in most of the countries, taxation is in form of 'progressive taxation' which involves taxing the rich at a higher rate and the less affluent at lower rate. Similarly, social security schemes are run by governments in the most of developed countries which aim at uplifting the poor and bridging the economic gap between the rich and the poor. In India also, many positive discrimination tools are used to minimize social and income inequalities. Provisioning of reservations, PDS, concessional loans, subsidies, free education, cheaper medicines etc aim at reducing the inequalities.

Hierarchy

Hierarchy in society is closely associated with process of stratification. While one view is that in traditional societies hierarchy existed, but in modern societies there is stratification. According to the sociologists, hierarchy prevailed in societies based on castes or estates and social-inequalities were legitimated as naturally given. Stratification, on the other hand, is a feature of modern industrial societies in which inequalities do exist but are not considered as a part of natural or divine order.

In general, inequalities lead to stratification and stratification leads to hierarchy. When these inequalities are arranged in an order, hierarchy is formed. Hierarchy denotes presence of multiple strata in a society placed one above the other. Hierarchies can be present in many forms – caste hierarchy, class hierarchy, gender hierarchy, political hierarchy and so on. More extensive the hierarchy, higher is differentiation in society. Further, according to the functionalists, hierarchy is also a symbol of rising specialization and differentiation in society. Post modernists argue that western societies now have a continuum of individualized inequalities and hence almost infinite strata and numerous hierarchies.

Hierarchy can also be interpreted as opposite of equality. Modern democratic societies provide for equality of opportunity and abhor hierarchy based on status. Rule of law and equality of law have given equal status to everyone. Though, modern democracies have facilitated equality in political sphere, inequalities in social and economic sphere still exist. In fact, today one is part of multiple hierarchies at the same time. There is a different hierarchy at workplace and a different at home.

Hierarchy also results into unequal opportunities and unequal rewards. Unequal rewards further reinforce hierarchy. Marxists perceive this hierarchy as a design of the dominant classes and deem it inimical to classless society. According to them, hierarchy promotes conflict as well. Functionalists on the other hand argue that hierarchy is symbol of division of labor in society and is necessary for working of social system.

Exclusion

Social exclusion, according to Ruth Lister in her seminal work titled '*Poverty, 2004*', refers to ways in which individuals may become cut off from full involvement in the wider society or prevention of individuals or groups from having the same opportunities that are available to the majority of population. It means 'being left out', so it can be voluntary or due to structural reasons which is a more prevalent and commonly understood form of social exclusion.

It is a process by which individuals or households experience multiple deprivations – either of resources or of social links to the wider community or society – which prevents them from participating fully in the economic, social and political life of the society in which they are around. Differential treatment, unequal opportunities and marginalization are tools of social exclusion. Social exclusion is not accidental but systematic – it is the result of structural features of society. It is a broader concept than poverty or inequality as it may encompass both. Social exclusion is involuntary – that is, exclusion is practiced regardless of the wishes of those who are excluded. For example, rich people are never found sleeping on the pavements or under bridges like thousands of homeless poor people in cities and towns.

Stratification and inequalities in society promote exclusion as in case of caste system, class etc. It is not same as poverty and has multiple dimensions –

- I. Exclusion of social rights and barriers thereof which prevent access to these rights.
- II. Resource or economic exclusion as in case of poverty
- III. Labor market exclusions as in case of unemployment and underemployment
- IV. Service exclusion as in case of caste system, racial segregation
- V. Exclusion from social relations like family friends etc which happens when people are away or forbidden to make such contacts
- VI. Exclusion in another sense means isolation from larger society itself and deals with issues like anomie and social integration.
- VII. Exclusion as extreme marginalization as in case of multi cultural societies.

Homelessness is one of the worst forms of social exclusions according to Anthony Giddens as it automatically excludes an individual from various other services. Social exclusion leads to other abnormal behaviors also. For example – Elliott Currie in her studies found that exclusion also leads to delinquent behavior. Apart from poverty, exclusion is also practiced on several other basis like race. Apartheid is one of the most telling examples of social exclusion which is still prevalent in South Africa despite legal ban on it. In India, Dalits or the ex-untouchable castes, tribals, women and the differently-abled are worst sufferers of exclusion.

Prolonged experience of discriminatory or insulting behavior often produces a reaction on the part of the excluded who then stop trying for inclusion. For example, 'upper' caste Hindu communities have often denied entry into temples for the 'lower' castes and specially the Dalits. After decades of such treatment, the Dalits may build their own temple, or convert to another religion.

At different periods of history protest movements arose against caste, gender and religious discrimination. Yet prejudices remain and often, new ones emerge. When legislations are enacted to curb exclusions, these are practiced at more subtle and latent level. Thus, legislation alone is unable to

transform society or produce lasting social change. A constant social campaign to change awareness and sensitivity is required to break them.

Further, social exclusion is not a phenomenon prevalent among under-privileged only and can be voluntary as well. It is practiced among affluent as well. Exclusive clubs, gated communities are such examples. 'Religious and social outcasting' is a phenomenon prevalent in India which applies to affluent class also when they violate norms of the groups. People may also exclude themselves in other situations like – delinquency, drug addiction, school dropout, anomie, escapist mentality and so on.

Poverty

Poverty is a social problem which is often expressed in terms of lack of material resources which one requires for a minimum standard of life. Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and caused by a variety of factors and hence its manifestation also differs from context to context. Poverty is an inter-related wave of economic, social, psychological, cultural and political factors which influence the occurrence and persistence of poverty. Real poverty may not be apparent and apparent poverty may not be real.

Poverty is pronounced deprivation in well being and comprises many dimensions. It includes low income, inability to acquire basic goods and services required for survival with dignity. There are two broad views on poverty – one is of a sociologist and other is of an economist. A sociologist looks at it as a multidimensional concept by taking into consideration the many aspects of human well-being while an economist identifies the lack of economic resources as causing hardship to a person. A sociologist views poverty within the framework of social problems and concerns himself with the causes and effects of poverty.

Poverty can also be looked from various other perspectives, like – *absolute* or *relative* poverty. Absolute poverty is measured in terms of a benchmark like per capita income in absolute terms through concepts like '*poverty line*'. Currently, such global parameter is \$1.25 per day. But this suffers from a major weakness as purchasing powers and currency exchange rates in different countries may be different. Relative poverty on the other hand argues that poverty is culturally defined and measured in terms of relative deprivation. Other measures like 'calorie' approach have also been adopted. Indian government has recently adopted a more comprehensive benchmark which not only includes minimum calorific requirement, but also expenditure on certain basic amenities.

Major theories that have described poverty are –

- I. **'Blame the poor' view** and **'blame the system' view** – It can be argued that the poor remain in poverty because avenues of social mobility are very few and structural means are not available to everyone. There are often visible and invisible barriers which are overlooked by 'blame the poor' view. While the 'blame the poor' view identifies that a poor is poor due to lack of skills, competency and unwillingness to enter labor market, structural perspective asks why a poor person has low skill and competency? There are several structural factors like – class, caste, gender, ethnicity, educational and health access, geographical factors etc which lead to differential access to resources and rewards. So, lack of ambition, skills and competency is a

consequence of the constrained situation of the poor and not a cause of it. So, structural view calls for minimizing of inequalities and redistribution of resources for reducing the poverty.

- II. **The cultural perspective** – Term ‘Culture of Poverty’ was popularized in US in 1950s by Oscar Lewis in his study of Mexican cities. According to it, poverty is not a result of individual shortcomings, but an outcome of a larger social atmosphere in which children are socialized. According to the cultural perspective on poverty, the lower class is seen as manifesting patterns of behavior and values which are characteristically different from those of the dominant society and culture and is similar across countries marked by features like – fatalism, instant gratification, feeling of dependency, helplessness etc. This culture, or sub-culture as Lewis calls it, helps in perpetuating the poverty.
- III. **The situational perspective** – It views poverty as not a result of value system of the poor, but due to external situational constraints.
- IV. **Poverty as a positive feedback system or vicious circle** – It is also called vicious circle of poverty and this theory argues that various factors which cause poverty work in such a way that a poor person can never get out of those. For example – unemployment leads to poverty, poor people cannot have good education, without good education there is no employment.
- V. **Stratification theories** – The poor are also part of stratification scheme in society in which they occupy the bottom of the pyramid. Different approaches define this stratification differently. For example – functionalists like Herbert Gans in his ‘*More Equality, 1973*’ argue that poverty persists because it is rewarding for a majority of section who wants various kinds of services. Its existence ensures that all kinds of menial works also get done. It helps in running of various institutions like Police, hospitals, asylums etc. Poor also provide a baseline of failure to the rest of society which works hard to avoid fall to that level. However, non-functional view holds that some sections like – older people, minority groups, females etc are more likely to witness poverty.
- VI. **Dialectical approach** – Marxists argue that poverty in society can only be understood in terms of the effects of a capitalist economy. According to them, the question ‘*Why Poverty?*’ is same as asking ‘*Why Wealth?*’.
- VII. **Poverty and power thesis** – Ralph Miliband in his ‘*Politics and Poverty, 1974*’ argues that the poor are the weakest groups in power struggle for the scarce resources. Poor often have no bargaining powers, low trade union support which is exploited by the employers.
- VIII. **Feminist view** – Poverty of women is often hidden behind the study of poverty as a household phenomenon according to Ruspini in his article ‘*Longitudinal Research in Social Sciences, 2000*’. It is well known that employment rates of women are lower than men and they often land into low paid jobs.
- IX. **Dependency theory** – Andre Gunder Frank argues that poverty in East is a result of prosperity in West. Western countries’ exploitative colonial rule impoverished these countries. Similarly, Wallerstein conceptualized this argument in form of World Systems Theory in current context too.

Gunnar Myrdal refutes neo-Marxist theories and instead argues that poverty is due to lack of development of institutional structures like – educational institutions, political systems, lack of competitive markets and so on.

Poverty is one of the fundamental causes of exclusion. It leads to multiple vulnerabilities and hence multiple forms of exclusions.

Despite various theoretical perspectives and the solutions offered, it is a fact that poverty as a social problem still persists. The welfare state has failed in its promise of redistribution of the wealth. Wealth is reshuffled simply within classes rather than between them. Government efforts are often piecemeal and incremental which fail to make a dent on inequality in structure which can be addressed only by radical changes like massive redistribution of resources.

Surya Narain, in his '*A Handbook of Poverty in India*' asserts that in India poverty also has an ethnic and religious dimension. It is strongly linked with caste, tribe and religious communities and cultural factors. Today, poverty line for Parsi community in Bombay is more than Rs 1 lakh per month, poverty among tribals of central India is more than 50% as compared to national average of 32%. Similarly, Sacchar Committee report of 2006 highlights higher incidence of poverty among Muslims.

Deprivation

It refers to denial of access to resources required for self-development and fulfillment of basic necessities. Resources can be social, economic and cultural and basic necessities vary from one culture to another.

Globally, poverty is more often than not expressed in economic terms, deprivation can have other dimensions as well. According to Pierre Bourdieu, it is lack of adequate social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital. Thus, deprivation is broader phenomenon than poverty. When compared to exclusion, while deprivation is 'of' resources, exclusion is 'from' social participation.

One may face deprivation despite relatively good economic condition. People in war torn areas, like West Asia and some African countries, suffer from multiple deprivations in form of non-access to health, education, sanitation, housing etc due to absence of a peaceful political atmosphere. In other cases, cultural norms can lead to deprivations. For example – in Islamic countries and many other orthodox patriarchal societies, women are not allowed to take education and other social activities. Some traditional societies like India also had rigid social stratification like caste which also led to multiple deprivations for those in lower strata. Similarly, racism and ethnocentric practices also deprive one section of population from amenities of life as it is still a case in South Africa. Thus, deprivation can also be due to structural factors.

Absolute deprivation refers to a situation when one doesn't have even basic necessities of life like – food, sanitation, drinking water, basic education, health. Extreme poverty, marginalization and hunger are examples of absolute deprivation.

Robert Merton also mentions 'relative deprivation' as another form of deprivation. Despite absolute progress in society, due to presence of inequalities, relative deprivation always remains there. Marxists attribute deprivation to unequal nature of society which is marked by unequal control over forces of production.

Theories of Stratification – Structural Functionalist View

Structure functionalists believe that social stratification in society exists because it serves important role in functioning of society. Different strata are created due to differential capacity of actors and their ability to perform different roles. Functionalists see existence of various strata in terms of their interdependence, cooperation and serving the function of integration of society. Parsons, Davis and Moore, W L Warner made important contribution towards development of this perspective.

According to **Parsons**, every society is based upon consensus in terms of norms and values. The conformity to these norms is considered desirable and is often rewarded. Differential conformity and differential rewards form strata in society. People themselves also tend to follow social norms and compare their performance vis-à-vis these norms. Those who perform in greater conformity to these norms get bigger rewards and are ranked higher. Another argument of Parsons is that society has certain functional pre-requisites which need to be fulfilled. Social stratification helps in fulfillment of these functional prerequisites. According to Parsons, stratification is inevitable as value-consensus is an integral part of all types of societies. Parsons acknowledges that there is inequality in society, but this is deemed as legitimate as per values and norms as a measure of differential achievement. Some wield more power and this is considered legitimate as it is deemed to be in welfare of all. Critics argue that which values are more important is not clear, but Parson argues that it vary from society to society, for example – in a traditional society, religious values may be more important. In a developing country like India, integration is the main focus as there is an emphasis on preservation of traditional values and solidarity.

W L Warner in his '*The Social Life of a Modern Community, 1941*' emphasizes on 'social status' instead of economic class. He considers three variables – education, occupation and income – as determinants of status. Other criteria which determine status are – friendship, membership of voluntary groups, leisure activities. He gives similar explanation as that of Parsons in doling out an explanation for differential status.

Similarly, **Davis and Moore** formulated their famed functionalist theory in their work '*Some Principle of Social Stratification, 1945*'. Davis and Moore observed that there is no society which is not stratified; strata exist on the basis of differential rewards. Such rewards are attached to the positions that exist in the various strata and some of these positions are functionally more important and others are functionally less important. Societies need these stratified positions for its proper functioning. Higher rewards are attached to functionally more important positions in order to attract talented people needed to hold such positions. Talent is considered scarce and more talented people are required to hold more functionally important positions. Important positions also require greater investment of time, skill-sets and training on part of the occupier and hence, such positions need to be compensated accordingly. In this way, society ensures that these functions are performed properly, thereby ensuring proper social organization. Thus, social stratification is a mechanism of role allocation in which more important positions are filled by more talented people for the benefit of all. However, this functionalist view came under significant criticism and Melvin Tumin was one of the biggest critics.

Melvin Tumin defines social stratification as an arrangement of any social group or society into a 'hierarchy of positions' that are unequal with regard to power, property, social evaluation and psychic gratification. He challenged the claim of Davis and Moore and argued that it is not possible to determine the relative functional importance of various social positions in an objective manner and similarly, talent and ability can also not be measured. According to him there is no equal opportunity and trainees don't make any significant sacrifices. He also contends that rewards are not the only motivational force to motivate individuals. Tumin looked at the functional theory from a conflict perspective also. He felt that far from being functional, stratification systems are dysfunctional. Firstly, stratification limits the opportunities of the under-privileged or subordinate groups in society, stratification often acts as a barrier to motivation and not a promoter of it. This limitation of opportunities represents a loss of talent to the wider society. Secondly, stratification helps to maintain the status quo even when the status quo has become dysfunctional. This is because the privileged class is able to impose upon society the idea that the existing inequalities are natural, logical and morally right. Thirdly, because stratification systems distribute rewards unjustly, they encourage the less privileged to become hostile, suspicious and distrustful. This results in social unrest and chaos threatening integration of society.

Davis and Moore, however tried to dispel the notions of Tumin and argued that functional importance of a position can be judged by the uniqueness of such positions and degree to which other positions depend on the particular position. Differential rewards are necessary as loss of trainees is not only in terms of money, but also in terms of time and energy. Stratification may be dysfunctional in some instances, but its very existence in society proves its functional nature.

Other major criticisms of structure functional theories of stratification are –

- I. Apart from Tumin, Dahrendorf was also one of the major critics of Functional theory. Ralf Dahrendorf observes that stratification originates from the '*closely related trinity of norms, sanction and power*'.
- II. Similarly, rigidity of caste system cannot be explained through functional theories of Davis and Moore and others.
- III. Further, 'elite recruitment' theory proves that elite gobble up all the rewards and perpetuate elite rule.
- IV. Beck and Baudrillard also visualize that such functional stratification is no longer valid as inequalities are now individualized and no clear strata exist today.
- V. According to Alvin Gouldner, stratification is not inevitable as Davis and Moore predicted and criticizes them for providing a justification for social inequalities.
- VI. According to Jonathan Turner, structure functionalist theories suffer from illegitimate teleologies as a big logical problem. They often take cause and effect and vice-versa.

Theories of Stratification – Marxian View

Marxian idea of stratification flows from his central notion of dialectical materialism, unequal control over forces of production and consequent class formation. His conception of strata is based in material factors. According to Marxian, in every mode of production, a minority gains control over forces of production and hence, society gets divided into two broad strata – the haves or the ruling class and the

have nots or the subject class. This stratification is most acute in capitalism. Power of ruling class is driven from its ownership of the forces of production and it exploits the subject class. Only when the forces of production are communally owned, will classes disappear, thereby bringing an end to the exploitation and oppression of some by the others.

From Marxian perspective, system of stratification is derived from the relation of the social groups to the forces of production. Units or strata are defined as 'classes'. A class is defined as '*a social group whose members share the same relations to the forces of production*'. Relationship between the classes is that of mutual dependence and conflict. For example – proletariat labor depends on capitalists for wages and capitalists depend on labor for work in factories. But this dependence is not in symmetrical reciprocatory terms.

Marx, thus, conceptualizes two broad strata, but also talks of other intermediary strata like – petite bourgeoisie, lumpen proletariat and so on – but asserts that they ultimately constitute two broad strata only through processes of proletarianization and bourgeoisization.

Marx also has an optimistic view about social stratification and he sees class struggle leading a revolution that will ultimately lead to class equality in society.

Unlike functional view, Marxists regard stratification as a mechanism whereby some exploit others rather than a means of furtherance of collective goals.

This Marxian view was extended by other scholars as well who visualize the presence of such strata in every social institution. This stratification is perpetuated by elite-capture and high entry barriers to upper stratum. Some scholars like Wallerstein have extended Marxian view to a pan-global level and have contended that among countries also, there are the haves and the have nots.

Theories of Stratification – Weber's Trinitarian View

Marx said that nature made everyone equal, but some men deprived others. He agreed that there are inequalities in society in various fields, but they all emanate from one thing – control over forces of production. Thus, in the Marxist theory social classes are defined by what relation they have to the means of production.

Weber, however, refused to reduce stratification to economic factors (or class, in Weber's terms) but saw it as multidimensional. Thus, society is stratified on the bases of economics, prestige/status, and power. One resulting implication is that people can rank high on one or two of these dimensions of stratification and low on the other, permitting a far more sophisticated analysis of social stratification.

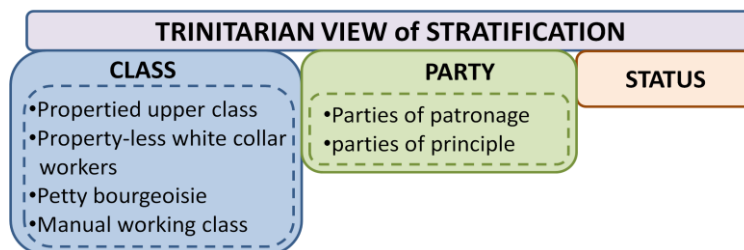
'Class' according to him is not a community but merely a group of people in the same economic or market situation. It is a *group of people who share a similar position in a market situation*. Class situation, therefore, is market situation or economic situation. According to Weber, economic condition of one affects one's chances of obtaining those material things which are deemed as desirable in their society. Weber used the term '*life chances*', which refers to the rewards and advantages afforded by market capacity to differentiate different classes. Those who share similar 'life chances', share similar class. Hence, on the basis of life chances, Weber sees different classes like – propertied upper class, property-less white collar workers, petty bourgeoisie and manual working class.

MARX on CLASS	WEBER on CLASS
Class is the only form of stratification in society based on ownership of forces of production.	Apart from class, there are also other forms of stratification viz – status and party. However, basis of class stratification is mainly economic. Class stratification is not based on ownership of forces of production, but due to economic differences and skills possessed.
There are only two classes – the haves and the have nots.	There are 4 such classes.
For Marx, class has to be understood in the framework of an individual position in the structure of production	For Weber class needs to be understood in the framework of the individual's position in the context of the market of exchange
Marx viewed class in terms of ownership or non-ownership of forces of production	Weber says ownership is not the lone factor as there is value of skills as well in the market.
Intermediate classes will polarize as capitalism matures.	According to Weber, there is no evidence of polarization of classes as grievances of members can be vented out in a number of ways. Further, middle class will swell, and not deplete as Marx predicted, due to rise of bureaucratic organizations.
Proletariat will unite and will lead the proletariat revolution leading to establishment of communism.	Weber emphasized that classes are not communities and this is also the reason that they are unlikely to unite as Marx predicted.

It may also be noted that those people whose fate has nothing to do with the chance of using goods or services for themselves in the market such as the slaves do not form a class in the technical sense of the term. They constitute the status group.

Other than class, Weber proposed the concept of '**status groups**'. Status groups differ from classes in being 'communities'. Weber said that status situation *is determined by positive or negative 'social estimation of honor'*. While class refers to unequal distribution of economic rewards, status refers to unequal distribution of social honor. Status is '*effective claim to social esteem*'. This honor may be any quality that is shared by the people and held in esteem. Possession of property is not always associated with social honor and, is therefore, not essentially a qualification for acquiring status. Income, family background, education and all those criteria that are valued may be identified as markers of status. Status relates to consumption of goods produced, whereas class relates to economic production. Class and status may overlap, but not necessarily. In

fact, due to different status position, a class may be divided. Unlike classes, members of status groups are almost always aware of their common status situation. Weber argues that status groups reach their most developed form in caste system.



In addition to stratification by class and status, Weber proposed the concept of '**party**' as the third element according to which society is stratified. While classes exist in the economic order and status groups in the social order, parties can be found in the political order. To Weber, parties '*are always structures struggling for domination*'. The people who constitute a party are those who have a goal towards which they strive collectively and in a planned manner. The goal may be a cause i.e., a party may seek to realize a programme for ideal or material purposes or the goal may be 'personal' e.g. honor for the leader or followers of the party. Weber thinks of parties very broadly as including not only those that exist in the state but also those that may exist in a social club. Parties usually, but not always, represent class or status groups. Parties may pursue interests that are determined through class situation or through status situation. He identifies two types of parties – *parties of patronage* and *parties of principle*. Whatever they represent, parties are *oriented to the attainment of power*. They may even recruit members from them. They may not, however, be fully class parties or fully status parties. They may be neither of the two.

According to Celia Heller, on one hand Weber says that economic order and status groups are different, on the other hand he says that they are very often correlated. Ulrich Beck says that today inequalities are rooted in risk position. Ulrich Beck in his '*Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity, 1992*' contends that inequalities in modern society are a function of risk taking capability, risk consciousness and risk avoiding capability and not due to class and status per se. Beck and Baudrillard gave concept of individualized inequalities.

Dimensions – Social Stratification of Class, Status Groups, Gender, Ethnicity and Race

Societies are stratified on the basis of numerous inequalities. Forms of inequalities stratification change from time to time. For example once there were feudal strata in Europe, but now they are not. One form of inequality may not exist at other place as well.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION of CLASS

Class is broadly perceived as a social group having identical skills, incomes, wealth and material well being in general. A narrower conception views class in terms of occupational status only. Marx popularized this concept in sociology and he perceived it as a social group which has similar position vis-à-vis mode and forces of production in terms of their ownership and roles. He identified only two broad classes. It differs from other forms of stratification in terms of following characteristics –

- I. Class stratification is fluid and open. There are no legal or traditional sanctions on mobility between different strata.
- II. Class positions in some part achieved and not ascribed.
- III. Class has an economic basis.

Weber defines class as – '*A body of people having identical position in a market situation*'. He broadly defines class structure in terms of 4 classes –

- I. Propertied upper class

- II. White collar workers
- III. Petty bourgeoisie
- IV. Manual laborers

He rejected Marxist idea that different classes tend to polarize toward two dichotomous classes. According to him inequalities are highly dynamic. Besides 'class', there is also 'status' and 'power' dimensions to inequalities.

Various other scholars also make various classifications. For example, Bottomore differentiates four types of classes – upper class, middle class, working class and peasantry.

According to Giddens there are three main sources of class power – the possession of property, qualifications, and physical labor power. These tend to give rise to three-class structure: a dominant/upper class based on property, an intermediate/middle class based on credentials, and a working/lower class based on labor power.

Post modernists also argue that class stratification is no longer segmentry, but is along a continuum of individualized inequalities as a result of almost infinite division of labor, skill sets, consumption patterns and so on.

Goldthorpe in his empirical study of Europe indicates that in even European countries, mobility is limited to only among immediate classes and mobility from a class significantly distanced in hierarchy from another is lower i.e. long range mobility is difficult.

According to Ralf Dahrendorf, class stratification is not in so much antagonistic terms as Marx has visualized. New techniques and methods of directing the class struggle have been developed both in industrial and political sphere.

Pakulski and Waters in their '*Death of Class, 1996*' argue that status dimension is becoming more important in post-industrial societies. Consumption is now based on status and not on basis of occupation or economic well being. Rising consumerism has promoted status and eclipsed class.

Pierre Bourdieu in his '*An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, 1992*' also proposed that lifestyle choices, rather than class, are more important today. Individual identities are now more shaped by lifestyle choices rather than by more traditional indicators like occupation.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF STATUS GROUPS

While class is broadly perceived as grouping on the basis of economic criteria, status is based on prestige, goodwill, fame, personal qualities and social capital of an individual.

Status is often seen in terms of the social position. Earlier, status was seen as in terms of ascriptive values – e.g. – Caste, Nobleman, Clergy, Estate owner etc. Today the term status is wider. Status is both achieved as well as ascriptive.

As a society becomes modern, status is also redefined. New occupations and new opportunities for mobility lead to opening of strata. Mobility in status based groups is more in modern capitalist societies, while less in less developed modern societies.

Status is one of the dimensions of stratification according to Max Weber and he differentiates it from class as 'social estimation of honor'. Status is associated with consumption and not production. According to Weber, caste is the most developed form of status based stratification.

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Pierre Bourdieu in his '*An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, 1992*' also proposed that lifestyle choices, rather than class, are more important today. Individual identities are now more shaped by lifestyle choices rather than by more traditional indicators like occupation. He made a departure from class to status and enumerated four dimensions of status as – cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital.

In context of India, processes of Sanskritization and Westernization were attempts to shift from one status group to another.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION of GENDER

Stratification based on gender is one of the most fundamental forms of stratification. Both in Eastern and Western societies, the long held view is that men are breadwinners and women are expected to take household chores. Often their status was linked to the status of their husbands or fathers. This has been termed 'natural' by functionalist sociologists like Murdock and Parsons. Biological theories of sexual division of labor also support this form of stratification. However this 'Natural' thesis has come under attack as women enter the labor force and the traditional patriarchal division of labor is slowly being turned on its head.

Women are attached to a two-fold stratification i.e. in relation to men and in relation to other women and it operates at two levels – within family and outside family. The unequal accesses to resources, opportunities and rewards and to rights between men and women are legitimized by patriarchy across societies and cultures. It is reinforced through patriarchy and its institutions, gendered division of labor and social institutions like marriage, dowry, property and inheritance and subordination.

Marxist school of thought has led to the conceptualization of sexual division in terms of the 'place' of female labor within the class structure and of its 'functions for capital'. They see female subordination as a result of private property, emergence and consequent adoption of monogamy. However, both Marx and Engels believed that one of the positive fallouts of the capitalism is the increased participation of women in the workforce which will lead to her improved status within the family. Both of them also believed that gender stratification can end

only in communism when women will also communally own the forces of production along with all men.

Some like Blood and Hamblin, in their '*Effect of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure, 1968*', also argue that gender stratification is not significantly altered by more participation of women in economic roles. They take decision making power inside the family as the main criterion of empowerment. According to them, despite women taking more participation in employment, important family decisions are still made by women. Mother-housewife role still remains a primary one. So long as patriarchy remains, gender inequality will remain.

Blackburn and Stewart in their '*Women, Work and Class Structure, 1977*' also argue that women going to work itself doesn't ensure gender equality, but it rather enforces it as women enter only a specific market which is reserved for females only. In developing countries also women are more likely to engage in agriculture and service instead of industrial production. Women are often employed in part time and low paid jobs. Occupational segregation reinforces stratification in society. Top positions are still out of reach of women. As a result, stratification which prevailed within family is now extended to the workplace as well.

Even in communist countries like Russia, though workforce participation of women has increased, but they are being restricted to certain 'feminine' roles only.

Similarly, in Kibbutzs also, though there is a theoretical equality between man and woman, a study by Tiger and Shepher in 1970s reveals that Kibbutzs are also highly polarized and male take agriculture, construction etc and women take roles like nursing, infant teaching, kindergarten etc.

While nature created sexual difference, gender is a social construct according to feminist sociologist Ann Oakley. She rejected biological basis as offered by Tiger and Fox, Parsons etc. According to feminists, women are oppressed as a class by men and patriarchal structures are geographically and historically almost universal.

Frank Parkin in his '*Class Inequality and Political Order, 1972*' however dismisses the idea of women being a 'class'. According to him, woman is a part of a family as a whole and family and not individual is actually a basic unit for analysis of stratification. Similarly, Helen Mayor also dismisses class notion attached to women and instead term them as a 'minority'.

Gender stratification has also moved beyond conventional male-female debate and increasing focus on transgender, bisexuals, gays, lesbians is also there. Many countries have now officially recognized and given legitimacy to such groups. Their problems are also now becoming part of mainstream stratification debate. Gay Pride, Gay Liberation Front etc have highlighted the issue of rights of such groups globally. Even in India, Supreme Court in 2014 acknowledged the hardships that these groups faced and even asked the state to consider them as 'backward' and take affirmative steps for their upliftment.

Post modernist theorists like Jacques Derrida, Lacan etc reject the claim that there can be a single grand that can explain gender stratification in society. According to them, patriarchy, class etc are not the only basis of stratification.

Recent mobility studies show that women are doing considerably better than their male counterparts. In India, more and more women are coming into employment. Increasing automation in industry and rising share of service sector has led to change in nature of work which has seen more participation from women as well. Educational attainment of women has improved significantly in percentage terms as compared to men in 2011 census. As birth frequency decreases and child-gap increases, more women can now take to full time jobs. Mechanization of domestic work – washing machines, packaged foods etc – has also reduced some burden on women and she can devote more time on career. Lower marriages and romantic relations have also altered the nature of domestic division of labor. Right to property has also given some security to women in traditional societies like India. New laws like Sexual Harassment at Workplace Act 2013 will promote a safe working environment to encourage women participation. Coupled with institutional measures and social movements, they are gaining more space in male dominated areas. This is certainly making stratification less skewed.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION of RACE

Race is a complex concept which has different everyday and scientific meanings. In everyday usage, race, as a biological concept, refers to a large category of people who share certain inherited physical characteristics – color of skin, type of hair, facial features, size of head etc. However, with advancement in technology, this notion of race is debunked with use of DNA fingerprinting etc and it is now well established that all humans have small variations along a continuum and there are no clear cut lines separating them. It first began when Europeans came into contact with other cultures and they collectively named them as 'non-white' race.

For sociologists, a race is a group of people who are perceived by a given society as biologically or culturally different from the others. Thus, people are assigned to one race or another, by public opinion which is molded by that society's dominant group, rather than on any scientific basis. Sociologists, thus, view race as merely an ideological construct based on physical difference. It is used as a tool of domination and spreading inequality as well in form of racial stratification.

In 18th century, many anthropologists and researchers tried to give a scientific color to the existing idea of race. Joseph Arthur de Gobineau in middle of 19th century gave first major racial classification in terms of three distinct groups – White (Caucasian), Black (Negroid) and Yellow (Mongolian). He also attached notions of superiority and inferiority with these races. White race was termed as supreme race. Such ideas of scientific racism also influenced colonial ruler and they at times tried to justify their colonial sojourns on the basis of such ideas. White Man's Burden theory of Rudyard Kipling was also rooted in racial notions. Adolf Hitler too adopted supremacy of Aryan race into a political ideology which led to annihilation of millions of Jews and the worst global war in the history of mankind.

Racial stratification has affected different societies differently and racism is the worst form of racial stratification. An extreme example is Apartheid in South Africa which once segregated whites and blacks in a highly discriminated manner. India too has witnessed racial stratification in past during Colonial Rule. Criminal Tribes Act was result of such a skewed racial perception. Developed countries like USA also suffer from 'racial profiling' incidents.

After declaring of equal civil rights in USA in 1960s, official abolition of Apartheid in South Africa in early 1990s and similar steps by other countries, racial stratification and racism now operates in more subtle ways than earlier open blatant racism. It is termed as 'new racism'. Discriminatory attitudes still persist. Ideas of cultural differences instead of biological ones are now used to disguise racism. Those cultures which refuse to assimilate into the dominant culture face threat of marginalization and are discriminated on various grounds. Ban on turbans, *hijab*, Islamic headscarves etc in European countries are such attempts which have political backing too.

Many theories are also offered to explain racial stratification like –

- I. One theory says, differences were already there since centuries, but they acquired racist shape with arrival of racial nomenclature and terminologies which colored those physical differences as racial differences. White race supremacy is result of one such early theory.
- II. Ethnocentrism is another explanation which is actually a suspicion of outsiders with a tendency to evaluate the culture of others with in terms of their own culture. It creates notions of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups'. Use of exclusionary devices like ghettos, intermarriage restrictions and social distance maintenance gives a practical shape to ethnocentrism. The group which is powerful, marginalize the other in this process. This happened in case of Blacks in both America and South Africa.
- III. From conflict perspective, according to O C Cox in his '*Class, Caste and Race, 1959*', racial stratification is seen as a product of the capitalist system in which ruling class used slavery, colonization and racism as tools of exploiting labor.
- IV. Another theory says that racism is a result of highly unequal and exploitative relation that whites established with non-whites produced racism. Slave trade was a consequence of this approach. Whites used racism as a tool to justify colonialism and decline of political rights like citizenship to non-whites in their colonies further strengthened racial stratification.
- V. Another reason is attributed to migration of ethnic minority to Western countries. When developed countries witnessed periods of economic hardship, native populations started blaming the 'outsiders' of usurping their employment opportunities and economic space.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION of ETHNICITY

While 'race' is perceived as biological, 'ethnicity' is cultural or social in its meaning. An ethnic group may have a common language, history, national origin or lifestyle. It is a purely social

phenomenon in which people learn their ethnic differences as a process of socialization, use of exclusionary devices like marriage etc.

While racial identities remain same, ethnic identities are revised over time. Migration on a massive scale in the last century provided sociologists an opportunity to examine the fate of ethnic identities. For example, the Chicago School of sociologists found that over several generations, ethnic identities were lost and later revised.

One ethnic group may be subsumed by other under different situations. For example, while India itself has hundreds of ethnic groups, when Indians move to West all such groups are subsumed into one tag of 'Ethnic Indians'.

Ethnic stratification depends upon the processes under which a society has undergone. Such process can be – assimilation, melting pot, pluralistic co-existence or antagonistic co-existence. During process of assimilation, new immigrant groups adopt the attitudes and culture of the existing dominant group. In melting pot, different ethnic groups merge together. USA is such an example where many ethnic identities have merged to a great extent. Example of pluralism would be a society like India. Antagonistic co-existence is best exemplified which suffer ethnic conflicts. Such type of societies best demonstrate existence of sharp ethnic lines. Sri Lanka is such an example where ethnic Tamils and Singhalese exist in form of distinct strata.

Social Mobility

Social mobility means transition of individuals or groups from one position in the social hierarchy to another i.e. from one stratum to another.

The concept of social mobility is closely linked to the concept of stratification. As hierarchical patterns evolve in a society, a tendency of shifting these patterns at individual and structural level also evolves. Mobility, thus, can be at an individual level or at collective level which is termed as structural mobility. Functionalists like Parsons believed that mobility is a result of process of differentiation in society and role filling by those who suit them most. Marx, on the other hand, believed that high rate of social mobility, embourgeoisement, will weaken class solidarity. He foresees downward mobility in capitalism when Petite Bourgeoisie will sink down into proletariat class. Those like Frank Parkin and Dahrendorf believe that social mobility also acts as a safety valve in society as build-up frustrations are vented through the route of social mobility.

Instances of mobility in traditional societies are low. In pure cultural context of traditional societies, since stratification was mostly ascriptive, mobility was also limited. Andre Beteille in his – '*Caste, Class and Power, 1971*' has shown how mobility in a closed and stratified caste system is difficult. M N Srinivas in his study of Coorgs showed that in such a system alternate methods like Sanskritization are evolved to move socially up, but this affects only cultural aspects and not structural aspects.

Mobility in industrial and modern societies is more widespread. As compared to developed countries, inter-generation mobility is much higher than in developing and traditional societies. This happens because, industrial societies lay emphasis on formal qualifications at the time of recruitment. Children of working class parents often gain the qualifications before they set out to look for employment.

As a society makes a transition from traditional to modern, it becomes more fluid. First comprehensive account of mobility in such societies was given by Sorokin in his book – '*Social Mobility, 1927*'. He argued that mobility is in fact functional for society as it promotes efficiency and social order. He compared vertical mobility to 'stairs and elevators' and as 'blood in human body'.

Further, upward social mobility is more common than downward social mobility because the demand for unskilled manual labor has declined significantly in the wake of technological advancement and the shift from the need for industry workers to service that call for specialization entail higher position.

From a functional perspective, Davis and Moore in '*Some Principles of Stratification, 1945*' theorized that it is the reward system of the society that facilitates individual mobility in society. Earlier studies on social mobility in modern societies were mostly narrowly focused on occupation. In 1960s and 70s new perspective evolved.

Social mobility breaks the exclusiveness of classes and makes them open. It makes social hierarchies more fluid and less rigid. Equal access to all strata becomes an extension of idea of equality in modern societies where absolute equality cannot be achieved, but mobility at least ensures that there is equal opportunity to all. Mobility also helps in making use of best possible use of available talent as positions are filled by those who are most suitable for them.

There are also evidences that the concept of social mobility is over-hyped in modern societies and there may not be so much mobility as it is claimed. In a 1949 study of David Glass in England, '*Social Mobility in Britain, 1954*', he found out that mobility was low as there was rampant elite self-recruitment and as a result, there were only middle management and lower level positions were left for others. Further, most of the mobility was 'short ranged', i.e. in the immediate adjacent occupational groups. There were rare instances in which bottom people moved to top and vice-versa. Similar conclusion was reached by Duncan and Blau in their '*The American Occupational Structure, 1967*' which was one of the largest mobility study ever conducted in America with a sample of 20,000 people. They also concluded that 'long range' mobility is rare.

It is also argued that very acceptance of mobility as a social process strengthens existing classes in society. It reinforces the status distinction as individuals put different values on different roles. *It is argued that focus of social change should be social equality and not social mobility.*

There can be some other dysfunctions associated with mobility like – there may be disruptive reactions from members of a stratum when it is intruded by others. Secondly, high rate of social mobility may lead to state of social anomie.

Social Mobility – Open and Closed Systems

Open systems are those systems which offer free mobility from one stratum to another and there are no barriers which cannot be overcome. Modern societies are considered such open systems, at least theoretically, as one may reach to any social position by dint of one's hard work, skill, knowledge and efforts. It is generally said in USA that anyone can travel the path from 'log cabin to Whitehouse'. In India also, we have recently seen that many not so well off personalities making their marks in industry,

politics, and education and so on. Open systems are so in their functioning because such systems treat individuals as equal and it is also pre-supposed that they have equal access to all opportunities.

Closed systems on the other hand are marked by rigid boundaries which are unassailable. Individuals cannot cross their strata in ordinary circumstances. Often this is facilitated by ascriptive nature of membership to particular strata or exclusivity of membership. Caste system, gender stratification, ethnic stratification etc are examples of such closed stratification.

CLOSED STRATIFICATION TYPES		
Age	Age Sets	Masai Tribes in Africa is one such example where ranking on the basis of age, is put together with the exercise of authority, on the basis of seniority. The ranks determined on the basis of age are called 'age-sets'. All the persons (basically men) born, within a range or number of years, belong to one set.
Caste	Ritual Status	It is a system peculiar to India. Caste status is defined by birth and each caste has its own set of attributes and privileges.
Gender	Male-Female	This type of stratification exists almost everywhere. It is more acute in patriarchal societies where gender roles are more strictly defined.
Ethnic	Race, physical features etc	Examples can be seen in Sri Lanka, South Africa etc. In Sri Lanka, ethnic cleansing of Tamilians by Singhalese majority and of black in South Africa by White minority groups is glaring illustration of ethnic strata in society
Slavery	Master and slave, ownership	Ancient form of Slavery and modern Slavery in USA, Europe. Ancient slavery was prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece. Here slaves were usually foreign prisoners of war. In this system, the slave was designated as the master's property.
Estate	Clergy, Nobility, Commoner	It prevailed in France and some other European regions. Though this system was less rigid than the caste system, it was also characterized by hereditary transmission of social position. Each estate had a clearly defined set of rights by law.

Sources and Causes of Mobility

First comprehensive account of mobility in such societies was given by Sorokin in his book – '*Social Mobility, 1927*'. He defines it as '*transition of an individual, object or value which is of human creation, from one social position to another*'. He compared vertical mobility to 'stairs and elevators' and as 'blood in human body'. According to him, there are certain primary factors that affect mobility-in all societies, and secondary factors that are specific to particular societies at particular times. He argued that no society can be regarded as neither completely closed, denying any mobility, nor can it be completely open, as there are always barriers to mobility.

Sorokin listed four primary factors, namely –

- I. The demographic factors like Age, Sex, Race etc
- II. Talent and Ability – Sorokin notes that usually, abilities of parents and children do not match. Popular pressure may force-individuals to vacate positions they are unsuited for. Even in

ascriptive societies, there are scopes for mobility of individuals in upward direction. Pareto also argues that these are the chief reasons for social mobility in society.

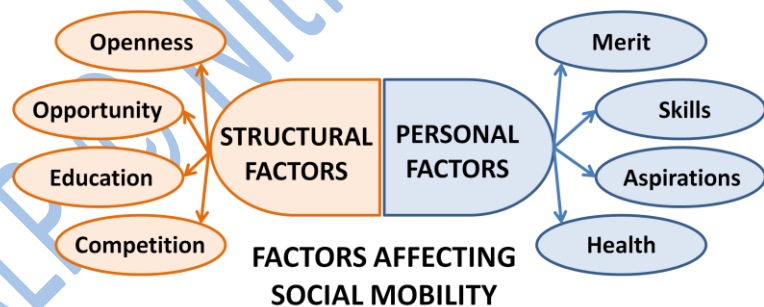
- III. The faulty distribution of individuals in social positions
- IV. The change of the social environment – Industrialization, Legal Restrictions etc. According to Sorokin, change in social environment is one of the major factors of social mobility.

Later on Social Mobility was defined in much broader context and other elements like – Pierre Bourdieu describes four types of capital in his '*An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, 1992*' that place a person in a certain social category – Economic capital, Social capital, Symbolic capital and Cultural capital etc. These broaden the scope of meaning social mobility. At the same time, he also observed that cultural factors also hinder social mobility of individuals. Poor have poor cultural capital which is inherited by the young ones and it limits the avenues of mobility.

Davis Glass conducted an empirical study in British society and concluded that there is both upward and downward mobility to and from middle class and lower class, but due to '*elite self recruitment*', there is little downward mobility among elite.

Goldthorpe in his mobility study in Britain concluded that mobility largely happens in immediate ranks in hierarchy and absolute mobility – from lower ranks to higher ranks – is extremely low.

In general factors affecting mobility can be both personal and structural factors, some of which are –



- I. Industrialization and urbanization – Lipset upheld that industrialization led to high mobility rates in England and it is true for the rest of the world as well. This is better known as the '*Lipset – Zetterberg Thesis*'.
- II. Education – Duncan and Blau in their study of America found that mobility is higher among blue collar workers and white collar professionals and they attributed it to high levels of popular education in the United States.
- III. Social Capital and Social Status – Giddens and Bottomore in their '*closure thesis*' argue that those who occupy the superior positions seek to retain them for their own selves and for their kin. Social capital is used to monopolize the occupational positions.
- IV. Occupation – It is one of the major sources of inter-generational mobility in the modern times as occupations are relatively open.
- V. Social and Cultural Values – liberal or conservative, caste system for example had little scope for mobility.
- VI. Environmental changes – they may provide for both upward and downward mobility. Natural disasters lead to downwards mobility. Favorable changes like good rain, good weather support economic activity and agriculture leading to prosperity.

- VII. Social movements also help in collective mobility. Dalit movements in India and Black Rights Movement in USA are such example.
- VIII. Law and constitution also plays an important role. Concept of positive discrimination for the deprived, weaker and minority sections helps in social mobility of these sections.
- IX. Migration can also be a source of mobility. People migrate from rural to urban areas, from under-developed countries to developed countries for greener economic pastures.
- X. Physical features – Sally Loverman indicates that other factors remaining constant, physical looks also provide an edge.
- XI. Technology – Industrialization in Europe had a major impact on collective mobility.
- XII. Subjective factors – Individual and collective aspirations also play an important role. As Veblen's book, '*The Theory of the Leisure Class*' shows that individuals will always seek to be well thought of in the eyes of their fellow men. Thus they will aspire to those positions which society deems to be worthwhile. The process of Sanskritization shows a similar desire of people. Merton has also written about the importance of the reference group in determining social behavior.
- XIII. Type of system – Open vs Closed
- XIV. Sorokin in his American study concluded that racial and ethnic lineage also helps or retards mobility.
- XV. Political Factors – Democracy, dictatorship, theocracy etc all provide for different avenues of social mobility.

Types of Mobility

On a broader level, mobility can be observed in various types viz –

I. Horizontal and vertical mobility

Classically, Pitrim Sorokin defines Vertical Social Mobility as the relations involved in a transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social stratum to another. According to the direction of the transition there are two types of vertical social mobility – ascending and descending, or '*social climbing*' and '*social sinking*' respectively according to Sorokin. Upward and downward mobility are two subtypes of vertical mobility. This may happen due to change in one or more than one bases like – status, class, power etc. This is most talked about mobility in sociological literature.

Examples of vertical social mobility are for too many. A promotion or demotion, a change in income, marriage to a person of higher or lower status, a move to a better or worse neighborhood-all serve as examples of vertical mobility. Downward mobility is also not very uncommon. Its examples can be – layoffs, corporate downsizing, accidents, psychological sufferings and so on.

Horizontal mobility involves moving within the same status or class category. An example of this is a nurse who leaves one hospital to take a position as a nurse at another hospital. According to Sorokin, horizontal social mobility means the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level. Other examples are – transitions of individuals from the Baptist to the Methodist religious group, from one citizenship to another,

from one family (as husband or wife) or another by divorce and remarriage, from one factory to another in the same occupational status etc.

II. Intra-generational and inter-generational mobility

Intra-generational mobility, also termed career mobility, refers to a change in an individual's social standing, especially in the workforce, such as occurs when an individual works his way up the corporate ladder. Career progression of an individual in work is considered to be an example of this type of mobility. Intra-generational changes are easier in societies which are relatively modern and have achievement orientation.

Inter-generational mobility refers to a change in social standing across generations, such as occurs when a person from a lower-class family graduates from medical school. This is of greatest interest to sociologists and in modern society education is considered as one of the strongest means of intergenerational mobility.

III. Structural and individual mobility

Structural Mobility – Major upheavals and changes in society can enhance large numbers of people's opportunities to move up the social ladder at the same time. It may lead to group movement as a whole stratum or may even whole nation.

In his concept of Dominant Caste, M N Srinivas shows how possession of resources like land leads to shifting of a whole stratum in a local hierarchy. This form of mobility is termed structural mobility. Industrialization, increases in education, and postindustrial computerization have allowed large groups of Indians since 1990 to improve their social status and find higher-level jobs than did their parents.

Individual Mobility – It is a micro view of social mobility. Individual characteristics—such as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, level of education, skills, determination, occupation, place of residence, health, and so on—determine individual mobility. Opportunity for individual mobility can be restricted by several factors. For example – for women, certain ethnic groups or disabled person opportunities for upward mobility are limited.

IV. Absolute and relative mobility

Absolute mobility measures whether – and by how much – living standards in a society have increased—often measured by what percentage of people have higher incomes or social well being than their parents. The more absolute mobility there is, the better off the population is than their parents, and their children will consequently be better off than them.

Relative mobility refers to the fluidity of a society. In other words, if one person moves up in relative terms, another by definition must have moved down i.e. it is zero sum proposition. In contrast, absolute mobility is not zero-sum.

For example, if a person's income increases from \$32,000 at the beginning of their career to \$36,000 a decade later, whereas most other people who began their work life around the same

time experienced a larger increase, that person has experienced upward absolute mobility but downward relative mobility.

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

CHAPTER 6 – WORK & ECONOMIC LIFE

Work is integral to human existence. Biblical teachings deem it as a result of sins committed by the first man and woman in the Garden of Eden by plucking the forbidden fruit. Calvinists deem it as a calling and a possible way of being the 'chosen one'. Notion of *Karma* in Hindu philosophy is also closely linked to work in material world. To Marx, work or production of goods and services is an avenue of expression of creativity and hence way to happiness and satisfaction. When workers lose control over it, they are alienated. According to Durkheim, work is an integrating force in modern society and forms the basis of organic solidarity. In modern world, we spend more our time doing work than any other single activity.

Work in simplest terms can be defined as the carrying out of tasks requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort, which has as its objective the production of goods and services that cater to human needs. But in economic sociology, it is generally an activity which results in paid employment, reward or contract.

Earlier, work was simple and was in a community setting. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the economic system of modern societies is the existence of a highly complex division of labor. Modern society also witnesses a shift in the location of work. Before industrialization, most work took place at home and was completed collectively by all members of the household.

Importance of work in modern societies is for several reasons like –

- I. It is a source of income and living. We live in a money market and it is the work which fetches money for us.
- II. It provides direction to energy of human beings to be utilized in a constructive manner. It is medium of acquiring more skills and capabilities.
- III. It breaks the monotony of domestic life.
- IV. It enhances opportunities of expanding social contacts and helps in building social capital.
- V. It also gives identity to a person. In industrial societies, people are known by what they do.

Concept of work is also associated with industrialization and growth of capitalism. Initially, the term 'worker' was used for those who worked in factories. Worker is a person who enters into employment out of his own will. He has contractual relations with the employer. In contemporary sense, worker is the one who is not in a managerial job. In strict sense of meaning, worker is also differentiated from 'labor'. The term labor denotes a worker who lacks choice for any reason. Child labor, rural labor and bonded labor are 'labor' and not 'worker' as they lack choice and are often forced into work. Workers are generally in a contractual relation with the employer, labor on the other hand is in feudal or ritual relation with the employer.

Over the last decades there has been a shift to what is often called 'flexible production' and 'decentralization of work'. It is argued that in this period of globalization, it is the growing competition between firms and countries that makes it essential for firms to organize production suiting the changing market conditions.

Social Organization of Work in Different Types of Societies – Slave, Feudal, Industrial/Capitalist

Organization of work refers to patterning of activities which involves a technical as well as social component. Technically it may be called as division of labor and socially it may reflect the normative structure of society. It was different in different societies – slave, estates/feudal and capitalist. At a particular time also, different societies might have different organization of work. While capitalism was in offing in Europe, Asia had '*Asiatic Mode of Production*' according to Marx.

Social organization reflects the normative structure at work place in form of stratified order in society, power relations, social mobility, and alienation and so on. Modern societies have secular or technical component as dominating one while in traditional societies work is organized more on normative lines. Factory system and Jajmani system are two contrasting examples of different organization of work.

Value system of simple pre-industrial societies is marked by particularism, affectivity, diffuseness etc on the other hand, value system of an industrial society is marked by universalism, achievement, affective neutrality etc. Kinship groups play important role in production in pre-industrial societies. Pre-industrial societies are marked by absence of scale in production and organization. Economic activities take place in smaller groups. Economic organization of simple societies is aimed at meeting subsistence needs of society and hence there is little surplus. Alienation at workplace is low in pre-industrial societies as there is community feeling among the members of the society. Pace of change is also very slow.

Modern industrialized societies are marked by different features. First of all, their political systems are different. Unlike simple societies, such societies are marked by presence of a cohesive nation-state which can support existence of big enterprises and then also facilitate wide commerce. There is a uniform legal system to provide stability into the economic system. Educational framework also undergoes changes and religious education is replaced by scientific education. Education also becomes mass based as large skilled workforce is required. Industrialization also leads to change in family and kinship structures. Industrialization requires a geographically mobile family and this leads to nuclearization of family. Family ceases to be a unit of economic production and is reduced to a unit of consumption and instead individuals in family become unit of production. Skills are not acquired as a part of hereditary learning, but formal institutions imbibe such skills.

Various dimensions of analysis of organization of work in different societies can be –

- I. Activities of production – hunting gathering, agriculture, mass production.
- II. Nature of work – simple or complex, formal or informal etc.
- III. Source of power – land, capital etc. Classical elite theories locate source of power in individual qualities. Marx see source of power in control over mode of production.
- IV. System of stratification – master-slave in ancient mode, in feudal lord-serf, haves-haves not in capitalism, in caste system *chatur-varna*. Stratification is a result of pattern of inequalities which exist in society. Basis of such inequalities is explained through various theories of stratification.
- V. Social mobility – avenues of social mobility are also different in different modes of production. When division of labor is low and work is ascriptive in nature, mobility is poor as in case of feudal and ancient mode of production.

- VI. Degree of alienation – according to Marx it peaks in capitalism and according to Weber it is a result of increasing rationalization of work.

Apart from these features, there can be various specific feature of organization of work in terms of gender roles, age roles, individualization, communal organization and so on.

In primitive societies, man was overwhelmed by the forces of nature. So, natural events like sunshine, rain, floods determined the social organization as well. Forces of production were at their lowest level and material density was low. Family was a self-sufficient unit of production as well as consumption. Organization of work in a primitive **slave society** is marked by following features –

- I. Major economic activity – hunting and food gathering
- II. Mode of production is ancient – where some have mastered over skills of hunting and gathering etc and others are enslaved by them
- III. Low division of labor – simple societies have low division of labor.
- IV. No specialized economic organization – the occupational differentiation being limited primarily to birth, sex and age. These societies have no specialized economic organization.
- V. Little or no surplus – due to poor specialization, productivity was also low and hence little surplus was there.
- VI. Low stratification – as inequalities are low and most of the people are in similar activities, stratification is simpler
- VII. No private ownership – private ownership of means of production is also almost non-existent.
- VIII. Religion dominates economic life
- IX. Low level of innovation
- X. Family plays an important role in production
- XI. Inanimate source of power is used in form of human labor and animal power
- XII. Alienation from work is low as workers enjoy fruit of their production
- XIII. There is no clear separation between domestic economy and community economy

As the knowledge of usage of land grew, agriculture became a dominant mode of production. Land was also slowly privatized. Exchange of commodities also developed in a rudimentary barter manner. However, family still remained the predominant unit of production and despite emergence of personal property concept, ownership was still largely communal. Organization of work in a **feudal agrarian society** is marked by following features –

- I. Major economic activity – agriculture
- II. Mode of production is feudalistic – based upon control over land
- III. Division of labor is enhanced over slave society – there are three estates – nobility, clergy and serfs
- IV. Surplus is there, but not much. Markets are slowly emerging.
- V. Social mobility is very low as society is almost closed in nature – roles of clergy, nobility and serfs were defined by birth and hence ascriptive in nature.
- VI. Alienation was still very low as workers have significant autonomy in work in absence of strict organization of work and lesser specialization.
- VII. Religion was still important part of life and family still played a part in production.

Feudal system matured with increase in production, rise in surplus, rise in trade in commodities, handicrafts etc. As the scale of production increased with usage of mechanical instruments, new markets were sought. New possibilities further demanded setting up of industries. Instead of being controlled by nature, man now tries to control the nature. With emergence of factories, family loses its primary position in production. Organization of work in a **capitalist or industrial society** is marked by following features –

- I. Major economic activity – mass production of goods and services in factories
- II. Complex division of labor as specialization increases
- III. Importance is given to capital and less to labor
- IV. Production is for exchange and profit
- V. Production is based on competition and not on cooperation
- VI. Alienation is high as workers lose control over produce and monotony of work is also very high
- VII. Multiplicity of economic institutions – e.g. factories, banks and markets.
- VIII. High surplus as now production is for market, not for self consumption
- IX. Money economy replaces barter system and even labor is commoditized
- X. Use of inanimate power replaces use of labor, leading to higher production on one hand and reduced human role on the other
- XI. There is high mobility of workforce as means of communication improve
- XII. Domestic and commercial activities are clearly separated
- XIII. Level of innovation is high as individual has more freedom to be creative
- XIV. Laws in such society are no longer repressive and religion no longer influences economic activities
- XV. Work is organized rationally and not on the basis of customs and values
- XVI. Though production is complex, exchange is simple as money economy facilitates easy exchange

In context of modern societies also, social organization of work is not as simple as described above in form of an ideal typical framework. There are different ways of organization across developing and the developed societies. Developed countries are generally industrialized and service dominated, developing countries on the other hand are still engaging in agricultural activities in a big way. For this reason, it is argued that countries like India have still not come out of feudal mode of social organization of work. Social organization of work also depends upon the cultural values of societies as highlighted by Weber in his famous '*Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism*'. Political systems also affect social organization of work. For example, in Japan, after Meiji Restoration, rapid industrialization took place and it made a rapid shift from a feudal agrarian economy to industrial economy. Geographical factors also determine social organization of work. In case of India, different regions have different social organization of work. Tribals of North East have different organization than those living in Delhi.

SOCIAL DETERMINANTS of ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic development depends upon various social factors also. Uneven economic development of various societies proves this. Max Weber in his '*Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism*' shows that social factors profoundly affect economic development.

Various social factors that support economic development are –

- I. Education system
- II. Religious beliefs
- III. Social stratification – caste, class etc
- IV. Personal values – asceticism, hard work, enterprising etc
- V. Demographic composition and dependency ratio
- VI. Scientific advancement
- VII. Spread and penetration of money economy
- VIII. Level of urbanization
- IX. Secularization

In case of India, despite considerable available of material resources, social resources were not conducive for economic growth in modern times. Caste system rendered society fragmented. Religious practices – both Islam and Hinduism promoted this worldly asceticism. Joint family system also focused more on affective aspects and less on liberal enterprising values. Later, there was also lack of political unity in post Mughal period.

INDUSTRIALIZATION and SOCIAL CHANGE

Industrialization is defined as a shift from human to inanimate source of power. Industrialization, best defined as the rise of factories and the use of machinery in the production of goods, first occurred in England in the late 1700s. It led to following changes –

- I. Occupational shifts – The more industrialized a society, the smaller the proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture.
- II. From ascriptive to achievement based division of labor – In India, after Industrialization, in same factory people of all creed and caste work together. Jajmani system is broken up.
- III. High division of labor and opportunity for mobility – Due to division of labor, stratification increases at the same times mobility increases as large avenues open.
- IV. Changing power relations – Shift in forces of production and decline of estate system and rise of capitalism
- V. New forms of conflicts – Trade Unionism, Lock outs, Class struggle
- VI. Marxian thought – Industrialization and Capitalism leads to the real change – arrival of socialism.
- VII. Functionalist idea of social change and industrialization.
- VIII. Demand for skill jobs and educational changes – Education as an agent of social change also gets a boost.
- IX. Geographical mobility and changing family structure – Arrival of nuclear family.
- X. Structural mobility and individual mobility in an industrial society.

Formal and Informal Organization of Work

According to Amitai Etzioni, '*Our society is an organizational society*'. Organizations are different from other social units like family, kinships, friends etc. and organizations are social units which have specific objectives and goals to achieve. Organizations existed in one form or another since time immemorial from Harappan urban organizations to modern business houses. Rise in division of labor has also been accompanied by the consequent rise in types of organizations. Political, economic and other functions are now performed by distinctive organizations.

Formal Organization of Work is the one in which the worker is governed by the formal rules and regulations. Rules and regulations may be defined by a contract between the employee and employer or by various legislations, statutes and rules of the government. A formal organization is rationally designed. It has explicit objectives and for them, there are explicitly defined means as well. One of the most prevalent formal organizations of work is bureaucracy which is based on rational organization of work where workers work on the basis of legal rational basis. Formality is often required for a legal standing. Formal organization of work is a feature of societies where rule of law prevails. Formal organization of work tries to balance the interests of the workers and employer. It helps in prevention of exploitation of workers by defining their duty, rights and liabilities. It is the most common type in modern developed countries. Formal organization of working provides better control of work and also better accountability. Formal organization is also characterized by protective laws at workplace like Factories Act, 1948, trade unions or workers organizations, Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Gratuity Act, Shops and Establishments Act etc

Informal Organization of Work is the one in which workers are not governed by fixed rules, but by directions of employer. It generally includes casual labor, contract labor, child labor, domestic labor etc. Informal organization is based on social contracts in which rule are implied rather than stated. Informal organization also escapes the legislations and rules of the land. They may also be organizations which are developed on the basis of personal linkages and rapport. It is largely a feature of society where labor supply is higher and workers accept whatever is given to them in any conditions of work. Such type of work organization also makes workers, especially women and children, prone to exploitations. Developing countries have relatively larger population under informal organization. In India, more than 92% of the workforce is in informal sector. Informal workforce has low social security as terms of employment are uncertain and little benefits are given to the employees in case of exigencies.

At the macro level, work is informally organized in traditional societies, but in modern societies, work is formally organized. Distinction is also understood in terms of intrinsic characteristics of work, sometimes formal organizations develop within itself informal structure and vice-versa. Even big formal organizations employ contract labor at times.

Further, from theoretical point of view, formal and informal organizations cannot be strictly separated from each other. According to Peter Blau in his '*The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, 1963*', informal structures exist even in formal organizations. Similarly, small informal organizations when grow big, they require formal rules and procedures of working for better management of tasks. Informal relations exist at all levels even in modern organizations and especially at the top. Despite formal provisions of board

meetings, shareholders' meet and employee consultation mechanisms, actual decisions are taken by a handful of people only. According to Meyer and Rowan in their '*Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structures as Myths and Ceremony*', formal rules and practices are often quite distant from the practices actually adopted by the members of organization. Formal rules are like myths which people profess to follow, but that have little relevance. Formal rules and practices are followed in a ritualistic manner and people do them just for the sake of doing and use them as a means of approving what they have actually done.

Formal and informal organization of work also depends upon the task which is to be accomplished. Tasks which are to be accomplished in a project or mission mode have greater scope of informal working as the team has to improvise new strategies, make new plans and have to work in a flexible manner. Informal organization working offers more flexibility over formal organization working. Informal organizations also have their own limitations as well. By way of informal decision making and working, some individuals may usurp more power in the organizations and may undermine its goals and principles. Informal relations can also be exploited to promote vested interests. Corporate scams, insider trading, monopolistic practices, collusive bribery etc are some of the ill consequences of informal organization of work within formal organizations.

Labor and Society

Concept of labor is an old one, but in modern sense it arrived with growth of capitalism and industrialization. Often a worker is differentiated from a laborer in terms of choice as labor' doesn't have choice. In a narrow sense, a labor generally lacks choice either due to lack of work elsewhere or due to social exploitation. Terms like child labor, agriculture labor, female labor are used in different sense than industrial worker.

Labor also has various broad classifications like – industrial labor, rural labor, feminine labor, child labor, formal labor and informal labor. In modern industrial societies, human labor is only one dimension of work as other is taken over by machines. One important characteristic of industrial societies is the marketing of human labor. Another characteristic of labor in modern societies is its high division. Further, labor in modern societies has left the atmosphere of home and has shifted to 'workplaces'. Labor is now sold in market and not used solely for domestic production.

Labor is also a process, an activity, which is explained by Marx as '*labor is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature*'. According to Marx, labor is peculiar of human beings only and animals are not capable of producing it and our labor creates something in reality that previously existed only in our imagination i.e. it is *objectification of our purpose*. Secondly, this labor is material according to Marx as it works with the more material aspects of nature. Marx's use of the term labor is not restricted to economic activities; it encompasses all productive actions that transform the material aspects of nature in accordance with our purpose. Labor, for Marx, is the development of our truly human powers and potentials. It satisfies our needs as well create new ones. Furthermore, labor is a social activity. Labor does not transform only the individual human; it also transforms society. According to Marx, labor in capitalism is not owned by workers. To survive, workers

are forced to sell their labor time to capitalists. Contrary to Marx, Hegel viewed labor in non-material terms or in terms of ideas only. He looks at labor as mental labor.

Another view is provided by Marxist writer Harry Braverman in his '*Labor and Monopoly Capital, 1974*', according to which Fordism and automation has actually led to 'deskilling' of labor force. Labor has lost control over its skills and due to specialized production, they learn just a part of whole production activity and they become more dependent on capitalist system.

Michael Burawoy rejects Marxian argument that workers are always in a disadvantaged position. He rejects Marx's explanation that workers work hard due to coercion. The advent of labor unions and other changes largely eliminated the arbitrary power of management. To Burawoy, workers, at least in part, consent to work hard in the capitalist system, and at least part of that consent is produced in the workplace.

Durkheim saw division of labor as a process of evolutions in society and it leads to interdependency in modern world which serves to integrate the society.

Another aspect of labor in modern society is its high division of labor in factory and workplace which is suitable for modern mass production. It is sometimes also referred as 'Fordism' or 'Taylorism'. Labor in modern workplaces is more and more standardized and work processes are pre-defined and less flexible. It is also argued that Fordism is on decline and we are entering in Post-Fordism era where a renewed focus on customized product is there. There is more flexibility at workplace and there is also more differentiation of work.

Feminist perspective views labor in society in terms of female participation. According to Ann Oakley, industrialization led to confinement of women at home. Workforce participation was limited as women were forced to take the role of housewife. Recent studies have however shown that workforce participation of women is increasing, but there is also an occupational segregation as well.

Increasing share of service sector in economies has also changed the traditional definition of labor. Labor is not just physical labor now. As works of Arlie Hochschild in her '*The Managed Heart, 1983*' based on her study of Delta Airlines show that service industry requires more and more manipulation of emotions. Marxists see such a trend as pinnacle of commoditification of labor power. Another aspect of rise of service sector is the decline of older factory production. One of its consequences is decline of trade-union movement as less number of workers is employed in traditional factories and it has significantly eroded the bargaining power of labor in modern world. Flexible production, liberal labor laws, intense global competition are other factors which have eroded the bargaining power of the labor force.

Increasing use of technology and IT at workplace has also enhanced control at workplace as workplaces are now continuously under surveillance. Face to face interactions are cut and life is restricted to a cubicle. Work has become more mechanical as a result.

Handy in his '*Empty Raincoat, 1994*' argues that organizations today require workers with multiple skills and hence labor is 'flexible labor' today. Such workers are not specialized in one task, rather than they have a 'skill portfolio' and such workers are termed as '*portfolio workers*'. On the one hand this situation

offers workers choice and they can enjoy different works, on the other hand it also given capitalists power to hire and fire at their will.

Globalization of labor is another aspect of labor in post-modern times. Labor, today is marked by high mobility, trans-boundary movement etc. World becomes increasingly competitive as industries also shift in search of cheaper production. It also leads to degradation of labor as it is evident in the rise of sweatshops in China.

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

CHAPTER 7 – POLITICS AND SOCIETY

According to T B Bottomore, political institutions are primarily concerned with division of power in the society. Political systems have evolved over the years from primitive communal groups to ancient city states to medieval feudal states to modern nation-states. Modern political systems are a part of larger governments which work on the principle of separation of powers.

Sociological Theories of Power and Power Elite

Power is the ability of individuals or groups to carry out their will even when opposed by others. It implies that those who hold power do so at the cost of others. Power refers to the ability or capacity to control others and it resides in an individual's status or position in relation to the status and position of the other individuals. Weber famously defines power in his '*Economy and Society, 1920*' as '*The chance of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the will of others who are participating in a social action*'. Power can be of two types – coercion and authority.

Weberian definition presupposes that power is a constant sum game, but functionalists view it as a variable sum game. They also say that power is exercised by a few, but it is for good of all and it leads to collective well being, higher the well being achieved, more is the power. Parsons regarded power differential as necessary for the effective pursuit of goals of society.

Authority is that form of power, which is accepted as legitimate, that is, as right and just. It means that the master has the right to command and can expect to be obeyed.

Various basis or sources of power can be – personal power, knowledge power, prestige power, emotional power, community power, power of the elite, class power, organizational power, power of the un-organized masses etc.

Various theoretical perspectives on power are –

- I. Weber has seen power as a constant sum game in which one exercise power at the expense of the other. He described 3 bases of power – tradition, charisma and legal rational.
- II. Functionalists see power rested with society and as a '*variable sum game*'. They argue that as collective welfare increases in society, amount of power held by society also increases. Power is not possessed by individuals, but society. According to Parsons, since it is very difficult for society to itself exercise power, social positions are created which are functionally more important and power is exercised through them. Power is used in society to achieve collective goals and this benefits everyone and everyone wins and there are no 'winning elites' or 'losing masses'. This further forms the basis for cooperation and reciprocity in society which is essential for maintenance of well being of society.
- III. Marxists see power not in form of 'authority' (with legitimacy), but in form of 'coercion' – of the haves over the have not. It is not a societal resource as claimed by functionalists held in trust by those in authority, but is rather used by dominant groups. Their interests are in direct conflict to with those of who are subjected to power. From Marxian perspective, source of power is economic infrastructure, but it extends beyond economic infrastructure and extends to all other aspects of life as well. Though the ruled class accepts the power of the ruling class, but it is due

to a false consciousness. Only way to return power to the people involves communal ownership of force of production and it is possible only through revolution.

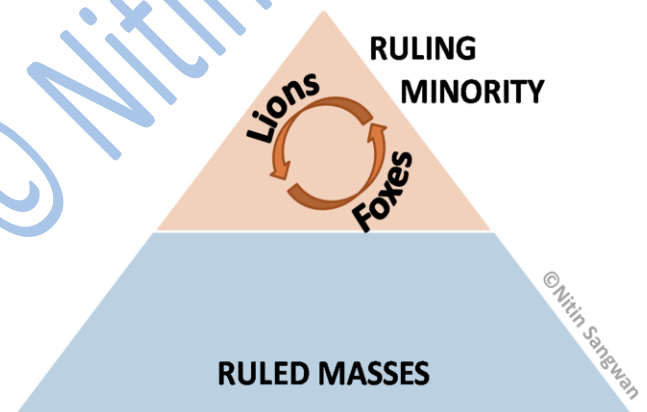
- IV. Elite theories are the foremost theories of power. They broadly fall in two categories – Classical elite theories and Pluralistic elite theories. Mosca, Pareto, C W Mills fall under classical elite theorists. Karl Mannheim, Schumpster, Anthony Downs and Robert Dahl are from pluralist tradition.

CLASSICAL ELITE THEORY

The term Elite refers to '*those who excel*'. Elite theory developed in part as a reaction to Marxism. It rejected the Marxian idea that a classless society having an egalitarian structure could be realized after class struggle in every society.

Classical Elite Theory was propounded by two Italian sociologists **Pareto and Mosca**. Both Pareto and Mosca believed that personal qualities are basis of power and they rejected communism as a utopia and Marxism as an ideological bias. Vilfredo Pareto made the classic critique of Marx by comparing his words to a fable about bats that when someone call them bird, bats will say that they are mice and when someone call them mice, they will say they are birds. The Classical Elite Theorists identify the governing elite in terms of superior personal qualities of those who exercise power.

However, later versions of elite theory place less emphasis on the personal qualities of the powerful and more on the institutional framework of the society. They argued that the hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power.



Elite theory argues that all societies are divided into two main groups a ruling minority and the ruled. This situation is inevitable. If the proletarian revolution occurs it will merely result in the replacement of one ruling elite by another.

Italian sociologist Vilfred Pareto claimed in his '*Mind and Society, 1935*' that personal qualities separate rulers and the ruled and they are same at all times. According to Pareto there is a 'ruling minority' and 'the ruled majority'. According to him, this situation is inevitable as even in the communism such polarization takes place where a section of 'the have nots' occupy dominant position. According to Pareto there are two types of governing elite – lions and foxes (he borrowed this concept from Niccolo Machiavelli). Lions rule by force (e.g. – dictators) and foxes rule by cunningness (e.g. – Chanakya and Chandragupta, 19th century European democracies etc). They replace each other in a process which Pareto calls as '*Circulation of Elites*'.

Elites rule over the masses of people because they are dominated by non-rational forces and lack rational capacities. This is the reason that the masses are unlikely to be a revolutionary force. Social change occurs when the elite begins to degenerate and is replaced by a new elite derived from the non-governing elite or higher elements of the masses. All elites tend to become decadent. They 'decay in quality' and lose their 'vigor' as they become complacent. In this situation, the other elites seize the power. Each type of elite lacks the qualities of its counterpart, qualities which are essential to retain the power in the long run. For example, an elite of lions lacks the imagination and cunningness necessary to maintain its rule and they recruit foxes from among the masses who grow strong over the time.

He saw even the modern democracies as just another form of elite domination. He is, however, criticized for not making distinction among various forms of rules – dictatorship, democracy, fascism, and communism and so on.

Gaetano Mosca in his '*The Ruling Class, 1939*' like Pareto believed that a minority rule is inevitable, but unlike Pareto he didn't believe that qualities of elite remain same all the time and in all the societies. According to him, they vary from society to society and from time to time. He, however, also believed that democracy is also another form of elite rule. According to both Pareto and Mosca, decisions in democracies actually reflect the concerns of the elite and masses are a group of passive, apathetic and unconcerned people. Mosca, however, differed from Pareto as he admitted that elite in modern democracies are open groups and elites may be drawn from a wide social background and hence views of various strata are represented to some degree in the decisions taken by the various elites. To Mosca, democracy may be a government 'of' the people, even 'for' the people, but can never be 'by' the people as elite rule is inevitable.

Another Elite theory is given by **C W Mills** in his '*The Power Elite, 1956*'. He didn't believe that elite rule is inevitable. According to him this is a recent phenomenon of the American society. According to him power among elites in US is today institutionalized and is not psychological and hence rejected the view that some members are superior to others in terms of qualities. Institutes today wield the power and those who are at the top of these institutes, monopolize the power. Unlike Pareto and Mosca who gave a general theory, Mills focused his analysis to USA.

Certain institutions occupy key pivotal positions in society and elite are those who hold these command positions in these institutions.

Three such key institutions according to Mills are –

- I. Military
- II. Federal Government
- III. Major Corporations

According to him interests of elites in these institutions are similar and together they form a minority called '*Power Elite*'. Thus, 'power elite' is coincidence of economic, political and military power. Cohesiveness of the Power Elite is further strengthened by their similar social

background. Further, members interchange among each other. For example – Board room of big corporations have members from elites from all these institutions.

Power elite have unprecedented power, but they have little accountability. He cites example of unilateral decision of political elite to go into WW2 and drop nuclear bombs.

Mills' Theory is also supported by Floyd Hunter in his '*Community Power Structure, 1963*' and he claims that power rests in a small decision making group which is dominated by the businessman class.

However, power elite theorists are also criticized on several grounds like –

- I. According to Robert Dahl in his '*Who Governs?, 1961*' power is actually dispersed in society and arguments of Mills only have a circumstantial evidence.
- II. Mills theory is also criticized for having a narrow view as it was based on his observations of American society only.
- III. Rise of specialists has further diffused power in society.
- IV. Classical elite theory is simplistic in conception and ignores the differences between various types of ruling system like – modern democracies and feudal societies.
- V. Pareto and Mosca also fail to provide a method of measuring and distinguishing between the supposedly superior qualities of elites.
- VI. According to T B Bottomore, elite circulation may not always be there. In Indian society Brahmins survived for long as elite due to closed nature of caste system.
- VII. Altruistic motives also exist and power alone is not the guiding force in society.
- VIII. Public opinion also matters these days and even elites have to listen to it.
- IX. According to Westergaard and Resler, power doesn't lie in who makes the decisions but is visible through its consequences. Whoever reaps the largest rewards in the end, holds the maximum power.

PARETO	MOSCA	CW MILLS
Mind and Society, 1935	The Ruling Class, 1896	The Power Elite, 1956
Elite rule is historical	Elite rule is historical	It is a recent phenomenon
It is due to a dialectic between two contrasting personal qualities which remain same	Personal qualities may vary	It is a phenomenon in existence due to powerful institutions
In Modern societies, however, power is more dispersed due to varying specialization. There are also altruistic motives – Gandhiji, Martin Luther King Junior etc Bases of power don't remain static		

PLURALIST THESIS of POWER or COMMUNITY POWER THESIS

Pluralists (Pluralist thesis) have challenged the main elitist contention that a society is marked by the existence of a single centre of political power. It is in contrast to elite and Marxist theorists who argue that power is concentrated in hands of a few. This theory is a bid to explain the power distribution in modern democracies, especially Western democracies. Modern

democracies have dispersed sources of power. They argued that in a society there are multiple centers of political power.

It begins by an observation that industrial society is increasingly differentiated into various social groups and sectional interests. There are diversified occupations and power is held by each. Formation of groups like trade unions, pressure groups, professional associations also complicates the situation. Absence of single dominant group leads to bargaining and compromising. Since different groups cannot vie for power collectively, they field their representatives who act as elites and presence of such multiple elites creates situation of elite pluralism. Government acts like a broker to mediate between different elite groups and according to Raymond Aron '*Government becomes a business of compromise*'.

Further continuing his criticism of the elite model Robert Dahl argued that the elite theory confuses potential control with actual control. In his empirical study '*Who Governs?, 1961*' he found that local politics is a business of bargaining and compromise with no single group dominating decision making. He uses his '*decision making model*' in political decision making process and showed that economic factors are not the sole factors in decision making.

Arnold M Rose in his '*The Power Structure, 1967*' also echoes similar views as Dahl's and gives a '*multiple influence hypothesis*'. He goes one step further and argues that economic and political elite don't work hand in glove as proposed by Mills.

Karl Mannheim argues that though a policy may be seemingly formed by the purported elite, but in a democracy there are various pulls and pressures that actually shape a policy. People make their aspirations express at regular intervals including at elections which keep the elites in check.

According to Anthony Downs in his '*Economic Theory of Democracy*' as the producers and consumers defend their interests in market, trade unions, associations etc play similar roles in politics to defend the interests of their members and workers.

Multi-party political democracies like India are also an example of similar contention. Public in their respective constituencies directly influences respective political parties. With fragmented votes, parties also cannot rely on single vote bank and have to accede to demands of various sections. The phenomenon of non-political groups called pressure groups also reflects plural centers of power. According to pluralist thesis, political parties and pressure groups have made democracy a truly representative of large complex societies.

Pluralists are however accused of ignoring non-decision and safe decision making. Elite concede to only those demands which do not threaten their position and retain the power in those decisions which threaten their interests. They also ignore results and consequences as according to Westergaard and Resler, power is manifested in its consequences. As Roberto Michels highlights, representatives of people may ultimately usurp power and act in their own vested interests ignoring interests of public at large.

Bureaucracy

According to Amitai Etzioni in his *'Modern Organizations, 1964'*, *'Our society is an organizational society'*. We live in a world where bureaucratic structures accompany us from cradle to grave. Modernization has also glorified rationalism and as a result there has been tremendous growth of organization based on legal rational authority i.e. bureaucratic organizations. Bureaucracy is rational action in institutionalized form.

Earlier, before Weber described it as a dominant form of organization in modern world, it was not seen in favorable light. Vincent de Gournay called developing power of officials as an illness called 'bureaumania'. Similarly, French novelist Honore de Balzac called bureaucracy as *'giant power wielded by pygmies'*. Even today, it is most commonly associated by common man with inefficiency, red-tape, apathy and so on. This is especially true in case of developing countries.

Bureaucracy is a form of organization which is most popularly associated with Max Weber, though he didn't coin the term. It is seen as a result of rise of large organizations, democracy and capitalism. Bureaucracy is defined by max Weber as *'the purest type of exercise of legal authority'* with a hierarchy of paid, full time officials who formed a chain of command. According to him, *'From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency, and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of exercising authority over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability'*. Bureaucratic institutions are dominant form of institutions in industrial society which requires high degree of division of labor and high efficiency in rationally organized work environment. According to Weber, *'expansion of bureaucracy is inevitable'* in modern societies as bureaucratic authority is the only way of coping with large scale administrative requirements in such societies. It also suits democracy as it is a rational organization which treats everyone on equal terms.

Weber defines bureaucracy as an ideal type. He links it to his theory of social action and says that it is that type of organization which is based on legal-rational action/authority. Like his other ideal types, he defines bureaucracy also in terms of a 'pure type' with various elements or characteristics which he highlighted in his *'The Theory of Social and Economic Organization'* as –

- I. It is based on legal rational authority
- II. There is a division of complex tasks into manageable parts with each official specializing in a particular area and hence, has clearly defined area of responsibility
- III. Organization of officers is done on the basis of hierarchy with clearly defined responsibilities
Bureaucrats are permanently employed and they are paid in cash, not in kind
- IV. Officials separate personal life and work and duties are performed in an impersonal manner, without any affective or traditional influence
- V. Officials are selected on the basis of merit, technical knowledge and expertise
- VI. Officials follow rules and regulations
- VII. Complex tasks are divided into simpler tasks
- VIII. Duties are performed in an impersonal manner

According to Weber, bureaucracy will be most widely adopted form of organization due to its efficiency, impartiality and objectivity. Bureaucracy emerges due to its technical superiority over other organizations based upon charismatic or traditional authority.

Weber is, however, also aware of limitation of working under fixed rules in a strictly rational manner ignoring values. According to him, it produces '*specialists without spirit*'. According to him excessive rationalization will ultimately snatch the discretion of individual and he will be trapped in an '*iron cage of rationality*' as it is inescapable too. Man will be reduced to little cogs in a big machine. Thus, he saw bureaucracy as detrimental to individual's creativity.

Weber believes that only strong Parliamentary form of government could control state bureaucracy. He suggested that state bureaucrats should be made directly and regularly made accountable to parliament for their actions and this can be done through parliamentary committees. He also says that professionals like – politicians, scientists, intellectuals and even capitalists – who stand outside the bureaucratic system can control it to some degree

According to Marxists, state bureaucracy will ultimately represent interests of ruling class as state bureaucracy is shaped by a capitalist infrastructure. Its control can be eliminated only by change in infrastructure. One solution to eliminate the technical hurdles, according to Lenin, is that administrative tasks should be simplified to the point where basic literacy and numeracy are sufficient for their performance. According to him, mass participation should be encouraged in administration which would involve control and supervision by all.

Roberto Michels in his '*Political Parties, 1911*' calls bureaucratic system in democracy as '*iron law of oligarchy*' as bureaucrats usurp all the power. He challenges Marxist hopes for a truly democratic system as even in utopian democracy there will be a representative system and hence organizations will be required and these organizations will be manned by bureaucrats who will ultimately usurp the power. Peter Blau in his '*The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, 1963*' says that bureaucracy in working is different from bureaucracy in concept as there is an informal organization as well. According to him, Weber focused too much on formal structures in organization. Peter Blau in his study of Federal Law Enforcing Agencies mentions that there are informal hierarchies also in bureaucracy to deal with unforeseen issues. Merton in his '*Social Theory and Social Structure, 1957*' says bureaucracy leads to dysfunctional aspects also as excessive focus on means leads to rigidity and goal displacement. Alvin Gouldner in his '*Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, 1954*' mentions his study of a gypsum plant in USA and contends that bureaucracy exists in varying degree in different organizations.

Despite criticism of bureaucracy, there are others who defend it as well. Paul Du Gay in his '*In Praise of Bureaucracy, 2000*' argues that bureaucracies have an unmatched ethos which includes equal treatment of all despite race, color and caste. Their various limitations are not of bureaucratic framework, but are due to their increasing politicization.

Pressure Group or Interest Groups

Pressure groups are forms of organizations which exert pressure on political or administrative system of a country to extract benefits out of it and advance their own interests. Pressure groups are formed by both dominant groups and the deprived ones as the formers push states for economic concessions, the

latter demand basic amenities in a competing environment. They have come up largely in wake of scarce resources and competing interests. They are different from political parties in the sense that they don't aim at capturing power and have more flexibility in terms of mobilization of support.

Existence of pressure group in society is validation of Pluralistic Elite Theory given by Robert Dahl, Hunter and others and pressure groups act as multiple power centers in modern liberal democracies.

Pressure groups act as vehicles of mobilization of masses and hence promote political and administrative participation. They have, in a way, deepened the roots of participative democracy. Voluntary action is the soul of democracy as this medium secures the active involvement of the people from policy-making to implementation of social services. They help in social integration, political articulation and act as a catalyst for change. They in many ways provide alternative to inadequacies of political parties and government. In India, pressure groups are formed not only to promote and preserve economic interests, but they are also used to protect and promote linguistic, cultural and religious interests as well.

Pressure groups are also classified in various manner by different sociologists depending on their objectives, organization and working –

- I. Maurice Duverger mentions two types of pressure groups – *promotional* and *protective* Pressure groups. Trade Unions, professional associations like ASSOCHAM, CII etc are examples of protective groups. PETA, Greenpeace etc are examples of promotional groups as they promote some cause. These usually have wider membership base than protective groups who protect interests of a narrow group.
- II. Gabriel, Powell etc on the other hand talked about – *Institutional*, *Associational* (include trade unions, business organizations etc which pursue limited goals), *Non-Associational* and *Atomic* pressure groups (in form of movement, demonstration, signature campaigns).

Methods used by pressure groups are varying from cordial rapport with political party to agitational methods. Memoranda, writing of letter, putting forth of view before parliament, legislature etc are regular practices adopted by the pressure groups. Other ways can be like – civil disobedience, protests etc. Expert knowledge can be another form of putting pressure. Bribery and political funding are other methods. In countries like India where corporate funding of elections is not encouraged, backdoor funding is the modus operandi. In USA, such funds are openly given during fund raising campaigns during election times. Attracting attention through mass media is another way of putting pressure.

Thus, concept of pressure groups reflects actual working of democracy.

They also suffer from certain limitations –

- I. Though they represent interests of certain groups, this sometimes make representative democracy biased in favor of some sections at the expense of interests of other deprived sections.
- II. Unlike the pressure groups of West which are invariably organized to safeguard economic, social, cultural interests etc, in India, these groups are organized around religious, regional, caste and ethnic issues.

III. Further, lack of resources makes such efforts sporadic and short lived.

Although, pressure groups differentiate themselves from political parties, pressure groups may develop into political parties by adopting a more open, less restricted platform and some pressure groups have a special relationship with a political party, as illustrated by trade unions and the Labor Party in Britain. Similarly, in India also, Akali Dal is an example of a religious pressure group turning into a political outfit.

Political Parties

Weber defined political party as '*an organized structure which promotes candidates, contest elections for aim of capturing power*'. However, Gluckman added that this definition doesn't capture difference between 'factions' and 'parties' which are different in terms of organizational characteristic, goal orientation and durability. In general, a political party is defined as '*a group of people politically organized with objective of securing or maintaining for its leaders the control of a government*'.

Some of common characteristics of a political party are –

- I. It is an organized form of people
- II. It has an ideology and principles
- III. It works under the existing constitutional structure of a nation
- IV. It aims to form government through legitimate means like contesting elections
- V. It also plays role in mobilizing public opinion, keeping the ruling party in check through constructive criticism, discipline the representatives and so on.

According to functionalists, political parties are the guardians of power in the society and they use it for the collective well being of the society.

Political parties have become important in modern democracies because, democracies today are in form of representative democracy and political parties are the medium which provide uniform representations and ideologies. Large populations in political systems of today cannot be governed by disparate groups. Political parties provide stable alternatives to individual leaders. Political parties also provide an organizational framework for carrying out of political activities in large democracies.

According to Robert Dahl in his '*Who Governs?, 1961*', political parties act as a linkage between government and people and provide a platform for interest articulation and a conduit for pressure groups. Political parties mobilize opinions and people.

Roberto Michels in his book '*Political Parties, 1911*' indicates that all parties – whether in democracy or autocracy – are organized and key decisions in these are taken by only a handful of people and this is not democratic. So, democracy is merely an illusion as direct participation is impossible and organization and representation is necessary. Bureaucracy soon evolves into a technical organization and starts to behave in oligarchic manner which Michels terms as 'Iron law of Oligarchy'.

From the perspective of people themselves, Lester Milbrath classified four types of political participation in a political system –

- I. Political apathetic – Totally unaware of the political activities in state.
- II. Political spectators – Takes part in polling and general discussion only.

- III. Transitional activist – They attend political meetings and raise funds as well.
- IV. Gladiators – They are the one who enter the political arena and stand in elections.

Political parties are also defined in terms of ‘*serving interests*’. According to this theory, people take the membership of political parties or vote for them to achieve their individual or group interests. However, others argue that people also join due to ideology, interest, prestige and to make sacrifices as well.

Some like Dye and Zeigler term the political parties and election process as a mean to divert attention of masses and pacify them. *‘They are for creation of excitement similar to Roman circuses to divert attention of masses from true nature of elite rule. Elections create false illusion that power rests with majority by creating a false impression of representation’.*

POLITICAL PARTIES in INDIA

Indian democracy adopted a multiparty parliamentary form of government after independence. Congress ruled the roost for almost 40 years as a single biggest political party. Federal system and regional aspirations have given Indian political system a distinct flavor in form of numerous political parties which sometimes lead to unstable government and coalitions as well. As India has a federal system, political parties in India are of two types – national parties and regional parties.

Political parties in India are also driven by caste, region also. For example – Bahujan Samaj party vouch for interests of Dalits, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha championed cause of separate state of Jharkhand, Telangana Rashtriya Samiti for Telangana region and so on. There are ethnic parties also as in case of Northeastern region of India.

Political parties on one hand represent interests of wide diversity in India, but they sometimes pose challenge to integrity of nation and work as roadblock to development as well. Multi party system of India is challenged by scholars like Paul Brass as he cites lack of internal democracy in parties, lack of firm ideology, lack of spirit of nation building and rather characterized by opportunism, horse trading, dynasty rule etc.

Concept of Nation, State and Citizenship

Nation is a sort of large-scale community – it is a community of communities. Members of a nation share the desire to be part of the same political collectivity. This desire for political unity usually expresses itself as the aspiration to form a state. In its most general sense, the term ‘state’ refers to an abstract entity consisting of a set of political-legal institutions claiming control over a particular geographical territory and the people living in it. In Max Weber’s well-known definition, a state is a ‘body that successfully claims a monopoly of legitimate force in a particular territory’.

Nation and Nationalism

A **nation** unlike a state is not a territorial or purely political concept, but associated with sentiments, aspirations and consciousness rooted in a common identity based upon a common ideology, common culture, history etc. Today most of the states are ‘nation-states’ so, often the two are deemed as same.

The main distinction between state and nation is that the basis of a nation is psychological and cultural unity, while that of a state is physical and political unity.

Nation as a concept is often 'described' and not 'defined'. For example – despite diverse cultural groupings, Chinese share common sentiments based upon a common ideology. Similarly, in USA poly-ethnic nationalism is present. Coercive nationalism was present in some of the erstwhile communist dictator regimes. Israel has a religious-nationalism. Indian nationalism can be considered as composite-culture nationalism. Thus, nation has diverse bases. Further, a nation may precede state or vice-versa. A nation needs state for its sovereignty, while state needs nation for emotional integrity and internal harmony. Thus, quest for nationalism is an evolving one with changing needs – political, emotional, cultural and survivalistic needs.

Nationalism can be defined as a set of symbols and beliefs providing the sense of being part of a single political community. Thus, individuals feel a sense of pride and belonging, in being 'British', 'Indian', 'Indonesian' or 'French'. Probably people have always felt some kind of identity with social groups of one form or another – for example, their family, clan or religious community. Nationalism, however, only made its appearance with the development of the modern state. According to Ernest Gellner in his '*Nations and Nationalism, 1983*', nation, nationalism and nation-state are all modern concepts starting from late 18th century. Pilkington in his article '*Cultural Representations and Changing Ethnic Identities in a Global Age, 2002*' also supports view of Gellner. According to him, before industrialization, human habitations were largely isolated. It was only when communication media spread and people identified an 'other' as totally distinct from them. So, the presence of the 'other' is a precondition for the rise of nationalism according to him. Anthony Smith in his '*Ethnic Origin of Nations, 1986*' argues that nationalism is not necessarily a modern phenomenon and many modern nations emerged from erstwhile ethnic communities. Unification of Germany and Italy are such examples. Similarly, Jews form a cohesive unit for more than 2000 years. Gellner defines nationalism as – '*Nationalism is a political principle that holds that national unit (nation) and political units (state) should be congruent.*' Benedict Anderson in his '*Imagined Communities, 1983*' argues that nationalism is rather an imagined feeling and nation an abstract imagined idea because its members can, even without knowing most of their fellow members, conjure up the image of their communion.

Hans Kohn in his book – '*The Idea of Nationalism, 1945*' has distinguished 'Western Nationalism' that emerged in France and other European countries in 1600-1800 from 'Eastern Nationalism'. Western nationalism emerged as a justification for already united political structure. In eastern countries on the other hand nationalism aimed at justifying the creation of new nation-states and newly adopted political systems. Thus, he claims Western Nationalism as more authentic. Further, spirit of nationalism in European countries also helped in growth of imperialism and colonialism.

Similarly, Liah Greenfield distinguishes between 'Civic Nationalism' and 'Ethnic Nationalism'. Civic nationalism is associated with citizenship and is mainly defined in political and legal terms and hence can be acquired or lost. Ethnic nationalism on the other hand is 'inherited' nationalism and a biological necessity and hence cannot be changed.

Nationalism also has its critiques as well and Guru Rabindranath Tagore was foremost among them. According to him, '*I am not against this nation or that nation, but against the idea of the nation itself*'.

He places society above nation as while society does not have an ulterior purpose and is a natural regulation of relationships and the spontaneous self-expression of man as a social being, the nation is an organisation of people with a mechanical purpose, founded on greed, jealousy, suspicion and the desire for power. It replaces the living bonds of society with mere mechanical organisation. According to him, nation is an outcome of a long history of progressive privileging and fetishisation of competitive accumulation. According to him, it takes away the freedom of individuals and it is exclusionist and jingoistic. Citizens of a nation live under the delusion that they are free, but they sacrifice their freedom everyday on the altar of this fetish called nationalism.

India experienced four different kinds of nationalisms. The major Indian nationalism was territorial, anti-colonial and led to the creation of a nation-state through a national movement. Its territorial boundaries were defined partly by the colonial conquest and administration and partly by the strong dynastic states that ruled the territory from time to time (Maurya, Gupta and Mughal Empires). The second major nationalism was a rival to Indian nationalism. This led to the creation of Pakistan. Pakistani nationalism was strangely based on religious unity and territorial disunity. The result was the emergence of a breakaway nationalism in 1971 as third nationalism. The fourth category is that of aspirant nationalism – forces for Khalistan in Punjab, Azad Kashmir in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the Tamil demand for a separate state in Sri Lanka.

State

Mankind, for most of its life – about 99 percent, lived happily without a state, but today state is one of the most important and of highest level human collectivity. Its origin is traced in Greek city-state called 'polis'. The modern term 'state' has been derived from the word 'status' earlier employed by the Teutons. It was Niccolo Machiavelli who first used the term 'state' in political science. In political science, various theories are given for its existence like – Evolution theory, Social Contract theory etc. Liberal theorists put individual at the center of the state formation and according to them, modern states regarded as an agency of human welfare, which will secure life and property of man and is regarded as a contributor to moral and social development of man. They argue that state is for society and not otherwise. Marx believes that state is an instrument of exploitation '*as a committee for the management of the whole affairs of the bourgeoisie*'. Functionalists believe that state performs the functions of integrating its inhabitants. Some early philosophers like Aristotle also gave precedence to state over individual and said '*State is prior to individual*'.

State is defined as a political apparatus – including governments, administration etc – ruling over a given territory, with an authority backed by some form of law and having power to use force. State comprises the various institutions of national and local government which include the legislative, executive and administrative branches of the government.

Citizens cannot fulfill all their needs themselves and depend upon state for at least two basic functions –

- I. Collective welfare of community as a whole
- II. Maintenance of law and order

The state may be viewed as both a concrete thing and an abstract idea. A concrete thing means that it is a specific human group or association and viewed in abstract terms, it is a corporation possessing a

juristic personality. The state is composed, therefore, of both physical and metaphysical or spiritual elements. These elements are –

- I. Population – A group of human beings, i.e. population
- II. Territory – A territory upon which they permanently reside
- III. Sovereignty – Internal sovereignty and independence from foreign control
- IV. Government – A political organization or agency through which the collective will of the population is expressed, i.e. government

Harold Laski defined state as – ‘*A way of organizing collective life of a society*’. When society and other associations and institutes are integrated into a one single unit, it is termed as state. While nation is an emotional manifestation of a society, state is a result of desire for political unity.

State is differentiated from other institutions in sense that it alone possesses coercive authority. Weber defines state in terms of ‘*monopoly over legitimate use of violence*’. So, state is fountainhead of all legitimate power over its people. Bertrand Russell defines state as a ‘*Repository of collective force of its citizens*’.

NATION-STATES

Nation-state is a relatively new concept which is used to describe the new political units of modern day. Nation states are closely associated with the rise of nationalism. Today, almost all societies exist in form of nation-state as boundaries of ‘nation’ and ‘state’ coincide. Nation-states are states which confer citizenship rights – as a means of political unity and in return citizens declare themselves as a part of a single nation – thus giving emotional integrity to the political unit.

There is no one single definition. But this is a new development. It was not true in the past that a single state could represent only one nation, or that every nation must have its own state. For example, when it was in existence, the Soviet Union explicitly recognized that the peoples it governed were of different ‘nations’ and more than one hundred such internal nationalities were recognized. A different example is provided by ‘dual citizenship’ laws.

Modern nation-states have three major characteristics –

- I. Sovereignty – Sovereignty refers to the undisputed political rule of a state over a given territorial area. Today, boundaries of states are clearly defined in most of the cases and state exercises unquestionable sovereignty over these. This was not the case earlier when boundaries were vague.
- II. Citizenship – People are given uniform rights for being a part of a single entity and they also reciprocate by affirming their loyalties to it.
- III. Nationalism – Individuals also take pride in being part of a national unit.

NATIONS WITHOUT STATE

The persistence of a well defined ethnic community within established nations leads to the phenomenon of 'nation without state'. In such cases, many of the essential characteristics of a nation are present, but those who comprise the nation lack an independent political community. Separatist movements in Chechnya, Kashmir, Scotland, and erstwhile states of USSR manifested such symptoms. An advanced stage is reached with the rise of nations which have a fair separate identity, but not recognized by world unanimously. For example – Kosovo, Palestine etc.

There can be different types of nations without state like –

- I. When nation state may accept the cultural differences found among its minority or minorities and allow them a certain amount of active development. As in case of Scotland and Wales in Britain. These areas have separate parliament and educational system, but still greater power remains with the larger nation state.
- II. In some cases, nation state may allow for a higher degree of autonomy. In Quebec in Canada, regional political parties have power to take major decisions without actually being fully dependent.
- III. There are some other nations without states which completely lack recognition from the larger nation state. In such cases, larger nation state uses force or propaganda in order to deny recognition to minority. Palestine, Tibet and Kurds in Iraq and Syria are such examples

Citizenship

While concept of citizenship is often defined as a set of rights and duties by virtue of membership to a society, it in its current form emerged with emergence of nation-state concept. Earlier, in traditional societies, people used to have little concern over who ruled them and they had a little feeling of being part of a larger whole. An important precondition for the rise of citizenship is a collective feeling of being a part of a single national identity.

Early political thinkers like Plato, Aristotle and Machiavelli argued for a limited citizenship to a few based on certain criteria – like education, wealth, lineage etc. Thus, ancient Greek city-states had only limited citizenship.

T H Marshall defines citizenship in his '*Class, Citizenship and Social Development, 1973*' in terms of a membership of a community which brings 3 types of rights and duties – Civic, Political and Social. Civil citizenship emerged as a result of rise of concept of property ownership as it required certain mutual obligations to respect each other's property rights. Political citizenship emerged when free speech developed and everyone is treated equal by means like universal adult franchise. Social citizenship embodies notions of rights for welfare and responsibility for collective provision of social benefits. He also argued that contemporary capitalism is antithetical to citizenship which inherently treats everyone equally, but capitalism leads to gross inequalities.

Similarly, Marxists argue that citizenship as a concept is a myth as there is no equality in a capitalist society. True equality can only be there if forces of production can be collectively owned. A capitalist society can only have classes of citizens – first class citizens and second class citizens.

As a result of globalization, migration and frequent travel, cosmopolitan outlook is making great strides and new concepts of 'global citizenship' are emerging which cross nation-state boundaries.

Citizenship has also been seen in other perspectives as well. Citizenship is increasingly seen in responsible terms. Mark Smith in his '*Ecologism: Towards Ecological Citizenship, 1998*' highlights that time has come now to stress upon the concept of 'ecological citizenship' in the wake of global ecological crisis. It involves obligations towards not only fellow beings, but towards non-human animals, future generations of humanity as well.

Ramchandra Guha contends that while in West, citizenship was awarded in a phased manner with a demand from below, while in East it was awarded suddenly as countries got independent and hence people often fail to appreciate citizenship rights and duties. According to Gail Omvedt, citizenship in India has been paradoxical as it theoretically grants equal rights, but caste dynamics make Dalits lesser citizens when it come for enjoying of democratic rights. Similar is the case with sexual discrimination. She contends that patriarchal society thwarts constitutional gains. Similarly, poverty is also a great handicap.

Democracy

Democracy is derived from the Latin roots – 'Demos' meaning people and 'Kratos' meaning rule. So, it is a government or rule by the people. Democracy as a concept informally existed earlier also as illustrated by Greek City States and ancient Indian Village Republics. But as a modern political concept it emerged in Europe. It means different things for different people. Earlier scholars didn't see it in favorable light in fact, Plato equated it with Mobocracy and Machiavelli too rejected it in favor a strong state. Hobbes and Locke were perhaps first scholars to popularize it as a positive and desirable concept. The concept was further celebrated by Montesquieu who spoke about separation of power, demarcation of responsibility on basis of formal rules.

It is famously defined by the US Black Rights champion president Abraham Lincoln as '*A government for the people, of the people and by the people*'. Its basic tenet is that people themselves are sovereign and irrespective of religion, creed or caste all are equal and are capable of governing themselves. Democracy makes people masters of themselves. It makes struggle for power more civilized, organized and open to all. Generally, it is understood in terms of political equality, promoting individual liberty, defending common interests and so on. In some places, democracy is limited to a political concept only, in others it is extended to broader areas of social life.

Over the years, as size of populations increased, '**indirect democracy**' or '**representative democracy**' becomes the predominant mode of governance and 'direct democracy' or 'participative democracy' is exercised on a few occasions like referendums, plebiscites etc or in smaller countries like Switzerland where many important decisions are taken by popular participation. Today, most of the democracies are also '*liberal democracies*' as they offer choice to the citizens regularly in terms of whom they should elect as their ruler.

Pluralists see it a plausible form of governance in modern context where some elites represent the interests of all and are partially controlled by masses through pressure groups etc. However, T B Bottomore rejects pluralist view of modern democracies as a conservative view. According to him, Western governments are imperfect realization of democracies as it permanently excludes many in any form of participation in government activities. According to him, democracy is much more than ritualistic regular elections. True democracy is the one in which democratic ideals become an established feature of day to day life which would involve establishing social democracy where people directly participate in local governments, workers participate in management of their workplaces and so on. In India, such an experiment is Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Marx however saw democracy and capitalism in symbiotic terms as though democracy espouses equality, still it tolerates inequality in economic and political forms. Similarly, Roberto Michels in his '*Political Parties, 1911*' considers current form of democracy as a puppet in a handful of oligarchs. He argues that big nations can never have direct democracy and representative system leads to concentration of power in hands of a few who exploit the situation.

However, despite its limitations, as Churchill said, '*it is the worst system of government except all those which have not been tried till date*'. Democracy has given voice to voiceless by their sheer numbers and today voters collectively act as effective pressure groups shaping their own lives.

Civil Society

Civil Society is an umbrella like organization which lies between family and market and state. Hence, it a non-market bases, no-state based and non-kin based part of the public domain in which individuals get together voluntarily to create institutions and organizations. It consists of voluntary associations, organizations or institutions formed by groups of citizens. It includes political parties, media institutions, trade unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), religious organizations, and other kinds of collective entities. The main criteria for inclusion in civil society are that the organization should not be state-controlled, and it should not be a purely commercial profit-making entity. Civil society is the sphere in which social movements become organized.

It has come into prominence since 1970s when New Social Movements emerged which saw a wide participation in a peaceful manner.

The issues taken up by civil society organizations are diverse, ranging from tribal struggles for land rights, right to information, legal reforms, devolution in urban governance, campaigns against rape and violence against women, rehabilitation of those displaced by dams and other developmental projects, rehabilitation of pavement dwellers, campaigns against slum demolitions and for housing rights, primary education reform, distribution of land to Dalits, and so on.

Civil society, in opposition to the state, lays the moral foundation of society. Hegel, the German philosopher in his book '*Philosophy of Rights, 1821*', considers the civil society as one of the moments of ethical life, the other two being the family and the state. Civil society is an important stage in the transition from the unreflective consciousness of the family, to conscious ethical life.

It is a bastion of culture against the state, the law and capitalism. The fact whether there exists a civil society or not depends on the nature of the relationship it has with the state. According to Locke, the civil society was born to secure the rights which were already available in the state of nature.

Marx sees civil society as an extension of bourgeoisie, but Gramsci differs from him. In Gramscian sense, civil society is the terrain where the state, the people and the market interact and where people wage war against the hegemony of the market and the state. Marx insists on the separation between the state and the civil society, Gramsci emphasizes the inter-relationship between the two.

The civil society is considered both complimentary and sometimes as a substitute for the state institutions. In fact, De Tocqueville studies the reasons for the existence of democracy in America and its absence in France in terms of presence of absence of civil society. According to him, civil society complements democracy. In India also, growth of democracy and Panchayati Raj can be seen in this light. Decentralization of power is the basis of formation of civil society. The decentralized units of power are inclined towards trust, association and democracy. Democracy and Civil Society are inseparably related to each other. A healthy liberal democracy needs the support of a vibrant civil society. The existence of civil society also indicates the extent of democracy in a society. Civil society is an arena of contestation and debate. Civil societies have been viewed as a force for democratization, counterweights to the state and economic power and have emerged as alternative vehicles of citizens' participation at both the national and transnational levels of governance.

In the emerging scenario post globalization and liberalization, the emphasis has been on the increasing roles of the civil societies to take the burden off the state, by involving citizens and communities in the delivery of the collective goods and on strengthening of the abilities and opportunities of local communities to ensure the process of empowerment of the marginalized in society. There has also been a process of involvement of civil society organizations along with the state in the formulation and implementation of development initiatives. According to Cohen and Arato, civil society has long been playing a pivotal role in influencing the state's policy on social welfare, articulating views on current issues, serving as the voice of constructive debate, providing a forum for the exchange of new ideas and information, initiating social movements by way of creating new norms, identities, institutions.

The basis of the formation of civil society is secular. Caste and kinship linkages, religion or tribal mobilization etc. are not the basis of the formation of civil society and according to Neera Chandhok, they are 'counter' to civil society.

Characteristic Features of Civil Society –

- I. First, civil society is the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.
- II. Second, civil society is concerned with public ends rather than private ends. It is an intermediary phenomenon standing between the private sphere and the state.
- III. Third, civil society is related to the state in some way, but does not seek to control the state.

- IV. Fourth, civil society encompasses pluralism and diversity. It encompasses a vast array of organizations, formal and informal, including economic, cultural, informational and educational, interest groups, developmental, issue-oriented and civic groups.

In recent years there has been a phenomenal proliferation of the civil societies all over the globe due to increase in the penetration of information technology. It is becoming increasingly easier to mobilize people in a very short duration through internet and mobile phone. It has emerged as the sphere of active citizenship where individuals take up social issues, try to influence the state or make demands on it, pursue their collective interests or seek support for a variety of causes. The loss of faith in the state due to its failures revived the interest in the civil society and it was seen as an alternative to state as in Soviet disintegration of 1990, National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI) movement in 1996 led by a coalition of organizations, Janlokpall movement of 2011-12, recent Arab Spring of 2012, democracy movement in Hong-Kong of 2014 and so on. At times the state is beset with a legitimization deficit that destroys the conditions of its own stability, paving the way for the civil society.

Ideology

It originated from the word – Latin word 'Eidos' meaning 'science of ideas'. It refers to a set of particular ideas which present a partial view of reality. It allows viewer to view society in a particular manner. It has following elements – beliefs, doctrines and symbols. Ideology can be seen as a basic drive for human actions – good or bad. So, without ideology a society will be akin to a human being without a heart. Ideology is often used as a guiding light for directing actions of individuals and also used as a unifying force for collecting actions. It provides a justification for the actions of the individuals even when they are apparently unjustifiable. For example – actions of German Nazi troops were justified by themselves by their ideological reasoning that Germans are pure blond Aryans and they are a superior race which is born to rule. Concept of ideology is also closely related to power and dominance as it is used as a justification tool for the actions of a particular social group which adhere to a particular ideology.

Marx makes a distinction between true and false ideological consciousness. Similarly, later Marxists like Althusser also talk of 'hegemonic ideology' as the imposed ideology by ruling class. However, Marxists too believe that ideology is essential for social change and hence instead of capitalist and hegemonic ideology, they advocate socialism and communism. Marx also terms ideology as central to proletarian revolution.

Karl Popper, in his book '*Open Society and its Enemies*', indicates that every ideology is totalitarian as it is blinded by ideological bias and hence indifferent to plurality of viewpoints. Hence ideology is antithetical to objectivity.

Others even talk of death of ideology in modern money centric economies and assert that it is economics which reigns supreme over ideology.

Feminist sociologists argue that patriarchal ideology has led to gender discrimination in society. Similarly, in Indian society Brahminical ideology has led to suffering of depressed classes for ages. For this obvious limitation of a single dominant ideology, scholars like Amartya Sen call for a society with pluralistic and inclusive ideology which should guide the public discourse.

Collective Action

Collective actions are understood as actions by group of people with specific goal or objective. They have their own subjectivity which is different from subjectivity of individual participants. They involve either of cooperation, conflict, competition or accommodation in general. They can either be organized or unorganized, institutionalized or non-institutionalized. Structure of a collective action is also defined by its *organization, ideology, goals and leadership*. Protests, agitations, revolutions, social movements, NGOs, mass production etc are some form of collective actions.

Protest

It is a social process of opposition against any person, group or even wider society. It may occur at individual or collective level, manifest or latent level and may involve action or inaction as a tool of protest.

Opposition is central in protest, while a purpose is central in an agitation. Protest, thus, pre-supposes a prior event against which a protest is done. For example – fast unto death by Mahatma Gandhi against British policies is an instance of individual level protest, opposition of India to terms of WTO which are unfavorable to developing countries is example of collective protests.

Protests can also be distinguished on the basis of mode of protest. This could be candle and torch light processions, use of black cloth, street theatres, songs, poetry, violence, vandalism and so on. Gandhi adopted novel ways such as *ahimsa, Satyagraha* and his use of the *charkha* in the freedom movement. While modes adopted by Gandhiji were largely peaceful and non-violent, modes adopted by Jihadis, Naxalites and separatists are often violent. In general, agitation and protest have only subtle differences. While protest is a reaction to an event which has already occurred, an agitation can also be a future course which is seen as desirable or undesirable.

In modern societies frequency of protests varies. In democratic societies, freedom of expression is tolerated and protests are acceptable. Protests also depend on factors like – competition for limited resources, discrimination on basis of gender, caste, religions etc, autocratic behavior and so on.

Protests are also different from social movements which are generally oriented to change. However, protests can be used as a tool for the furthering of the objectives of a social movement.

Agitation

It is a social process which involves ‘intense activity’ undertaken by an individual or group in order to fulfill a purpose. Purpose is central to agitation, unlike ‘opposition’ which is central in protest. Further, dissatisfaction is also central to agitations, while dissent is central to protests. In general, agitation and protest have only subtle differences. While protest is a reaction to an event which has already occurred, an agitation can also be a future course which is seen as desirable or undesirable.

Agitation is manifested through activities like strikes, mass leave, *raasta roko, rail roko*, rioting, picketing etc. It can be either organized or unorganized and is generally non-institutional, but can be institutional as well.

Like protests, their frequency of occurring is contingent upon type of structure of society, culture and political system in place.

Both protests and agitations can be due to actual as well as relative deprivation of agitators/protestor or their affiliate groups. Agitations may also aim to acquire power.

Further, unlike social movements which are marked by a degree of organization as well as sustenance, agitations are generally spontaneous and ephemeral. However, both protests and agitations can be institutionalized and become social movements. For example, early protests against sati system were later transformed into a full fledged social movement leading to passage of legislations and social change as well.

Social Movements

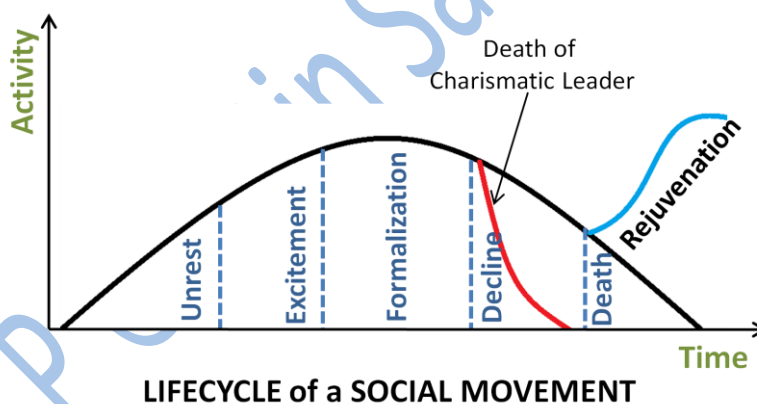
A social movement is defined as a sustained collective action aimed at bringing or resisting social change outside the sphere of established institutions. A social movement requires sustained collective action over time and hence totally spontaneous and ephemeral collective actions cannot be termed as social movements. Collective action must be marked by some degree

of organization and also has certain ideology. This organization may include a 'leadership' and a 'structure' that defines how members relate to each other, make decisions and carry them out.

The two features of social movements, namely, sustained action and spontaneity operate simultaneously. These together distinguish a social movement from other collective actions. For example – trade union movements and cooperative movements are not social movements because they have a well defined organizational structure.

Life cycle of a social movement is generally seen in form of five stages, all of which may or may not occur. For example – death of charismatic leader, achievement of goals etc may lead to abrupt ending. A movement may also witness rejuvenation due to some new events, re-statement of ideology or change in leadership.

Conventionally ideology, collective mobilization, organization and leadership are identified as the vital elements or components or part of structure of social movements. Various theories about origin of social movement are also given like Strain Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory, and Relative Deprivation theory and so on.



- I. **Social Unrest Theory** – It is generally associated with Chicago School which gave an interactionist perspective, especially Herbert Blumer. Blumer saw them as collective attempts to change the existing social order. According to Herbert Blumer, social movements can be 'active' – or outwardly directed aiming to transform the society or 'expressive' – or inwardly directed to change the people who are involved. He also highlighted social movement in terms of its 'life cycle' as well. This theory however fails to give account for rational decisions and strategies of social movement.
- II. **Relative Deprivation Theory** – A social movement usually starts because the people are unhappy about certain things. Babbar Khalsa Movement is such example. The limitations of this theory are that while perceptions of deprivation may be a necessary condition for collective action, they are not a sufficient reason in themselves. A major section of society always feels relative deprivation, but it doesn't spring into action.
- III. **Structural Strain Theory** – It was a structural functionalist perspective given by Neil Smelser. All social movements do not arise out of relative deprivation. They can also originate from structural strain between values and structural means. When the prevailing value system and the normative structure do not meet the aspirations of the people, the society faces strain. What happens at this time is that a new value system is sought so as to replace the old. This leads to conflicts and tension. Smelser saw social movements as side-effects of rapid social change. For example – where inter caste marriage is not permitted we may still find a few cases of such marriage, in violation of the norms. However only when individual actions are replaced by collective action does a social movement takes place. He gave a multi-causal theory which rejected mono-causal explanations of social movements and to illustrate it, he also gave a concept of 'value addition' i.e. social movement emerges in form of stages and each stage adds value to the next emerging stage and increasing probability that a social movement will result in the end. He named six stages in the emergence of the social movement viz – structural conduciveness, structural strain, generalized beliefs, precipitating factors, mobilization for action and failure of social control. This theory is however criticized as it assume that social movements are started for irrational reasons.
- IV. **Resource Mobilization Theory** – It is a distinctively American version of studying social movements from a rational choice perspective and was given by Tilly, in his '*From Mobilization to Revolution, 1978*', and others in a reaction to the 'social unrest' theories which attempted to portray social movements as irrational ventures. It fills the gap of 'relative deprivation theories' by providing that apart from feeling of deprivation, resources are also necessary to wage a movement. It argued that participants of a social movement behave rationally and apart from ideology and spirit, a social movement needs material resources to remain a sustained effort. According to it, social unrest is always present in society and hence this theory renders unrest theories deficient in explanation. If a movement can muster resources such as leadership, organizational capacity, and communication facilities, and can use them within the available political opportunity structure, it is more likely to be effective. Critics argue that a social movement is not limited by existing resources. It can create resources such as new symbols and identities. As numerous poor people's movements show, scarcity of resources need not be a constraint. Even with an initial limited material resources and organizational base, a movement

can generate resources through the process of struggle. This theory visualizes social movements as operating within a 'social movement industry' within which they compete for scarce resources. However, this theory fails to explain why social movements like – Black Rights movement, Arab Spring etc took place despite resource crunch.

- V. **Revitalization Theory** – It was given by Wallace. Though social movements express dissatisfaction and dissent against the system, they may also offer a positive alternative. Indeed they may be started for revitalizing the existing system which is undergoing structural strain. They thus provide alternative and are also called as 'Positive Movements'.
- VI. **Theory of Historicity Theory** – It was given by Allain Touraine in his '*The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements, 1981*'. It says that cause of a social movement is rooted in historicity of a place and people from where movement started. Each Movement is, thus, understood in terms of its specific historicity. Indian sociologist T K Oommen also thinks that historicity is one of the core features of a social movement.
- VII. **Status Inconsistency Theory** – According to Broom and Lenski, objective discrepancy between people's ranking and status dimension – e.g., education, income, occupation – generate subjective tensions in the society leading to cognitive dissonance, discontent and protest.

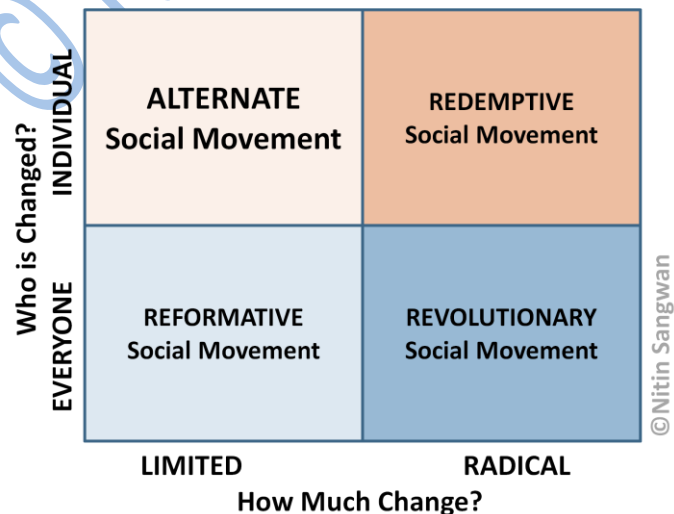
Social movements can also be classified on various other bases. A social movement may also be differentiated on the basis of the ideology as – liberal, Marxist, fundamentalist, Gandhian and so on. On the basis of methods employed, it can be peaceful or violent. On the basis of goals also they can have different classifications.

According to Turner and Kilhan, social movements can be classified on the basis of their orientation which can be either –

- I. Value Orientation
- II. Power Orientation
- III. Participation Orientation

On the basis of nature of change, David Aberle has classified social movements into four types. An alternative movement suggests limited change at an individual level. Further, this classification of Aberle is an ideal type, actual social movement may differ and may be a combination of these. For

example birth control drives. A redemptive social movement aims to bring about a change in the personal consciousness and actions of its individual members. For instance, people in the Ezhava community in Kerala were led by Narayana Guru to change their social practices. Reformist social movements strive to change the existing social and political arrangements through gradual, incremental steps. Brahmo Samaj in 19th century the recent Right to Information campaign are examples of reformist movements. Revolutionary social movements attempt to radically transform social relations, often by capturing state power. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia that deposed the Czar to create a communist



Aberle's Classification of Social Movements

state and the Naxalite movement in India that seeks to remove oppressive landlords and state officials can be described as revolutionary movements.

Horton and Hunt has classified social movement into six types –

- I. Migratory
- II. Expressive
- III. Reform
- IV. Revolutionary
- V. Reactionary or Regressive Movement – These aims to reverse the social change. They strongly criticize the fast moving changes of the present.
- VI. Utopian Movement – These are attempts to take the society or a section of it towards a state of perfection. The Hare Krishna Movement of the 1970s, the movement towards the establishment of Ram Rajya of the Sangh Parivar, the Communists and Socialists pronouncement of a movement towards the classless, casteless society free from all kinds of exploitation etc.

OLD and NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: ANOTHER WAY of CLASSIFICATION

Since late 1960s or so there has been a spurt of social movements across the world and they include a diversity of movements – students movements of 1960s, feminist movements of 1970s, anti-nuclear movements of 1980s, gay right movements of 1990s and so on. They collectively fall under the category of New Social Movements (NSM). They are new because they have new issues, new organization, new social constituencies and new methods.

The 'Old Social Movements' clearly saw reorganization of power relations as a central goal. The old social movements functioned within the frame of political parties. For example – The Indian National Congress led the Indian National Movement. The Communist Party of China led the Chinese Revolution. In the old social movements, the role of political parties or a political ideology was central.

NSM were not about changing the distribution of power in society but about quality-of-life issues such as having a clean environment. New Social Movements are significantly different from previous social movements of the industrial economy –

- I. According to Habermas in his '*New Social Movements, 1981*', the new social movements are the 'new politics' which is about quality of life, individual self-realization and human rights whereas the 'old politics' focus on economic, political, and military security.
- II. Some NSM theorists, like Frank Parkin in his '*Middle Class Radicalism, 1968*', argue that the key actors in these movements are different as well, as they are more likely to

Globalization and Social Movements –

Globalization has made genuine global social movements possible. People are able to join together through networks of human rights organizations, internet, humanitarian group, NGOs, environmental groups and so on. Organization of global level protests against Iraq War in 2003, protests against WTO, organization of 'World Social Forum' parallel to World Economic Forum etc are some examples.

come from the 'new middle class' rather than the lower classes. Thus, they have new social constituency belonging to artists, youths, students, middle income groups and so on.

- III. The primary difference is in their goals, as the new movements focus not on issues of materialistic qualities such as economic well being, but on issues related to human rights and other ideals of society (such as gay rights or pacifism). The new movements instead of pushing for specific changes in public policy emphasize social changes in identity, lifestyle and culture.
- IV. The most noticeable feature of new social movements is that they are primarily social and cultural and only secondarily, if any, political. They didn't seek to take over state, but work at cultural level to bring social change.
- V. They employed new organizational forms. Unlike pressure groups that have a formal organization and 'members', NSMs consist of an informal, loosely organized social network of 'supporters' rather than members in an organized manner. Paul Byrne described New Social Movements as 'relatively disorganized' or 'polycephelous' or multi headed.
- VI. Their methodologies were also different and they use a variety of them. They use from political lobbying to sit-ins and alternative festivals. But most distinctive feature of there is their non-violent and symbolic direct action. They aim to capture moral high ground and also use mass media extensively.

NSM are a testimony that while faith in traditional politics is waning, citizens are rising themselves to take direct action and becoming more participative. They have helped in revitalizing democracy in its existing framework. New social movements have elements of old as well and one cannot put the two in watertight compartments. Gail Omvedt in her book '*Reinventing Revolution*' points out that concerns about social inequality and the unequal distribution of resources continue to be important elements in these movements.

However, NSM are criticized because many of their features were also present in the old social movements as well. Further, many of social institutions have institutionalized themselves as well. For example in case of PETA, Greenpeace, Gay Liberation Front etc.

LEADERSHIP in a SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Leaders are important for movements because they help clarify the issues and shape the movement. It is the leaders who provide guidance and direction to a movement. They prevent it from becoming a desperate, unruly collection of people. A movement can degenerate into a mob if it does not have a leader or a group of leaders guiding it.

The importance of leadership does not necessarily mean that it is all pervading, that people have no independent role to play and they are manipulated by the leaders. On the contrary, the leadership is expected to reflect the views of the people.

The most important aspect of leadership is that it tries to articulate the views of the participants. It is impossible for all people to give their views simultaneously. Leadership also

acts as spokesperson of the social movement and negotiates on the behalf of the larger number of people.

Leadership involves a two way process. On the one hand the leader tries to lead according to his understanding of the situation and the issues involved. On the other hand the leader incorporates the views and ideas of the participants and articulates them in the process. A movement may degenerate if a leader only tries to impose his or her own views without taking into account the views of the participants the movement or is solely guided by the demands of the members of the movement.

IDEOLOGY and SOCIAL MOVEMENT

While there can be many factors which lead to start of a social movement, leadership and ideology are two important factors that sustain and give direction to a social movement. People follow the leader because of what he represents, i.e., the ideas that he places before them. There is something deeper, which makes people committed to it. An ideology is important as it makes people understand and justify the implications of their actions. Most importantly, it provides a justification to the actions of people involved even if they are violent.

Ideology provides a broad frame of action and collective mobilization in the social movement. Ideology indicates the goals, means and forms of practical activities of social groups and of individuals. It supplies the justification for various social, political and moral ideals. Ideology also establishes identity of the group vis-à-vis other groups.

According to M S A Rao it is one of the three most crucial aspects of a social movement, other two being collective mobilization and orientation for change. Ideology is reflected in various themes of movements like – rejection of religious identity, class conflict, millenarian themes etc.

For same end, different means may be used. For example – Bhodan and Naxalism use different ideology for similar ends. Apart from helping to distinguish one movement from another, ideology helps to sustain a movement.

Revolution

A revolution is also a type of social movement. According to James M Jasper, '*Revolution is a social movement that seeks, as minimum, to overthrow the government or state*'. In broadest sense it means – radical change and it is used in many sociological contexts like – Green Revolution, Knowledge Revolution, Social Revolution etc, but they are more so in metaphorical sense and more strictly its context is political as in James Jasper's definition of overthrowing an existing political order by means of mass participation and often accompanied by violence as well. It often leads to fundamental change in social structure and social life, changes in political structure and increased participation of people in political life. It can also be seen as a particular form of social movement and social movements may become more radical and revolutionary, and vice versa – revolutionary movements can scale down their demands and agree to share powers with others.

A revolution is also different from other similar sounding terms like revolt, uprising, rebellion or mutiny in the sense that the latter may not have a lasting impact on the society. A revolution leads to a

fundamental change in the structure of the society, while the latter may be merely attempts at such a change. Thus, irresistibility and irrevocability are the core features of a revolution as revolutions are not sporadic events and have long lasting impact.

Revolutions are also associated with positive and desirable human values like – emancipation, liberation, equality etc. They may be revivalist or reformatory in spirit as well, but never conservatory in spirit. This differentiates them from military coups and other large scale reactionary events.

Goodwin distinguishes between conservative (reformist) and radical revolutionary movements, depending on how much of a change they want to introduce. An example of a conservative revolutionary movement would be the American Revolutionary movement, or the Mexican Revolutionary movement. Examples of a radical revolutionary movement include French Revolution, Bolsheviks Revolution in Russia, Revolution led Chinese Communist Party and other communist movements in most of Southeast Asia and most recently Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt.

Revolutions can be further classified on the basis of ideology behind them. For Marx, revolution was an end to the class struggle. For Aberle, Revolution is one of the four types of social movements.

The same social movement may be viewed differently depending on a given context (usually the government of the country it is taking place). For example, Jack Goldstone notes that the human rights movement can be seen as a regular social movement in the West, but it is a revolutionary movement under oppressive regimes like in China. Similarly, demand for equal rights for women is a social movement in country like USA or India, but it is a revolutionary step in conservative Islamic states.

Conditions for the Rise of Revolutionary Movement –

- I. Mass discontent leading to popular uprisings,
- II. Dissident political movements with elite participation,
- III. Strong and unifying motivations across major parts of the society,
- IV. A significant political crisis affecting the state reducing its ability or will to deal with the opposition (see political opportunity), and
- V. External support (or at last, lack of interference on behalf of the state)

	SOCIAL MOVEMENT	REVOLUTION
Scope	Its scope is context specific	Radical
Nature	Usually long drawn, sustained and organized	Abrupt in nature, though organized, but it is sui-generis
Methods	Various from peaceful agitations, propaganda to violence	Usually violent, but can be non-violent too
Semantics	It is a broader term	It is a particular type of social movement
Orientation	Change 'in' system	Change 'of' system
Example	Peasant movements in India	Arab Spring in Tunisia, French Revolution, Russian Revolution

CHAPTER 8 – RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Religion is about the sacred realm. Durkheim defines it as '*a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things, that is to say – things set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite them into a single moral community, for all those who adhere to them*'. In most cases, the sacred includes an element of the supernatural, reverence, awe etc. Studying religion sociologically lets us ask questions about the relationship of religion with other social institutions. Religion had, in past, a very close relationship with power and politics. For instance, periodically in history there have been religious movements for social change, like various anti-caste movements or movements against gender discrimination.

FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

They can be seen at two levels – manifest and latent i.e. its functions can also be seen at individual level as well as societal level. Functions of religion or role of religion in maintaining social order can be viewed as –

- I. **Social change** – Social change can be brought about by religion by new principles, new ideology etc. Buddhism and its challenge to orthodoxy of Brahminism is such an example. According to Weber, it led to rise of capitalism. In his study of American Evangelical Protestantism, Tocqueville established that it helped the growth of democratic spirit in America. Tocqueville proposed that Catholicism with modifications could foster democratic spirit in France.
- II. **Integrative force** – As stated by Durkheim, religion unites all those who believe in it. Especially in a time of crisis, religion acts as a uniting force and acts as an emotional support.
- III. **Social control** – Every religion has the concepts of sins, virtues, heaven, good and bad. They guide the behavior of those who follow the religion. Religious institutions like temples and church also control the behavior of individual in different manner. Issuing of *Fatwas* is such an example. Festivals and preaching by the religious leaders also control behavior.
- IV. **Intellectual function** – It provides answers to many questions which are not answered by other bodies of knowledge. For example - process of life and death.
- V. **Normative role** – It is an ensemble of beliefs and practices which often act as moral guidelines as well. Most of the religions in world have common tenets of peace, fraternity, love etc.
- VI. **Solace and comforting function** – Comforting people through illness, death, and other crisis. Malinowski saw religion as assisting the individual to cope with situations of stress or anxiety.
- VII. **Stabilization** – Religion can change the social order or religion can stabilize the social order. Some sects in past have done this – for example Veershaiva Movement led by

Baswesvara in Southern India led to a struggle against the unreasonableness of Brahmins.

- VIII. **Ritual role** – Religious conventions and practices also direct marriages, mutual relations of family members and so on. According to Hindu philosophy, '*Kama*' is one of the four *Purusharthas*.
- IX. Fear of and other religious norms also help in social control
- X. Religion can also supplement practical, empirical knowledge. '*Science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind*' according to Einstein.

DYSFUNCTIONS of RELIGION

There are also dysfunctional things religion like persecution, war, and terrorism. They can also be manifest and latent.

- I. Robert Merton introduced the concept of dysfunction. Talking about religion, for instance, he pointed out the dysfunctional features of religion in a multi-religious society – become the cause of disorganization and disunity.
- II. Conflict theorists like Marx also argue that religion acts as opium of masses and justifies the dominant ideology and exploitation.
- III. Religion hinders Social progress and impedes social changes - Religion makes people dogmatic.
- IV. It promotes evil practices.
- V. Further, religion also leads to communalism.
- VI. It makes an individual fatalist.

Sociological Theories of Religion

Sociologists consider religion as a social phenomenon both in terms of its causes and its consequences. Sociology of religion does not ask, whether god exists. Rather, sociology of religion asks, if people believe that god exists, 'Why do they believe?', 'How do they come to believe?' This is also the fundamental difference between theology and sociology, while theology takes existence of religion or god as given; sociology aims at studying it like other social phenomenon in a descriptive manner.

Theories of religions can be divided into various categories like – theories of origin, theories of evolution and contemporary theories regarding working of religion.

Origin of religion is more of a calculated speculation rather than an empirically researched conclusion. Different thinkers have put forward different theories regarding origin of religion.

Evolutionary theories derive their understanding from studying of primitive societies like tribes and modern societies. Evolutionist understanding of religion seems to rest on two assumptions, namely positivism and intellectualism. Evolutionism based on the intellectualist assumption that religion is a matter of knowledge. The intellectualists tried to prove that the primitives were rational though their efforts to explain the natural phenomena were somewhat crude and false.

French Spencer believed that the theological stage was the beginning, metaphysical stage was the next and the scientific stage was the last in the evolution of human societies. As science advances and a

contract-based society develop, religion centered on god head will fade away. Consequently agnosticism (belief that nothing can be known about god) will be the religion of the scientific age. He gave first systematic theory of religion from evolutionary perspective. Comte emphasized that religion will end after the further growth of science. Herbert Spencer argued that religion arose from the practice of worshipping the ghosts of ancestors. This practice was universal, according to him, among primitive people. After this stage came polytheism and finally monotheism. Classical theorists also argue that polytheism is the religion of primitives and monotheism is religion of complex societies.

Various classical or evolutionary theories regarding origin of religion can be grouped into two broad categories –

- I. **Intellectual Theories** – They were the earliest theories of religion. They were based on primitive logic. These theories include – Soul Theory by Comte; Dreams Theory of Spencer; Theory of Animism of Tylor; Mana Theory of R R Marett.

The Ghost Theory or Dreams Theory of Spencer – Spencer in mid 19th century in his three volumes of '*Principles of Sociology, 1876-96*' constructed the first systematic theory of religion. Spencer shows the primitives to be rational though with a limited quantum of knowledge. Similarly they get the idea of a person's duality from dreams, which are considered as real life-experiences by the primitives. For them, the dream-self moves about at night while the shadow-self acts by the day. This notion of duality is reinforced by peoples' experiences of temporary loss of sensibilities. The event of death is also considered by the primitives as a longer period of insensibility. This idea of duality is extended by them to animals, plants and material object. According to Spencer, the appearance of dead persons in dreams is taken by the primitives to be the evidence of temporary after life. This leads to the conception of a supernatural being in the form of a ghost. According to Spencer, the idea of ghosts grows into the idea of gods and the ghosts of ancestors become divine beings. Spencer's conclusion is that '*ancestor worship is the root of every religion*'. He also took an evolutionary view and according to him, it is followed by polytheism and finally monotheism.

Animism Theory of Tylor – Animism means the belief in spirits/soul. Rather than focusing on the idea of ghost, Edward B Tylor emphasized on idea of soul in his '*Primitive Culture, 1871*'. Animism refers to a given form of religion in which man finds the presence of spirit in every object that surrounds him. This idea arise from two observations of primitive man which he explained with primitive logic –

- a. What are those objects in dreams?
- b. What differentiates living and dead?

Primitive man applied crude logic that it is the 'soul' that differentiates living and dead. During dreams at night, it leaves temporarily and after death it leaves permanently.

This idea of soul is then projected on to creatures other than human and even to inanimate objects. Animals, plants and other objects, which help or obstruct man's activities, are also regarded to possess souls or spirits. The soul exists independent of its physical home the body, and therefore arises the idea of belief in spiritual beings. Tylor says that these spiritual beings later develop into gods.

- a. Man's ideas of spirits primarily originated from his dreams. In his dreams man, for the first time, encountered with his double.
- b. Tylor argues that religion in the form of animism originated to satisfy man's 'intellectual nature' to meet his need to make sense of death, dreams and vision.

Above was idea of Tylor on the origin of religion, he also gave an evolutionary perspective on religion. He had an evolutionary view of society in five stages and he extended this idea to religion as well. According to him, different religious practices prevailed in different phases of evolution of society. Animism is the religion of simple hunting gathering societies and monotheistic religion is the religion of modern complex societies according to him.

II. **Psychological Theories or Emotional Theories** – They are based on a particular mental state like fear.

Malinowski gave a theory based on emotional stress, Sigmund Freud considers religion as a result of guilt, Frazer also gave a theory of 'naturism', Lowie considered it as a matter of feeling and foremost of them, Max Muller gave a theory based on emotional response of primitives to forces of nature.

Emotional Stress Theory – Malinowski uses data from small scale non-literate societies to develop his thesis on religion and he chose Trobriand Island off the coast of Guinea for his field work. Like Durkheim, he saw religion as reinforcing social norms and promoting social solidarity, but he doesn't see religion as a symbol of society. According to him, religion is concerned with specific areas of social life namely situation of stress which threaten social solidarity. Anxiety and tension tend to disrupt social life. Situations which produce these emotions include crisis of life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. Death is most disruptive of them all. At the time of death and funeral, members of society support the bereaved and this expression of solidarity re-integrates society. Second category of events is the events which are not fully predictable or controllable by man and hence produce anxiety. For example, during fishing in open sea, Trobriand Islanders have apprehensions about storms, amount of catch and so on. So, they make some rituals before going for fishing in open sea. Such rituals help in reducing the anxiety as they provide confidence and a feeling of control. Like funeral ceremonies, fishing rituals are also social events. Religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with the situation of emotional stress.

Naturism or Nature Myth – It is the belief that the forces of nature have supernatural power. Man used to see forces of nature with various emotions – awe, fear, respect and so on. Max Muller developed the theory of naturism. He was a great scholar of Sanskrit and was very interested in ancient Indian gods. He held that grand natural objects gave people a feeling of the infinite. Max Muller argued that with the passage of time the symbolic representations came to gain an independent identity of their own and became separated from that which they represented. The attributes or the symbols became personified as deities (Indra Devta – for rain, Agni Devta – for fire and so on). According to Muller human beings and nature stand in a relationship of awe, wonderment, terror, etc. Early human beings could not understand or explain the world of nature. They ended up worshipping it out of fear and awe out of dependency and as a token of respect.

Frazer holds that primitive man was in a state of continuous struggle with nature. The chanting and other rituals were developed by him to control nature which he thought of as magical. When man was overpowered by nature, he used to perform these to propitiate nature.

Herbert Spencer, Edward Tylor and Andrew Lang were the main critics of nature-myth theories.

Classical evolutionary theories deem polytheistic religion as the religion of simple societies and monotheistic religion as the religion of the complex societies. Classical theories are criticized on various grounds like –

- I. Malinowski does not agree with Tylor's view of primitive man as a reflecting being. Malinowski maintains that the primitives are more preoccupied with fishing, gardening and tribal get-togethers and do not spend time 'brooding over dreams and visions'. Malinowski held that both religion and magic originate and function under conditions of emotional stress. Magic is used by the primitive as we use scientific knowledge today for overcoming practical difficulties in their day to day life. His study of Trobriand islanders is the basis of his conclusions.
- II. A major criticism against Tylor and Spencer was that they projected their own ideas regarding soul etc. into the mind of the primitive people whom they had not studied in their natural habitat and environment. Thus the evolutionists were arm chair scholars.
- III. Frazer argued that rather than religion and related beliefs and practices, primitive people were actually more inclined towards magic and superstition.
- IV. Andrew Lang points out many of the simplest societies have monotheistic religions which Tylor claimed was limited to complex societies only.
- V. Earlier theories were mainly based on psychological and intellectual based, later sociological theories of Marx, Weber and Durkheim offered new perspective regarding the origin and its function in society.

Later more systematic 'sociological theories of religion' followed.

While classical theories viewed religion as a response to various 'needs of man' (intellectual, emotional etc), functionalists viewed it as a result of 'needs of society'.

Durkheim gave a distinctive explanation of origin of religion and its functions for society. Weber also proposed his theory in which religion acts as a source of social change. Merton also viewed religion from his functional paradigm and explored its latent functions as well.

- I. **Parsons Evolutionary Structural Functional Theory of Religion** – Religion, according to Parsons is part of cultural system which provides more guidelines in the form of beliefs, norms, values etc for the social action to be performed. So, religion also provides similar guidelines. For example – in Christianity, there are Ten Commandments, in Islam there are sayings in Kuran and so on. Like Malinowski, he also views religion as addressing certain problems of society like unforeseeable events, uncertainty etc. Religion helps in calming down the anxiety and stress which threaten the normal course of life. It provides a range of answers and makes suffering meaningful. Functionalists like Parsons, however, ignore the instances where religion becomes a disruptive force. It gives little consideration to the hostilities – as between Catholic and Protestants in Northern Island.

- II. **Marxist View of Religion** – Karl Marx viewed religion from a conflict point of view and termed it as opium of masses which numbs their sufferings resulting from class exploitation. According to Marx, *'Man makes religion, religion doesn't make man'*. Man are made into believing that power lies in the supernatural and not with men themselves. Religion appears as the external force controlling man's destiny, but in reality it is man-made. Religion is also a reflection of relationship involved in process of production.

Religion doesn't exist in a communist society as the social conditions which produce it disappear. According to Lenin *'Religion is a kind of spiritual gin which in which the slaves of capitalism drown their human shapes and their claim to any decent life'*. He also gives example of Christianity as a movement of the oppressed led by Christ against oppressive rule of Roman Empire. Religion dulls the pain of oppression by promising a paradise in afterlife, making virtue of suffering and by doling out hopes of supernatural intervention. Religion also justifies the position of a man in particular strata as in case of Hinduism, Karma theory justifies even a highly rigid caste system. Poverty and misfortune are depicted as divine will and punishment for sins of the individual. Religion, thus, makes poverty more bearable. Ruling class also adopts religious beliefs to justify their actions to others. In feudal England, there was collusion between feudal lords and Church. While the former gave donations to the Church, the latter would often legitimized the powers of lords from the pulpit.

Types of religious practices: Animism

Animism means the belief in anima or spirits. It holds that the world is driven by spirits. Animism refers to a given form of religion in which man finds the presence of spirit in objects or notions that surrounds him. Animism is considered one of the most primitive ideas that gave birth to religion in society and as a religious concept, it is associated with primitive people. Even today, many tribals, cults and sects across the world believe in this idea as religious practice. Spirits are seen as benign as well as malevolent. Teton Sioux of America practice an animistic religion in which spirits play negative roles in their lives and they perform Ghost Dance ceremony to appease them. Evans Pritchard in his study of the Nuer of South Sudan found out that they have an elaborate theological idea of religion centered on 'Sky Spirit' or 'High God'. Even in modern times, many sects in India treat illness through witchcraft, sorcery etc.

In a hunting gathering society, man faced enormous challenges. He came to believe that his happiness depend on the happiness of his dead relatives and ancestors. If some of their ancestors don't rest in peace, their lives will be miserable. In India also concept of '*Pitra*' and '*Shraadh*' among Hindus are associated with similar beliefs. Hindus make rituals and prayers to placate the souls of their ancestors and demand peace and happiness in their lives from their ancestors. Religions which have idea of transmigration of soul as one of the central tenets also have an idea of anima inherent in that.

E B Tylor associates animism to the primitive societies and it transforms into modern religion as society evolves. E B Tylor in his famous book '*Primitive Culture*' developed the famous thesis of animism and subsequently he developed the distinction between magic, religion and science. According to him, any type of spiritual phenomenon – may that is souls, divinities – which are animated and interpreted by man, explain the stage of animism. Man's ideas of spirits primarily originated from his dreams. In his dreams man, for the first time, encountered with his double. He realized that his double or duplicate is

more dynamic and elastic than his own self. He further considered that his double, though resembled his body, it is far more superior in terms of quality from his body. He generalized further that the presence of soul in human body is responsible for the elasticity of images in dreams. Taking this fact into consideration primitive mind considered that when man sleeps the soul moves out of the body of man temporarily and when he is dead it leaves out the body permanently. Thereafter man generalized that every embodiment, which is subjected to birth, growth and decay, is obviously associated with spirit. Hence, trees, rivers, mountains, which are greatly subjected to decay and expansion, were considered as the embodiments in which soul is present. Realizing this, man started worshipping and these embodiments and that is how animism as a specific form of religions came into being. According to Tylor, the most ancient form of animistic practice is manifested in terms of ancestor worship. Tylor argues that religion in the form of animism originated to satisfy man's 'intellectual nature' to meet his need to make sense of death, dreams and vision.

Spencer also, like Tylor, associated the idea of soul with the dreams. Animism theory is also called as '*ancestor worship*'.

Types of Religious Practices: Monism and Pluralism

Monism is belief in single attribute, god or religious idea. It is centered on the belief of oneness of all existences or in a single god, ideology. Among modern religions, Islam is a monistic religion as its believers deny existence of any other power than Allah. Similarly, Advait philosophy of Hinduism also contends that there is no distinction between the disciple and god and they are one and there is ultimately a single being. Sufi saints also stressed upon this concept of a single all powerful. It is generally considered that monistic beliefs are symbol of a nascent religion. As different cults and sects emerge from original religion, it transforms into a pluralistic religion. E B Tylor on the other hand gave an evolutionary theory of religion in which he contended that monotheistic religions are hallmark of modern societies and pluralistic religions are hallmark of primitive societies.

Pluralism religious practices are those which accommodate different viewpoints, beliefs etc. The existence of religious pluralism depends on the existence of freedom of religion, fertility of ideas and mutual tolerance. Freedom of religion is when different religions of a particular region possess the same rights of worship and public expression. Hinduism as a religion is one such examples. In Hinduism, multiple philosophies and ideologies like Vaishnav, Shaiv, Advait, Dvait etc thrive in parallel. Similarly, in Christianity also Calvinism, Methodists, Protestants, Catholics thrive in parallel. Religious pluralism is the belief that one can overcome religious differences between different religions and denominational conflicts within the same religion.

Religious pluralism has existed in the Indian subcontinent since the rise of Buddhism around 500 BC and has widened in the course of several Muslim settlements (Delhi Sultanate 1276-1526 AD and the Mughal Empire 1526-1857 AD). In the 8th century, Zoroastrianism established in India as Zoroastrians fled from Persia to India in large numbers, where they were given refuge. The colonial phase ushered in by the British lasted until 1947 and furthered conversions to Christianity among low caste Hindus.

Types of Religious Practices: Sects and Cult

Sects and cults are two forms of religious organization. They basically represent religious revivalism on one hand and search for alternative religious activities on other. They often also represent ossification of the dominant religion and a search for alternatives. From an evolutionary perspective, cult, sect, denomination and institutional religion or Church are seen along a continuum and differ from each other on the degree to which they are established and conventional. Churches are well established and conventional, cult is neither. In contemporary sociology, 'New Religious Movements' is the term which is preferred over sect or cult.

In Sociology, Church-Sect typology is originally formed by Weber and Troeltsch. According to them, Church is a large well established religious institution, bureaucratic in its working which is culmination of the evolution from sect. Sect, on the other hand, is smaller in size, closed and has a different agenda than the dominant religion. Howard Becker has further added 'denomination' and 'cult' to the church-sect typology of Weber and Troeltsch.

Various theoretical explanations have been put forward for the rise of sects and cults or the New Religious Movements –

- I. One section of sociologists argues that they are a result of wider process of secularization and liberalization of society.
- II. Others argue that people who find traditional religion as ritualistic, rigid and orthodox look for spiritual solace in smaller, less impersonal religious movements.
- III. According to Bryan Wilson in his '*Religion in Sociological Perspective, 1982*', they are a result of rapid social change. As traditional norms are disrupted, people search for explanations and reassurance.
- IV. Others argue that such new religious movements appeal to those people who feel alienated and marginalized from the mainstream society.

Cult is a small group of religious activities whose beliefs are different from the dominant religion and are usually individualistic focusing on individual experience. It never challenges the mainstream religion directly. They are often based upon charismatic leadership. It has no concept of membership and it is loosely organized with little rules and regulations and members may even retain affiliations to other religions as well. Some thinkers see their origin in terms of social evils, discontentment and change in society. They provide alternatives to the people and hence are more readily accepted by the marginalized sections of the society. The Cult is a voluntary organization, open to all who wish to join or participate in it. But, where secretive, it tends to be highly exclusive. A cult emphasizes one doctrine (above all others) or it focuses upon a God or Goddess with certain definite characteristics. Cults seem to flourish in metropolitan centers where culturally heterogeneous populations are thrown together and they widely feel the impact of most rapid and impinging social change.

An established religion in one part of world may have a status of cult in other part of world when it is introduced in that part. For example – Krishna Consciousness when adopted in West, it became a cult, but Hinduism is a well established religion in India.

According to Olridge, cults are present in modern society because –

- I. Religion guarantees salvation in afterlife, cults provides relief in this life itself.
- II. While religion addresses spiritual needs, cults provide solution to mundane problems.
- III. Religion usually points out impossibility or extreme difficulty of direct communication with god, while in a cult believers and devotees are face to face with each other.

Peter Berger classified cults into 3 types – Revivalists, Adventists and Orientalists. Revivalists glorify forgotten past. Adventists prescribe new means to joy. According to Wallis in his '*Elementary Forms of New Religious Life, 1984*', new religious movements like cults and sects can be classified into three broad categories – world affirming, world accommodating and world rejecting.

Sects are the more organized form of religion than cults and in this type of social organization, institutionalization of social roles starts. Urge for change and reinterpretation are at the heart of the sects and they are defined as new religious movements which break away from orthodoxy of dominant religion. The sect is often intolerant toward other religious groups. It is marked by a desire to disassociate from the existing social order. Sects are seen as an attempt to rationalize the dominant religion. Sects also, generally, promote brotherhood, equality and common goals for its members. Sects tend to arise during a period of rapid social change. For Example, Bryan Wilson sees rise of Methodism as a response of new working class to the ethos and uncertainty of life in newly settled industrial areas. In India also many *Mutt, Sanghas, Panths* etc are examples of sects.

Some thinkers consider sects as an indicator of nature of society. More sects indicate a relatively open society.

According to Peter Berger in his '*Sociology of Religion and Sociology of Knowledge, 1969*', '*Sect is in tension with the largest society and is closed against it*'.

According to Weber, Sects are most likely to originate within those groups which are marginalized in society and he terms this phenomenon as '*theodicy (religious justification) of disprivileged*' as they provide an alternative explanation or path of redemption. For example – Sects like Dera Sacha Sauda of North India promises a casteless society to its members who are generally from rural areas or from depressed castes. Similarly, Black Muslims sect in USA in 1960s promised emancipation to Negros.

Modern sects, however, have a varied membership and marginalized doesn't necessarily mean only in economic terms, but it can be in form of relative deprivation as well. ISKCON is another sect which has a wide appeal not limited to economically weaker sections alone.

SECT	CULT
They are formed either when membership grows or the cult leader dies in a bid to become a more organized religious unit.	It generally starts around a charismatic personality. For example, when Buddhism was started by Buddha it was a cult at that time.
It is marked by a desire to disassociate from the existing social order. Sects are seen as an attempt to rationalize the dominant religion.	Its beliefs are different from the dominant religion, but never challenge it.
It is more formal and definite	It is more volatile in nature.
They are largely closed to those who have not undergone a process of initiation. For example –	They are relatively open and don't have preconditions for membership.

drinking of holy water, wearing of amulets and so on as initiation rites are performed. So, they have a strong claim to the loyalty of its members.	
It is a more closed group and has membership criteria	It doesn't have strict membership criteria as organization is loose
Calvinists or Methodists are examples of Christian sects.	Osho Cult, Transcendental Meditation etc are examples of a cult movement.

A **Denomination** grows out of the sect. Sects often lose their momentum as it is difficult to maintain high levels of commitments for long periods and sects either die out or transform themselves into denominations. According to Howard Becker, '*A denomination is a sect which has cooled down and become an institutionalized body rather than an active protest group*'. It is a religious sect which has lost its revivalist, reformist dynamism and has become an institutionalized body with a much larger following than a sect commands. The denomination is much closer to the Church than the sect ever was. Church also has more acceptability of denomination than that of sect. Calvinism and Methodism started as sects, but are now in form of denomination. Johnson observes, '*The line between ecclesia and denomination is not always clear-cut nor is the line between sect and cult. Denomination is what usually results when a sect becomes 'respectable' in the eyes of middle class society and relaxes its religious vigor.*' It has following distinguishing features –

- I. Membership of denomination is drawn from all levels of society, unlike sect who has membership predominantly from a particular stratum which is generally the lower strata.
- II. The binding chord of 'fellowship of love and religious service' which is a distinguishing trait of the cult, becomes weak, almost nonexistent, in the denomination.
- III. Denominations generally accept the norms and values of larger society, though they may impose some minor restrictions upon their members. Sects on the other hand are closed against dominant religion and dominant values of society.
- IV. It starts to develop a bureaucratic organization with a hierarchy of paid officials much like a Church.

Church or Ecclesia or institutional religion refers to final stage in the evolution of cults, sects and denomination. It refers to a large formal organization with a hierarchy of the officials. A church generally accepts the norms and values of society and frequently regards itself as the guardian of the established social order. It often jealously guards its monopoly on religious truth.

Religion in Modern Society: Religion and Science

Questions and confusions have always surrounded man and he sought answer to these in either religion or science. So, both acted as storehouse of complementary knowledge. It is generally agreed that religion predates science.

Classical evolutionary sociologists see evolution in a series of religion, magic and science. According to Comte, society moves from a theological stage to positivist stage. According to him, religion dominates traditional societies and science dominates modern societies. Tylor further glorified science and called science as infallible and embodies the spirit of modernity. Other evolutionary theorists like French

Spencer also saw religion and science at two opposing ends. As societies evolve, science becomes modern religion.

In his book '*Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays, 1954*' on his experience of Trobriand Islanders also distinguishes Sacred and Profane and according to Malinowski, science, including art, craft, and economic activities of Trobriand islanders were cited as example of profane.

Science	Religion
Science is considered as inquisitive, deliberative	Religion is considered as imaginative and speculative
Science drives man to shape his own destiny	Religion push man towards fatalism
Science believes in precision and measurement	Religion has no such provisions
Science brings the unknown to the level of observable reality	Religion often depicts God as beyond reach of normal human beings
Science is liberating and enlightening and promotes questioning of everything	Religion binds individuals and promotes status quo and tradition
Science is based on rationality	Religion is based on the belief in sacred
Science promotes individual innovations, though team works are also there	Religion is more collectively oriented
Scientific knowledge and method are valid universally	Religious principles are accepted within a particular community only which believe in those principles

SIMILARITIES

Durkheim views both religion and science as providing society with its collective representations. So he doesn't see any conflict in the two.

- I. Both aim to provide answer to certain questions.
- II. Both have manifest as well as latent functions as well as dysfunctions.
- III. Both are a result of intellectual as well as emotional needs of the human beings.

Weber's comparative studies showed that how religions across world advocate values that differ and are invariably in opposition to rationality. Science on the other hand is empirical. So, he sees an opposition between the two. According to Weber, as rationality and scientific thoughts increase, secularism increase and space of religion will decrease. Scientific ideas like 'Darwin's Evolution Theory' conflict with the view that God created man.

To conclude with the words of Einstein, '*Science without religion is lame and religion without science is blind*'. So, even today, both are complementary as a lot still remain outside the realm of human knowledge. Due to influence of science, many religions have also rationalized themselves. Many religious institutions are making ample use of scientific discoveries to make reach of religion wider. Television and internet are profusely used by religious leaders to reach masses.

Religion in Modern Society: Secularization and Secularism

Social thinkers like Durkheim, Marx, Weber, Spencer etc were of view that traditional religion would become more and more marginal in the modern world. According to them, a process of secularization is bound to occur as science become more important in lives of people to control and explain social world. Since definition of religion is not universally accepted, definition of secularism or the process of secularization is also not universal. Following are some of the major strands –

- I. **Participation in institutional religion** – Extent of religion in our life is measured by the relative importance that we give to religious institutions which is reflected in attendance in Churches, temples, mosques etc and role of these institutions in performing various events in our life like solemnization of marriage, funeral rites etc. Some argue that fall in Church attendance is a symbol of secularization of society. According to Bryan Wilson in his '*Religion in a Secular Society, 1966*', '*The decline in organized religious participation indicates a way in which the churches are losing the direct influence over ideas and activities of man*'.
- II. **Disengagement of institutional religion from everyday life** – Disengagement of religious institutions from important events of life is also seen as a proof of secularization of society. Describing the process of secularization, Bryan Wilson writes that in secularization process '*the various social institutions gradually become distinct from one another and increasingly free of the matrix of religious assumptions that had earlier informed, inspired and dominated their operation*'. Education, politics and social welfare are no longer functions of religion today. Parsons contradicts this point of view, according to him, structural differentiation of institutions is a natural evolutionary process and it doesn't make role of religion less important. Due to differentiation process, religious values become more generalized and they still guide the society and integrate it.
- III. **Increasing religious pluralism as a symbol of secularization** – Some argue that a truly religious society is monotheistic. Competition among various religious groups has reduced the power of religion. Religious loyalties become a matter of convenience of people. Existence of multiple faiths also runs against the belief that religion is the binding force of society as a single faith is a precondition for social integration. According to Bryan Wilson, in such a situation, religious values are no longer the values of whole community. Rising number of sects indicate that the dominant religious values have lost their pre-eminence.
- IV. **Secularization of religious institutions themselves** – It is also argued that religious institutions themselves are adapting themselves to changed conditions. They have recognized that older values like – belief in supernatural, other world, the savior etc – no longer sound plausible to believers. They would appear irrational and irrelevant in new societies. For example – Herberg in his '*Protestant – Catholic – Jew, 1960*' highlights that the major denominations in USA increasingly reflect the '*American Way of Life*' rather than the word of God.
- V. **Growing individualism** – This view argues that religion is no longer an act of collective worship and individuals today work out their own path of salvation. But Robert Bellah, in his '*New Religious Consciousness and the Crisis in Modernity, 1976*' argues that it doesn't show that importance of religion has declined, rather its form of expression has changed.

- VI. **Desacrilization** – It is argued that sacred has no place in modern society as supernatural forces are no longer deemed to control the world. Bryan Wilson states that men act less and less in response to religious motivation – they access the world in empirical and rational terms. A greater knowledge of physical and biological world due to developments in science has restricted the space of the sacred. Organizations are more and more guided by rational ideologies to solve the problems as is evident in working of trade unions, judiciary etc. Rational worldview is the enemy of the sacred and hence religion.

In general, secularization is a process which has occurred throughout the history. It can now be summed as *a process of lower involvement of men with religious institutions, decrease in influence of religious institutions on other material aspects of life and decline in the degree to which people hold religious beliefs*. Some sociologists even see the seeds of secularization in the very development of monotheistic religions as 'rationalization of belief in supernatural and random magico-religious beliefs'. The term in its modern connotations is also associated with process of modernization. The rational and systematic, empirical knowledge questioned the supernatural conceptions of the world and gave an awareness to man's capacity to harness nature. There are other interpretations as well. Some also deem it equal to increasing tolerance and plurality in society. Marxists view it as a process of decline of religion itself.

The separation of religious and political authority marked a major turning point in the social history of the west. This separation was related to the process of 'secularization', or the progressive retreat of religion from public life. However, Indian case was different because India never had a church or a powerful organized state and hence no question of need of separation of the two.

Secularization in religion is usually accompanied by increase in attention to public issues. Secular and profane activities have become as important as the sacred. Thus, we find religious institutions getting involved with running of modern hospitals and secular educational institutions or engaging in philanthropic activities. Religion in industrial societies often reflects the pragmatism of our age, and in doing so, is increasingly moving away from the supernatural.

The development of **secularism** as an ideology was partly an outcome of the process of secularization in Europe. Secularism was an ideological goal of the new political philosophy and movement after the French Revolution. Secularism as a progressive ideology was a necessary qualification for a liberal, democratic state of the post French Revolution. Still later in 1851 George Jacob Holyoake coined the term secularism.

Secularization thesis glorified by classical sociologists indicated the dichotomy between traditional and modernity. This thesis is rejected by contemporary sociologists. There are no means of ascertaining when this process of secularization starts. There is no way of measuring the strength of either belief or secularization. Revivalism, growth of new sects, theological states, civic religion and growth of communalism and fundamentalism indicate that modernity and secularization need not go hand in hand. A study by Kaufman indicates that while church attendance has decreased, the number of believers has not. Davie, in his '*Religion in Modern Europe, 2000*', calls this phenomenon as '*belief without belonging*'. Similarly, Thomas Luckmann in his '*The Invisible Religion, 1967*', also argues that religion is still very much alive though receded from public sphere and he calls it 'invisible religion'.

Religion is not declining, but is channeled in other directions. Rise of New Religious Movements also pose a challenge to secularization thesis. Rising tensions in the Middle East and West Asia also point out to the fact that religion is given no less importance. So long as religion is perceived as answer to complex questions of life, total secularization of society cannot happen.

Religion in Modern Society: Fundamentalism and/or Religious Revivalism

Fundamentalism in strict sense of meaning describes an ideology of religious or other social groups which calls for adherence to literal meanings of sermons or scriptures or doctrines and apply them to all aspects of life. They strongly believe in one and only one true explanation. Further, access to the exact correct meaning is limited to a privileged few which gives them enormous authority over others – as in case of priests, clergy etc. Forces of drastic social change are important for the emergence of fundamentalism and fundamentalists erect fundamentalism as a defense against new forces of change. It is relatively new phenomenon and emerged in background of threat of modernity and globalization to tradition.

Whenever there are drastic changes in society and change of pace which disturbs community life, very often there is a loss of identity and rootlessness among people. In such situation people clutch any support for solace. Fundamentalism promises certitude and restitution of an earlier better age. The psychological appeal of this is difficult for people to resist.

Fundamentalism as a concept was first used in 1910-15 when anonymous authors published 12 volumes of literature called them '*The Fundamentals*'. In the early 1920s the print media used this word with reference to conservative Christian groups in North America.

Growth of Islamic fundamentalism is seen as a result of numerous factors including Christian and Muslim power struggle in Asia and Europe in middle ages, colonialism which led to retreat of Islam from many European areas, modernization and so on. These were seen as catastrophic for Islam and their inability to check the spread of Western culture in late 19th century led to reform movements to restore Islam to its original purity and strength. Restoration of Islamic rule and implementation of Sharia rule in many countries like Iran is a reflection of this trend.

In contemporary times, fundamentalism is an ideology with following distinct features –

- I. Fundamentalism stress on infallibility of a scripture (e.g. the Bible, *Granth*s, the Gita or the Quran) in all matters & faith of Religion and doctrine. The believer accepts it as a literal historical record. Since the texts are seen as God's own actual words, their meaning is bound to be clear and unambiguous as also changeless.
- II. Second, fundamentalists assert that all aspects and areas of life are to be governed by the true, revealed religion as embodied in the original texts. God's words and law are to be the basis of society, economy, polity, culture, and law and the entire domestic and personal life of the believer. More specifically, the fundamentalists attack the separation of religion from politics and state, and therefore the, idea of the secular state. Similarly, the fundamentalists insist on religious control over education.

- III. The fundamentalists don't believe in the equality of all religions or for how can false religions be treated as equal to the true religion or given the liberty to preach practice falsehood?
- IV. It is opposed to reason and rationalism, humanism and secularism.
- V. The fundamentalists are a practical people and try to purge the way of life of all impurities (religiously speaking). They reject all corrupt lifestyles. An example of this is Dayanand's critique of the traditional, superstition filled way of life. Maududi characterized the present Muslim way of life as 'ignorant' and Bhindranwale talked of the 'fallen' Sikhs who shave off their beards, cut their hair and do not observe the traditional Sikh way of life. Thus, fundamental movements are not only about religious beliefs and practices, but lifestyles generally.
- VI. According to T N Madan, fundamentalist movements are of a collective character. They are often led by charismatic leaders who are usually men. Thus, the 1979 Iranian movement was led by Ayatollah Khomeini, and the recent Sikh fundamentalist upsurge by Sant Bhindranwale.

Revivalism can be seen in broader sense than fundamentalism. It simply means revival of religion – in any form be it institutional attendance as in church, growth of religious institutions and phenomenon like sects, cults, denominations, rise in individuals pursuing spiritual peace through personal motions of religion and finally, growth of fundamental ideas or fundamentalism. Further, sometimes, fundamentalism and religious revivalism are considered one and same.

Classical evolutionary theorists like French Spencer has through evolutionary perspectives like – theological stage, metaphysical stage, and scientific stage – etc has predicted that science will replace religion. During renaissance period, religion saw a decline in its presence both in terms of attendance to institutions as well as a matter of belief as rationality and scientific temperament sought to sideline it. Emergence of liberal democracy first weakened church influence and gradually confined it to private space. However, in recent years there is a revival of religion and religion has not declined in strict classical evolutionary sense.

Towards end of first half of the 20th century in 1940s, a tendency across the globe has been observed where its role has been re-emphasized. It is observed at following levels –

- I. Increased institutional acceptance of religion – This is observed in increasing attendance at religious places, construction of new religious places (number of Gurudwaras have gone many folds in past 50 years), increase in activities of sects and cults (like ISKCON).
- II. Increasing use of religion as a medium – Political parties are using religious support; increasing fundamentalism with Iranian revolution in East; rise of new right Protestant groups in US etc; establishment of demi-theocratic governments and so on. Meanwhile, in some of the Latin American countries, Christianity has become the tool of resistance against exploitation.
- III. Growth of invisible or private religion – Even where religion seems to lose its hold in the sense of decreasing attendance in church ceremonies, a '*private religion*' is seemingly emerging. In order words, a personal interpretation of religious doctrines is tolerated. Luckmann says that religion today is invisible as individuals carry it out in their private space and not in institutions.

- IV. Growth of civil religion – Robert Bellah in his *'New Religious Consciousness and the Crisis in Modernity, 1976'* argued that 'Civic Religion' is emerging as a new form of religion where civic symbols and nationalism are accorded same respect and faith as of religion.

Complexities of life, stresses, anomie, and alienation are leading people to explore peace in spirituality. Further, religion has also rationalized itself and many religions now don't prescribe strict scriptural messages, but moral guidance. Rising incidence of communal clashes in West Asia is also an indicator of rising religious fervor.

Religion has survived because of both individual and social functions that it performs and in words of Turner the secret of the survival of religion is *'Religion is not a cognitive system, a set of dogmas alone, it is a meaningful experience'*.

FUNDAMENTALISM and COMMUNALISM

Fundamentalism and communalism have certain ideological elements in common. Both attack the concept of separation of religion from politics and the state. Both oppose the concept of equal truth in all religions or the unity of different religions. Both advocate control over education by the followers of the dominant religion.

- I. Communalism is often associated with eruption of violence and riots, these conflagrations may not have any particular aim or goal.
- II. In a multi-religious society a fundamentalist tends to be communal while communalists are quite often not fundamentalists. For example, in India, the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the Muslim League, and the Akali Dal were and are communal parties but they are not fundamentalist.
- III. Communalist leaders need not be religious leaders. Thus, Maulana Maududi, founder of the Jamati Islami in India was a journalist. K B Hedgewar, founder of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh was a physician.
- IV. Similarly, the fundamentalists want to Christianize or Islamize or Hinduize the whole world. Not so the communalists. They only want to communalize and can only communalize their own society.

FUNDAMENTALISM	COMMUNALISM
Stress Infallibility of Scriptures	It is a strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to society. The allegiance can be based out of religion, race, ethnicity etc. In India, basis of allegiance had been religion.
They tend to separate certain communities from mainstream	Religion based opposition in Indian context. This is ideological and usually becomes active during phases of social upheaval. For example – 1947 communal flairs
It aims to establish a normative order by various means from wars to speeches to peaceful methods.	It aims to establish its supremacy through violence which often involves hatred. This is a situation where religion and religious

	communities view each other with hostility and antagonism.
Fundamentalism is a movement and such movements are often led by Charismatic Leaders – For example Ayotollah Khomeni in Iran, Sant Bhinderwala in India.	They have a mass psyche. Communalism becomes apparent only at certain occasions. It may not be sustained like fundamentalism as a movement.
They reject all corrupt lifestyles and aim to purge community of such evils. Bhindranwale talked of the 'fallen' Sikhs who shave off their beards, cut their hair	Communalism doesn't have such a reformative agenda.
Fundamentalist movements are reactive and a response to what the persons involved – the leaders and participants – consider a crisis. For example – Arya Samjis through Shuddhi Movement showed such urgency.	It usually emerges when there are conflicts of interests and a sense of insecurity and suspicion exists in one or both groups. Antagonism is central in communalism, promotion of the original is central in fundamentalism
The pursuit of political power is very important to fundamentalism	It is more of protective of its own rights and beliefs and is exclusionary in nature

CHAPTER 9 – SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP

The kinship system refers to a set of persons recognized as relatives, either, by virtue of a blood relationship technically called consanguinity, or by virtue of a marriage relationship, that is through what is called affinal or conjugal relationship. Now a days, they also include – relationships based on adoption and places. There are also '*fictive kins*' especially in societies where mechanical solidarity is higher for example rural societies. We find the evidence of such a practice in many tribal and village studies. In his study of Shamierapet, S C Dube found that unrelated individuals behave like brothers. Raymond Firth in his '*Two Studies of Kinship in London, 1956*' makes a further distinction in terms of '*effective kin*' and '*non-effective kin*' based upon extent of regular contact between kinship members.

According to Harry Jhonson, kinship has five important bases –

- I. Sex – It indicates sex of blood and conjugal relations in nomenclature like 'brother' and 'sister', 'husband' and 'wife'.
- II. Generation – For example the nomenclature – 'father' and 'son'.
- III. Closeness and intimacy – As in case of husband and wife.
- IV. Blood relations – As in case of mother and child
- V. Lineage

Kinship ties are deeper and more extensive in traditional societies as community puts high premium on such ties. Further, kinship groups also perform various functions in traditional societies which make them even more significant. Various institutions which come under ambit of kinship are, like – family, marriage, lineage, descent, *gotra*, *kula* etc.

Kinship relations are important because they perform several functions for individuals and society. Rights and obligations are decided on the basis of these relations. System of production, consumption and authority is also governed through kinship, especially among tribes. They also lay down marriage taboos. Kinship relations are also important in terms of performance of various rites also. Many of these functions and importance of kinship has been diluted with economic and social changes in society. Factors like – nuclear family, individualization, migration, urbanization, woman empowerment etc have changed qualitative nature of kinship relations.

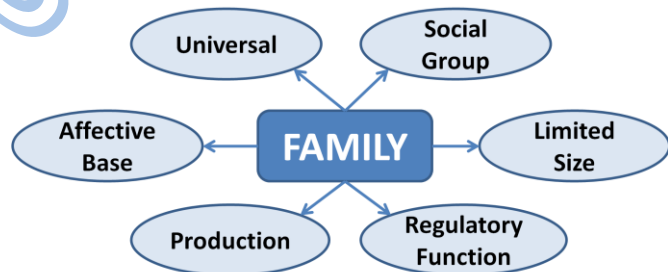
Family, Household and Marriage

In simplest terms, family is a social unit, household is a dwelling unit and marriage is a union of two or more adults. They together form the primary social units in the society.

Family

Classical definitions defined family as a group based on marriage, emotional bonds, common residence, and stipulation of domestic services. It has also been defined as a group based on marital relations, rights and duties of parenthood, common habitation and reciprocal relations between parents and children. It is regarded by the most sociologists as the cornerstone of the society.

According to the functionalists like George Peter Murdock, in his '*Social structure, 1949*', family is viewed as a universal social institution as it existed in all kinds of societies from hunting gathering to industrial societies. He defines family as '*The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually co-habiting adults*'.



McIVER and PAGE defined FAMILY
in terms of various FEATURES

Other definitions add some other dimensions to family and in a nutshell, a family is a primary social institution, in which there are some adults, reproductive relationship, children, emotional bond, relations – consangual and affinal, household, economic cooperation and so on. Due to various changes in structure and functions of family, it is argued that classical definitions are no longer valid as family today is not limited by adults of opposite sexes – as in case of gay or lesbian marriages – and may not perform the function of reproduction. Its other functions are also overtaken by bureaucratic organizations.

The family, unlike other institutions, enjoys a unique position in society and its distinctive features, according to McIver and Page, are –

- I. Universality – It is found in all hitherto existing societies.
- II. Emotional basis for existence of members.
- III. Limited size – the smallest social unit or kin group.
- IV. Nuclear position in the social structure.
- V. Responsibility of the members.
- VI. Social regulation.
- VII. The permanent and temporary nature of the family.

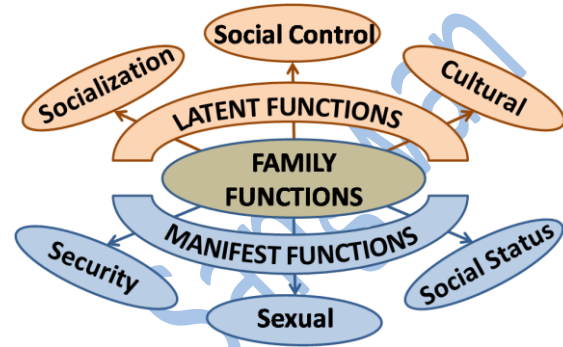
Family is seen as a universal social institution and an inevitable part of society. Despite profound changes in society, it continues to remain part of all known societies. Attempts to develop alternative institutions have not been successful. It performs various essential **functions** in society like –

- I. George Murdock enlists four universal functions served by the family in his '*Social Structure, 1949*', these functions serve to resolve four major problems of society –
 - a. Regulate sexual relations
 - b. Controls reproduction
 - c. Account for economic survival
 - d. Socializes children
- II. Parsons also observes that family performs certain basic and irreducible functions. Primary socialization of children and stabilization of adult personalities are these functions. Primary socialization is the process in which children learn the norms of the society in which they are born and it happens in early years. Marriage is the mode of stabilizing of adult personalities. He saw families as factories producing human personalities. Once produced, families must be kept stable through marriage, relationships and emotional security. According to Parsons, modern families are '*isolated nuclear families*' and they evolve as a requirement of industrialization in society as there is a functional relationship between the family and economic system of the society. Isolated nuclear family provides for better geographical mobility in an industrialized society as it is structurally isolated as it doesn't form an integral part of a wider system of kinship relations. However, Parsons is criticized for taking an over-harmonious view of family and suffering from patriarchal bias. His conception of '*isolated nuclear family*' as the sole type of family in modern society is also not true.
- III. Ogburn and Nimcoff state that basic functions of family are – affectional, economic, recreation, protective and educational.
- IV. Ronald Fletcher in his '*Family and Marriage in Britain, 1966*' argues that functions of family have not decreased significantly as a result of industrialization. Parents' responsibility towards their children has now increased. They have to play a decisive

role in guiding, encouraging and supporting their children. With increasing scope of social life – health, physical education, media etc – role of parents has in fact increased.

Apart from these views, functions of family can be seen in terms of – ‘individual or manifest functions’ and ‘societal or latent functions’. Some of its individual or manifest functions –

- I. Family provides emotional support in modern society where other kinship bonds are not so strong. Parsons refers it as personality stabilization.
- II. Physical security of the young ones and the older ones is also provided by the family.
- III. Family also provides financial security and placement. For example – individuals take family business.
- IV. Sexual gratification and regulation of sexual behavior.
- V. Family also provides early learning to individuals and imparts life skills in individuals.
- VI. Entertainment function is also provided by family at various stages.
- VII. Family also provides for social status and identity to individual.



Societal or latent functions of family are those which are viewed at societal level. Such macro functions have been emphasized by Parsons, Durkheim etc.

- I. Foremost function of family for society is that of reproduction as it keeps society alive. It performs the function of member replacement in society and of its physical maintenance
- II. Family also performs function of cultural transmission. Values of society are transmitted during the process of upbringing.
- III. Family also carries out primary socialization of children. According to Parsons it is one of the basic and irreducible functions of the family.
- IV. Family is also a mechanism of social control. Various sanctions, rules and punishment given to family members ensure that they adhere to accepted social norms.
- V. Family also provides for physical and emotional care for the geriatrics and the disabled.
- VI. Family has also functioned as a unit of economic production. Until recent times, the family was an important unit of both production and consumption.

Today, family as a functional unit is replaced by many bureaucratic institutions like schools, old age homes, hospitals, play-schools etc at least for secondary function. Further, it can also be dysfunctional as well. Further, family is also viewed as not so functional by many social thinkers. Some of its **dysfunctions** are –

- I. Morgan says in his '*Social Theory and the Family, 1975*' states that '*Family is depicted as remarkably harmonious social institution*'. In reality it may not be so.

- II. Marxian says it breeds notions of conformity. According to David Cooper in his '*Death of Family, 1972*' – '*It is an ideological conditioning device in an exploitative society*'. He also says it denies individual freedom and is a hindrance in development of individual's self.
- III. Edmund Leach in his '*A Runaway World?, 1967*' says, modern family is isolated from larger society and kin and is a storehouse of stress and tension. '*Parents and children huddled together in their loneliness take too much out of each other. Parents fight, children rebel*'.
- IV. Feminists like Margret Benston say that family perpetuates unpaid labor.
- V. It also legitimizes violence. According to Murray Strauss – '*Marriage license is a hitting license*'. Family also legitimizes sexual abuse and violence.
- VI. Norman Bell in their article titled, '*The Emotionally Disturbed Child as the Family Scapegoat, 1968*', conclude that family is dysfunctional for children as parents use them as scapegoat to vent out their tensions.

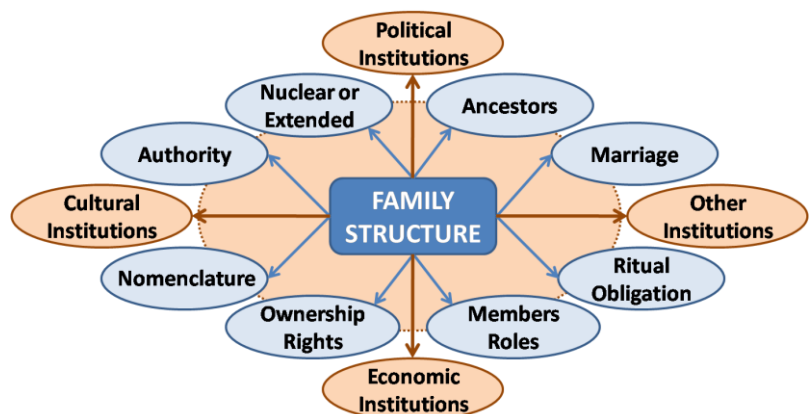
Functions of family change with changing times due to various factors like nuclearization, industrialization, rise of bureaucratic institutions and so on.

- I. Ronald Fletcher also calls family as multifunctional social institution, but whose secondary functions are today performed by the bureaucratic organizations.
- II. With rise of modern welfare state, social control is now lying in hands of law and order maintaining institutions.
- III. Family, today, no longer performs the production function and it no longer plays the role of placing an individual economically in society. Modern division of labor has facilitated numerous avenues of employment.
- IV. Concept of old age homes is also leading to the transfer of old age care function to institutions.

Apart from its functions, family is also understood in terms of its '**structure**'. It means composition and relationships in kinship terms i.e. persisting patterns of relations which form the basis of kinship organization. Structural studies are influenced by the size of family and its organization in terms of roles and authority.

The structure of the family can be studied both as a social institution in itself and also in its relationship to other social institutions of society. In itself a family can be defined as nuclear or extended. It can be male-headed or female-headed.

The line of descent can be matrilineal or patrilineal. This internal structure of the family is usually related to other structures of society, namely political, economic, cultural etc. Thus the



migration of men from the villages of the Bihar region can lead to an unusual proportion of women-headed families in the villages of Bihar. Work schedules of young parents in the software industry in India may lead to increasing number of grandparents moving in as care-givers to young grandchildren. The composition of the family and its structure thereby changes. And these changes can be understood in relation to other changes in society.

Traditional family structure has following features –

- I. Size – Nuclear family, joint family and extended family. Extended family is a sort of group of several nuclear families and it may be vertically or horizontally expanded. Joint family may be considered a particular type of extended family. It is now well acknowledged that extended family was never a universal feature of traditional society and the argument that industrialization led to formation of nuclear family is not true. William Goode in his '*World Revolution in Family Patterns, 1963*' argues that extended family were the types of family of pre-modern society and today, worldwide nuclear family is emerging as a universal type. However, this is has little empirical support as families are today seen to be more notable for their diverse range of forms.
- II. Authority relationships – Dominant form is 'patriarchal' form. Eldest male exercises authority in family, known as Karta in traditionally Hindu family. Eldest Female exercises authority over all females. Male according to Parsons have 'instrumental authority', while mothers enjoys 'emotional authority'.
- III. Kinship bonds within family – Conjugal bonds are strong, but subordinate to consanguinal bonds. Filial bonds are stronger, but built on respect with limited interaction in case of father and child. Mother-child bond is, however, stronger.
- IV. Descent – Matrilineal and patrilineal family structures. In south and in northeast there are examples of matrilineal structures.
- V. Seniority – it is a source of authority as well as respect.
- VI. Division of labor – it is generally sex based and patriarchal in nature.
- VII. Relationships are enduring and are not severed even upon death
- VIII. Rules of relations – various rules like incest taboo, women rearing children etc guide the kinship relations.
- IX. Ownership patterns – traditionally, ownership of property in traditional joint property are with adult males and succession line is patrilineal.

Increased female labor force participation, legislation impacting gender, personal law and international migration, advances in science and technology including new reproductive technologies among others, have interacted with the family and have led to following structural changes –

- I. Conjugal Relations and Authority Structure – Relationship between husband and wife today is more based on cooperation rather than domination and women are also playing increasing role in decision making. According to Parsons, nuclearization has strengthened conjugal bonds between husband and wife. According to Young and Willmott in their '*The Symmetrical Family, 1975*' saw family in terms of its evolution in

four stages from pre-industrialization to current form. Today, 'symmetrical relations' is hallmark of husband and wife relations in modern family and husband-wife relations are based on 'companionship'. Similarly, in a more recent study by Goran Therborn mentioned in his '*Between Sex and Power, 2004*', it is argued that patriarchal power within family has generally declined over the 20th century. According to him events like – WW1 which led to women joined the work force, Russian Revolution which promoted the principle of egalitarianism, feminist movements of 1970s etc.

- II. Parents-Child Relationship – Mowrer says children are playing more role in decision making and families are now rather filio-centric. Both parents play now instrumental and emotional roles.
- III. Brother Sister Relationship – They are now based on fellowship, based on equality.
- IV. Greater incidences of divorce – Single Parent Families. According to Duncan Fletcher people today expect more out of marital relations and hence more likely to end a relation which would have survived in past. Edmund Leach says that emotional stress and tensions are so great that family often fails to bear it and bonds become fragile. In industrial society, due to rise of functional alternatives, families perform fewer functions and hence there are fewer bonds to unite. Nicky Hart says that there are more opportunities to escape today. According to her, this is best exemplified by the enactment of new Divorce Law in USA in 1971 which led to a spurt in divorce cases.
- V. Authority of the aged is decreasing.
- VI. Rise of non-institutionalized features – live-in, single parent family etc.
- VII. Family is becoming more of an individualized affair.

Factors that have been responsible for changes in structure and functions of family and marriage are –

- I. Industrialization – It leads to small family sizes which are geographically more mobile. Industrialization also promotes achievement based status and strengthens conjugal bonds.
- II. Families are today formed as a result of love marriages. Free selection of spouse has introduced romantic element in family.
- III. Legal factors have improved status of women and children. Women have now more rights. Individuals are now also freer to move separately. Polygamy is now practiced lesser due to legal restraint on it in most of the countries. In India, Hindu Marriage Act 1955 banned polygamy among Hindus and it also gives right to divorce to women as well.
- IV. Neolocal trend is replacing patrilocal patterns. Employed new couples have to move to new places where their jobs are located.
- V. Emergence of alternatives to family and marriages – Cohabitation or live-ins, gay and lesbian partnerships and single parent families are new emerging trends. Acceptance to same sex relationship has also upset the traditional definitions of family. Denmark was the first country to legalize gay marriages. In India also, Supreme Court has taken steps to decriminalize homosexuality.

- VI. Individualization and fluidity in relations has led to less durable bondings. Zygmunt Bauman in his '*Liquid Love, 2003*' argues that modern life is characterized by constant change and lack of lasting bonds.
- VII. Enlightenment of women – Women resist the compulsions and atrocities of joint patriarchal family.
- VIII. Over population and migration
 - IX. Problems of accommodation – A single house becomes insufficient to accommodate all members of family.
 - X. Education
 - XI. Decline of religious control alters functions of family.
 - XII. Role of media
 - XIII. Urbanization – It also put pressure on joint family.
 - XIV. State policy – Family planning drives and rhetoric like '*Hum Do Humare Do*'.
 - XV. Land reforms – According to Lakshminarayana land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on the landholdings. In many cases, the heads of the family resorted to theoretical partition and sows the seeds for separate living.
 - XVI. Economic difficulties in rural areas – Imbalanced urban rural growth has led to higher migration of young members to cities.

According to Bolsche, money economy has also contributed in reduction of size of family as there is constant negotiation between limited resources and unlimited desires of members. In many Western countries industrialization, migration and modernization dictated size and form of family, but in India cultural institutions like religion, caste etc still play important role.

Some sociologists also argue that family is no longer cornerstone of society. Some countries like Netherland have as high as 80% of single individuals in 18-45 age-group. Examples of alternatives like Kibbitzs in Israel also raise questions over its universal existence. Other sociologists argue that family is being replaced by household as a unit of sociological analysis.

Types and Forms of Family

Many sociologists have regarded the family as the bedrock of society, but its composition varies from society to society based upon various socio-cultural factors. Various forms of family in general are –

- I. On the basis of residence – Matrilocal, patrilocal, duolocal and neolocal
- II. On the basis of authority – Matriarchal, patriarchal
- III. On the basis of descent or rule of inheritance – Matrilineal, patrilineal
- IV. On the basis of marriage – Monogamy, polyandry, polygyny
- V. On the basis of household size – Joint household, nuclear household, single person household
- VI. On the basis of size – Nuclear and extended. Nuclear family includes husband, wife and their offspring. When other members also become part of this family, it becomes an extended family. A joint family is a particular type of extended family.

- VII. On the basis of membership type – Yet another distinction is made between the ‘conjugal family’ or family by marriage on the one hand and ‘consanguine family’ or family by blood on the other, based on the membership type of the family.
- VIII. The family in which one is born as a child is the ‘family of orientation’ and the family in which one is a parent is the ‘family of procreation’.

Anthony Giddens also talks about ‘*Serial Monogamy*’ in modern societies of developed countries which a person goes through multiple divorces followed by multiple marriages. As a result, form of family also changes.

Household

Family is a social unit based on kinship, household is a brick and mortar dwelling unit. The household or *ghar* is a residential and domestic unit composed of one or more persons living under the same roof and eating food cooked in the same kitchen or hearth/*chulah*. Thus, emotional attachment is core feature of family, while commensality is core feature of household. Households and family may or may not be the same for a given group of people. There can be different households for the same members of family as in case of husband and wife having occupations in different places and hence living in different households. There may also be different families in same households, as in case of different families living in a single house as tenants and landlords etc. There may also be institutional households as in case of hostels, dormitories, hotels and so on. There may also be houseless households as in case of pavement dwellers. The household is a commensal and co-resident group/unit which may even take a form of single person household. Thus, kin and residence rules distinguish between family and household.

Classical scholars like Morgan, Maine and Kroeber have looked family as a mean to explain evolution of human civilization and hence largely ignored its household dimension. Later the idea of nuclear family by Parsons, William Goode etc. also emphasized that nuclear family and household are inseparable to each other. However, Anthony Giddens argues that phenomenon like ‘*serial monogamy*’ have led to breakdown of concept of family and household being one and the same as different marriages bring many different relations under a single roof. Further, stay of members is more transitory than permanent. Occupational compulsions in a cosmopolitan culture has separated husband and wife who often live at different places in different households and meet only at weekends giving rise to new concepts like ‘*weekend families/marriages*’.

A household may also go several changes with time from nuclear to joint etc. In India, such transformation has been studied by Shah in Gujarat villages in his ‘*Household Dimension of Family in India, 1973*’. A household may experience progression and/or regression or both on the basis of birth, adoption and in- and out-marriage, and death, divorce and separation of members over a period of time. A household in itself is neither joint nor nuclear, but becomes either of these by virtue of its being under progression and regression in the process of its

developmental phases. For example, a married son's moving out of his father's house in a patrilineal society makes the son's house a nuclear one, or rather a separate one. This act may or may not simultaneously make his father's household a nuclear or simple one. Thus at any given time the family forms in a society are likely to vary from a single member to a large group residing together.

Thus, the term household is used for the residential grouping and family for the group related through kinship, emotional, ritual and legal dimensions. Further, some scholars like Shah also contend that it is the family that is nuclear or joint, a household can be more aptly called as simple or complex.

Marriage and Its Types

Marriage can be defined as a socially acknowledged and approved sexual union between two adult individuals. According to Malinowski, '*Marriage is a contract for the production and maintenance of children*'. There are other dimensions and definitions which include a socially accepted cohabitation, a legal and social contract, commitment and so on. According to the Collins Dictionary of Sociology, '*Marriage is a socially acknowledged and sometimes legally ratified union between an adult male and an adult female*'. This type of union is based on two objectives – sexual gratification and procreation with socially sanctioned sex-relationships and economic co-operation. It is a legitimate and most accepted way of establishing the most fundamental social unit called 'family'. It is also seen in functional terms as performing various functions. It gives social recognition to sexual relationship between a male and female and paves way for legitimate reproduction. It provides members to society for its survival.

Leach considered marriage to be '*bundles of rights*' which includes both kinship rights and domestic rights –

- I. Legitimizing offspring
- II. Socially approved access to the spouse's sexuality, labor and property
- III. Establishment of affinal relationships between persons and between groups
- IV. Domestic rights provides the basis of formation of household, division of labor

However, contemporary trends in marriage have rendered many of the above definitional aspects as incomplete. For example – marriage is no longer an affair concerned with adults of opposite sexes only. It is also no longer a mechanism for procreation only. Recognizing such limitations, Edmund Leach has commented that '*all universal definitions of marriage are vain*'. Despite such limitations, above definitions still hold good for most of the sections of society.

There are various **types of marriages** – primarily based on rules which govern marriage and number of partners like –

- I. **Civil marriage and court marriage** – Civil Marriage Act has provided greater freedom to young ones and they can marry with their mutual consensus if they have crossed minimum age for marriage. It has facilitated inter-caste and inter-religion marriage in

India and has also helped in breaking the orthodox traditions and values regarding marriage rules.

- II. **Monogamy and Polygamy** – Polyandry is prevalent among some Himalayan tribes like Kinni of Himachal Pradesh, Sherpa of Nepal, Bhutiya of Bhutan. However, instances of polyandry are coming down. Muslim personal law also allows up to four wives.
- III. **Endogamy and exogamy** – They are two major principles that also govern marriage. In general, caste endogamy is practiced all over India. In North India, a girl born within a village is considered the daughter of the village and hence cannot marry a boy from her own village. Apart from village exogamy, clan or *gotra* exogamy is also practiced. Two other kinds of exogamy, which have been prevalent among several Hindu communities in North and South India, are sagotra and sapinda exogamy. Sapinda exogamy indicates the prohibition placed on the intermarriage between certain sets of relatives. Sapinda represents the relationship between the living member and their dead ancestors. The term sapinda means (i) those who share the particles of the same body (ii) people who are united by offering 'pinda' or balls of cooked rice to the same dead ancestor. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 does not allow marriage within five generations on the father's side and three on the mother's side.
- IV. **Arranged marriage and love marriages** – with modernization and individualization, romantic love is gaining more traction and love marriage instances are increasing.
- V. **Anuloma or hypergamy and prailoma marriage** – Hypergamy is also practiced in almost all India. A groom with higher status than that of girl is desirable. This practice is also seen as promoting dowry as parents of boy put a price on their 'high status' boy.
- VI. **Preferential marriage** – It is of three types – cousin marriage, levirate and sororate marriage. A Levirate marriage is the one in which a woman marries one of her husband's brothers after her husband's death, if there were no children, in order to continue his line. Gazetteer of India, 1965 has mentioned the prevalence of levirate alliances among the Ahir of Haryana, some Jat communities and Girijan and several castes in Uttar Pradesh etc.
- VII. **Re-marriage** – Remarriage in case of widowhood and divorce or desertion. In modern societies like USA where divorce rates are as high as 35%, remarriages are a common phenomenon. Anthony Giddens calls such marriages as '*Serial Monogamy*'. In some traditional conservative societies, female widows are not allowed to marry. It was quite prevalent in caste Hindus till some time back.
- VIII. Among tribals also there are various forms of marriages (kidnapping, elopement, forced marriage and so on). In UK, most of the marriages are neo-local, but in India they are patrilocal.

- IX. Further, every community may have different rules governing the marriages. For example – Hindus traditionally have 8 forms of marriages like Gandharav Marriage, Pisach marriage etc. Similarly, Muslims and Christians etc also have different forms.
- X. Different 'marriage taboos' also govern marriage. Marriage with closed blood relations is prohibited in North India, but such preferential marriages are allowed in some Southern areas and among Muslims. Age difference is another taboo. Generally females are lower in age and age gap between the two is not very high.

Change in forms of marriage is also occurring with changing times. Societies with traditions of plural marriages are turning towards monogamy. Even in a Muslim country like Pakistan, legislation was introduced making it necessary for the 'kazi' to solemnize plural marriages only if the first wife gave her written consent. The trend towards monogamy has also been encouraged by the new idea of romantic love as the basis for marriage propagated by the western societies. Legislation has also played its role. Special Marriage Act, 1954 of India provides for secular marriages, inter religion marriages etc. Hindu marriage Act prohibits polygamy. Desire for symmetrical relations in marriage – as highlighted by Young and Willmott, need for dual employment of husband and wife, desire of women to participate in workforce etc are factors that are now affecting marital relations. Another change observed by sociologists of urban areas is that age at marriage.

However, some negative trends and **problems with marriage** have also been noticed. Karve in her study found that dowry is becoming more entrenched and prices of groom are increasing with education. Child marriage is still practiced in some parts of country, especially among Rajputs of Rajasthan and in states like Bihar. Polygamy is also prevalent among Muslims and many tribes. Hypergamy has also helped in perpetuating the notion of inferiority of woman. With breakdown of traditional values, instances of divorce and breakdowns are also increasing.

Lineage and Descent

Apart from family, an individual is a member of a number of other kingroups based upon a system of ritual obligations. Kinship groups are formed on the basis of certain principles, out of those principles 'Lineage' and 'Descent' are two concepts on which such principles are based.

LINEAGE

Lineage is understood in two terms –

- I. As a *principle* on the basis of which alignment or inheritance is chosen. Such an arrangement is called a 'line' or 'lineage' (*Vanshavalii*). Most common forms of which are – patrilineage, matrilineage. It gives rise to descent groups which are linear in character, however, there are non-linear principles too.
- II. It refers to a particular type of *kingroup* (called *Kula*) in which members have a common ancestor whose identity is known. It is a corporate group which is recruited on the basis of descent. In lineage, the common ancestor of lineage members is usually an actual remembered person (unlike in case of clan where it is more likely to be a mythological

figure). For example – In India lineage is often considered from 3-7 generation on male side as ours is a patrilineal society. It is sometimes known as Sarika/Sapinda group in Northern India.

Descent groups are formed on principle of lineage groups and most common one is patrilineal groups.

In case of lineage, one can trace one's ancestors whereas in descent one often fails to trace one's ancestors and the ancestor could be substituted by a mythical one symbolizing the origin of one's descent.

DESCENT

Descent (*Vansha*) is the principle whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his or her parents. The individual belongs simultaneously to several descent groups – those of the two parents, the four grandparents, the eight great-grandparents, and so on. If this chain is not limited, decent principle will connect everyone on this globe into a single descent group. However, in reality some limitations are placed and this link is generally limited by memory or by some conventionally determined cut-off point at, say, four or five degrees removal or a few generations.

It is a method of limiting the recognition of kinship on the basis of some common identity. One method of common identity is – common ancestor. In different societies different principles might be used.

There are many possible avenues for the transmission of descent group membership, from parents to children. These are –

- I. Unilineal – Descent is reckoned through single line and it is pre-defined for an individual to which descent group will one belong. This system is followed in most of India. It may have further two classifications –
 - a. Patrilineal – where descent is traced in the male line from father to son,
 - b. Matrilineal – where descent is traced in the female line from mother to daughter.
- II. Double (duolineal or bilineal) – Where descent is traced in both the father's line as well as mother's line for different attributes such as movable property in one line and immovable in another.
- III. Ambilineal (cognatic) – Ambilineal rule affiliates an individual with kinsmen through the father's or mother's line. Some people in societies that practice this system affiliate with a group of relatives through their fathers and others through their mothers. The individual can choose which side he wants to affiliate to. The Samoans of the South Pacific are an excellent example of an ambilineal society.
- IV. Parallel descent – a very rare form of descent where descent lines are sex specific. Men transmit to their sons while women to their daughters.
- V. Cross or alternative type descent – This is also very rare. Here men transmit to their daughters and women to their sons.

Descent groups can be of various types. Most common is 'family' which is also the smallest descent group. A number of families which are linked by a common ancestor whose identity is known form a group called 'lineage'. A number of lineages linked together with a common ancestor whose identity is not known is called 'clan' or 'gotra' in case of India and it is exogamous. A number of clans having a common mythical ancestor form a 'phratory' and it is an endogamous group. Phratory is sometimes equated with caste in India.

Functions of descent/kin groups

- I. They perform certain rituals during occasions like birth, marriage etc.
- II. Lineage and kinship are instrumental in defining the identity of a person and distinguish between insiders and outsiders.
- III. In earlier times, kinship groups could convert into war groups according to Evan Pritchard.
- IV. The descent group will have a built-in authority structure, with power normally exercised by senior males, and it may well own corporate property.
- V. Rules of inheritance tend to co-ordinate with the reckoning of descent in most societies.
- VI. An individual's economic rights and responsibilities will be defined by his or her position in the descent group. Property rights are often well defined among the kingroups.
- VII. In many societies unilineal descent groups are also jural units, internally deciding their own disputes, and externally acting as a unified group in the conduct of feud, etc. For this reason, lineage structure is often coterminous with the political structure in societies lacking a centralized state structure.

Patriarchy and Sexual Division of Labor

Gender refers to the social construction of humans physiologically and biologically identified as women and men. Because gender is a socially constructed category, we are 'doing' rather than being men or women.

Patriarchy is defined by Sylvia Walby in her *'Theorizing Patriarchy, 1990'* as *'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate and oppress women'*. According to her, patriarchy operates through multiple structures like – production relations in the household where women is subjected to unpaid labor, discriminatory allocation of occupations in labor market, capture of political power by patriarchs, male violence which is often patterned and systematic, patriarchal relations in sexuality which are manifested in sexual double standards for males and females, patriarchal cultural institutions like education, media and so on. Walby distinguishes patriarchy as private patriarchy which is practiced in household and public patriarchy which is collective response of a patriarchal society to women.

Patriarchy is reflected within family as well in wider society and is reflected at manifest as well as latent level. Within family, authority structure, inheritance rights and other entitlements, rituals, division of labor reflect it. In society, gender discrimination, division of labor – some jobs are now stereotyped as women's job and others as men's jobs, physical and sexual violence against woman etc reflect it. For example, in India, girls after school are more likely to be sent for medical education than for engineering. In dental colleges of Haryana in 2012, 65% enrollments were by girls and 98% enrollments in mechanical engineering were by boys. In Indian society, patriarchy as a social institution gives rise to

other social values such as male child preference, sexual purity, monogamy, fasting by women, abstinence of women from public discourse and so on.

Many sociologists are of view that in primitive society where man lived in state of nature, there existed a primitive matriarchal system. As mankind evolved, changed mode of production demanded specialization of labor in which men donned the roles of bread earners. Thus, economic system shaped patriarchy. Ann Oakley too blames industrialization as the real beginning of modern patriarchal system in which women were branded as 'housewives'.

Sexual Division of Labor refers to process of dividing work between different people on the basis of their sex and gender. It is the most basic form of division of labor which has been in existence since time immemorial. It is now acknowledged that sexual division of labor is socio-culture in nature and not biological.

Basically, there are two broad approaches which deal with the question of sexual division of labor – biological approach and cultural approach.

- I. Various theoretical perspectives have been offered on origin of patriarchy and sexual division of labor. **Biological theories** by Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, Murdock and Parsons have attributed – for various reasons – sexual division of labor on biological factors. Tiger and Fox in their '*The Imperial Animal, 1972*' give concept of 'Human Biogrammar' to explain biological basis of sexual division of labor. According to them, biogrammar is like a genetic program which has been developed due to the fact that man has spent 99.9% of his time as hunter gatherer and as a result, man is more aggressive and dominant. Women are programmed by their biogrammar to reproduce and take care for the children.

Reproduction is considered as role of women and production as of men and implication of patriarchy on various forms of entitlements is now a part of social life. Parsons called such different roles as '*Instrumental*' and '*Expressive*' roles of a husband and wife.

George Peter Murdock in his book '*Social Structure, 1949*' argues that biological differences like the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women bear children, led to gender roles sheer out of practicality. Given the biological differences between men and women, sexual division is the most effective way of division of labor in society.

- II. Feminist sociologist Ann Oakley in her '*Housewife, 1974*' has vociferously rejected biological theories and has through empirical evidences argued that it has a strong cultural basis. According to her 'sex' is natural or biological, but gender is cultural construct and it assigns different social roles for both genders. Differential rewards are attached to these roles which create gender inequalities and gender stratification. She cites numerous examples in which women take stereotypical so called 'masculine' roles. According to her, pre-industrial society had equal space for both men and women in all kinds of works. It was only during industrialization that such changes were brought that she was branded as 'housewife'. Housewife role, according to Oakley, has following characteristics – it is exclusively for women and dependent on men, it has the status of 'non-work', compared to real economic productive work of men, housework is unpaid, privatized and isolated. She sites examples in which women

are also performing tasks which are labeled as tasks of men. Women in many Latin American countries work in mines. She also sites how Kibbutzs play role of mothers as alternatives.

Similarly, Bruno Bettelheim in his study of Kibbutzs highlights that close continuous mother-child relation is not essential for effective socialization.

Role of women in marriage and family also follows broader division of labor. According to Jessie Bernard in her '*The Future of Marriage, 1976*', benefits that husband and wife draw from the marriage are radically different or unequal. Compared to single men, married men are likely to have more successful careers, but compared to single women, wives are more likely to suffer depression. In marriages, it is the wife which makes adjustments, conforms to his wishes and resembles him.

Hoschild in his '*The Second Shift, 1989*' has argued that employed women are doubly harassed by men – one during their 'first shift' at their workplace and secondly in their 'second shift' in form of housework. According to W Yeung, as women move into paid employment in increasingly larger numbers, men's contribution to domestic tasks and child care does not seem to be increasing at the same pace.

Historically men have been considered as bread winners and women as housekeeper and raise children. This arrangement used to be considered as 'natural'. The ideology of 'naturalness' of division of labor has been challenged as women started entering the labor force in large numbers in the West. The rise of feminist movement in the west, especially since 1970s' Women Liberation Movement, raised questions about division of labor and almost universal subordination of women across societies and cultures.

Further, in Indian context, caste is also viewed by feminists as a patriarchal institution as across the castes, role of women is of domestic worker. Together with religion, it defines role of women in Indian society. According to Uma Chakravorty, Brahminical traditions glorify obedient women as '*Pativrata*' and hence put a veil on gender discrimination. Patriarchy legitimizes motherhood as primary role of women. In Indian society, patriarchy as a social institution gives rise to other social values such as male child preference, sexual purity, monogamy, fasting by women and abstinence of women from public discourse. While her status on one hand is of Devi in scriptures, she is given treatment of Dasi. Bina Das calls it as '*Devi dichotomy*'.

However, patriarchal system with its unlimited restrictions on women and its comparative freedom for men is gradually breaking down under the impact of new civilization and culture. Earning of husband is gradually proving to be insufficient for the upbringing of the whole family especially in case of middle class. Traditional masculine jobs are now taken by women also. As hold of religion weakens, accompanying notions like – '*streedharma*', '*pativrata*' and so on are also weakening. Romantic love is new basis for marriage. Further, as functional roles of family change, relations of members are also affected.

Constitution of India denies sexual division of labor on discriminatory terms and other laws like Factories Act provide for equal treatment of men and women at workplace. Skeptics on the other hand argue that such laws have brought theoretical 'liberation', but not 'emancipation' of women.

Contemporary Trends (in kinship patterns, family, marriage)

Contemporary trends in kinship patterns can be viewed in terms of changing structure and functions of kinship groups and patterns of relationships between them. Many of the changes are brought about by the newly emerging bureaucratic organizations, individualization, migration, education, nuclearization and so on.

In structural terms, nuclear family, decline of patriarchal relations, weaning authority of parents over children, rise of alternative kinship institutions like live-ins are contemporary trends.

Functional aspects of kinship relations are also changing. Various function of family and other descent groups are taken over by alternative institutions. Placement function is no longer performed by family and it is done by other economic organizations. Similarly, jural rights of kin groups are also taken away by formal judicial institutions. Education function is also performed by schools now.

Cases of marital breakdown, divorce and separation are increasing in family. Incidences of domestic violence are also increasing. Community bonds and kinship bonds are weakening and there are lesser avenues to vent out pent up frustrations leading to distress in marital life.

Marital breakdown can be divided into three categories – divorce, separation and empty shell marriage. Divorce is legal termination of marriage, separation is physical separation without legal recognition. Empty shell marriages are those in which spouses live together, but only for sake of living together and marriage remains in name only.

Marital breakdowns in post industrialized society are on rise. Various contributing factors are –

- I. It is today easy to obtain after legislative reforms and enforcement of uniform civil code in most of developed countries. For example, after enactment of new divorce law in US in 1971, divorce cases suddenly spurted.
- II. According to Nicky Hart in her '*When Marriage Ends, 1976*', opportunities to escape marriage are more today. Divorce is no longer a social stigma.
- III. According to Fletcher, over expectations in marital relations are leading to breakdowns. People expect and demand more from marriage and consequently are more likely to end a relationship which may have been acceptable in past.
- IV. According to William Goode in his '*A Sociological Perspective on Marital Breakdown, 1971*' nuclear families today carry heavier emotional burden and such social units become relatively fragile.
- V. William Goode argues that as a result of relative isolation of the nuclear family from the wider kinship network family carries a heavier emotional burden and as a consequence, this unit is relatively fragile. In an industrial society, family performs fewer functions and as a result, there are fewer bonds to unite.
- VI. It is also seen as a symbol of economic freedom of women as she is now free from exploitation from other members of family.
- VII. Life is becoming more and more secular, marriage is no longer sacrament.
- VIII. It is also seen as an outcome of feminist movements across the world.

Studies also indicate that divorce rates are high if both spouses are from different backgrounds as reinforcing mechanisms are weak. Though wives are encouraged to work, they are also expected to perform their traditional roles as well and it often leads to conflicts. In USA, inverse relation between family income and breakdowns has been found. As incomes are low there are high economic strains in wake of rising material expectations.

Instances of marital breakdown are culture and context specific. In USA every one out of three marriages ends in divorce. Instances of breakdown also vary across the strata of class. In her study of American society, Nicky Hart observed that there is an inverse relation between income and breakdowns as low income places a heavier strain on relationships. An inverse relation is also found in the age at marriage and divorce. Lower the age at marriage, higher the chances of breakups as wages may be low at young ages and financial strains may lead to breakup of marriages. Status of parents also affects married life of children. If any of the spouses had parents which are divorced, it increases the chances of split of married children as well. Nicky Hart argues that experience of having divorced parents reduces the aversion to divorce. Studies by T Noble have shown that rate is more in certain occupations like – actors, lorry drivers, authors etc. According to William Goode, if the spouses are from different ethnic and social backgrounds, chances of divorce are increased.

Implications of marital breakdown are manifested in terms of impact on family, kin and society. Its manifest implications are –

- I. On Child – In his book social origin of depression, George Brown founds that it is one of the most stressful moments in an individual's life.
- II. On Family – Single parenthood is on the rise and family as a social institution is threatened. It also means that its social functions are also threatened.

Its latent implications are –

- I. On Economy – Divorce is leading to separate homes and doubling of resource requirement.
- II. On Society – It creates a general feeling that integration of society as a whole is affected.

CHAPTER 10 – SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY

Social change has been defined by sociologist Wilbert Moore as '*a significant alteration in structure over time in behavior patterns and culture, including norms and values*'.

Social Change has two broad aspects – Structural and Cultural. Structural changes include – urbanization, industrialization etc. Cultural changes include – emancipation of women, dilution of caste, change in family forms and social values and so on.

There are five broad types of sources or causes of social change: environmental, technological, economic, political and cultural. Further, source can also be classified as – *endogenic*, *exogenic* or *equigenetic*.

Social change in Indian context is also studied specifically by different scholars and given names like – Modernization, Sanskritization, Westernization, Modernization and Secularization. While the theories of Sanskritization, Westernization and Great Tradition and Little Tradition shows only cultural change, phenomenon of democratization, Green Revolution, legal rights, occupational mobility, education etc highlight structural aspects.

Sociological Theories of Social Change

Theories of social change can be classified in terms of nature change that is viewed by the sociologists. Change is viewed by some as linear, some view it in cyclical manner, some view it in form of waves – growth and decay, some view it in form of spiral – ever expanding, postmodernists on the other hand don't attribute a fixed pattern to change.

LINEAR THEORIES

The notion of social evolution which is used in linear theories was taken from the theories of biological evolution. Some theorists which have employed a Linear Model or Evolutionary Model include Comte, Tylor, Spencer, Morgan, Hobhouse, Marx, Durkheim, Tonnies etc.

- I. **Comte** used a progressive sequence accounting for new forms in his '*Law of the Three Stages*'. These stages of history were designated theological, metaphysical, and positivistic. In theological stage, thinking was guided by religious ideas and beliefs that society was an expression of God's will. Metaphysical stage started with Renaissance in which society was seen in natural terms. Positivistic stage started with new scientific discoveries. Comte believed that eventually man would be able to measure empirically and explain conclusively all forms of social behavior in the latter stage. It is also the stage in which a science of society – sociology – will be fully developed. While describing these three stages of evolution, Comte has taken 'intellectual development' as the basis of all evolution. In theological state, religion dominated the collective civilizations and social activities were dominated by religion. In metaphysical state, imaginative thoughts questioned theological dogmas. During these phases, there are periods of stability and upheaval as well which Comte termed as '*organic*' and '*critical*' periods or periods of stability and upheaval. Critical periods inaugurate new phases.

Another aspect of his idea of social change is that some aspects remain constant which he termed as 'social statics' and some change which he described through 'social dynamics'.

- I. **Spencer** took a classic evolutionary view and he often termed as a 'Social Darwinist' as his ideas were influenced by biological theory of evolution offered by Darwin. According to him evolution involves differentiation of simple things into complex or differentiated things. He also believed in the idea of 'survival of the fittest'. According to him, like organisms, societies are also made up of large number of interconnected parts and these parts evolve into more complex ones as needs of society grow. However, unlike many other sociologists like Comte, he focused on individual while Comte focused on larger units like family. He also rejected Comte's 'Law of the Three Stages'. He argued that Comte was content to deal with evolution in the realm of ideas, in terms of intellectual development. Spencer, however, sought to develop an evolutionary theory in the real, material world. Process of differentiation is also accompanied by a process of integration. He also identified certain stages of evolution of societies – simple, compound, doubly compound and trebly compound. Spencer also offers a theory of evolution from 'militant', which were involved in warfare, to 'industrial' societies, which are based on friendship, altruism, elaborate specialization, recognition for achievements etc.
- II. **Tylor** also used an evolutionary perspective and according to him, principle criteria for cultural development were growth of industrial arts, scientific knowledge, nature of social and political organization etc. According to him, evolutionary sequence is followed by three phases – animism, polytheism and monotheism.
- III. **Morgan** thought of change in terms of various moral stages of society which were – primitive, barbaric and civilized stages of development.
- IV. Similarly, **Tönnies** – a German sociologist – used Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft to account for the same phenomena. These two social groups exist due to existence of two types of will viz – 'Essential will' and 'Arbitrary will'. Essential will is associated with peasants and artisans, while arbitrary will is associated with businessmen, scientists, political class etc. People of groups belonging to the first type of will are called Gemeinschaft or community and those associated with the latter are called Gesellschaft or society. Societies also evolve from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft. It was applied by McKim Marriott in his idea of change from traditional to modernization.

Unilinear evolutionary theories maintain that all societies pass through the same sequence of stages of evolution to reach the same destiny.

A second category for grouping classical views of evolutionary social change is the Dialectic theories. Hegel, like the Greeks, sought for reality in the absolute idea. Every idea and all of history through the dialectic process whereby an idea (thesis) develops, is challenged by an opposite idea (antithesis), and merges into a new form (synthesis). The synthesis then becomes the thesis and the process begins over again.

Marx (Conflict Theory) too viewed history as moving in a dialectic pattern. However, for him the prime mover was materialism and not idealism. He represented his evolutionary model into form of 6 modes

of production. According to Marx Class Struggle is the driving force behind social change. Real social change occurs only when there is a revolution leading to establishment of communism.

Linear theories are criticized for their **value bias and hence lacked objectivity**, a precondition for scientific study. Their nomenclature ('savage', 'primitive' etc referring older societies) reflects their bias. Further, the various theorists also don't agree upon the various stages as well. Most of the evolutionary theories were **arm chair theories** which were accused of **speculation and** relying on questionable secondary data.

CYCLICAL THEORIES

Second strand of theories belong to 'Cyclical Theories' and major proponents are – Spengler, Pareto, Toynbee and Sorokin.

- I. Oswald Spengler believed that every society is born, matures, decays and eventually dies. The Roman Empire rose to power and then gradually collapsed. The British Empire grew strong, and then deteriorated. Spengler believed that social change may take the form of progress or of decay, but that no society lives forever.
- II. Pareto, in his 'A Treatise on General Sociology, 1963' presented in his theory of the **circulation of elites**. His theory was inadequate in that it was based on a limited instance of the circulation of elites in ancient Rome. Pareto also conceived of society as a system in equilibrium, a whole consisting of interdependent parts. A change in one part was seen as leading to changes in other parts of the system. His idea of equilibrium also greatly influenced Parsons who later developed his own theory of social change partly influenced by this idea. His conception of political change ignored the growth of democratic government in modern times.
- III. Toynbee also saw change in cyclical terms and saw it in a cycle of 'growth', 'arrest' and 'decline' of civilizations.
- IV. Sorokin in his book '*Social and Culture Dynamics, 1938*' has offered another explanation. He classified societies according to their '**Cultural Mentality**', which can be ideational (reality is spiritual), sensate (reality is material), or idealistic (a synthesis of the two).

Sorokin considered that social change follows a trendless cyclic pattern, i.e., like a swinging pendulum, **culture moves in one direction and then back in another**.

a. Ideational phase

- Ideational Culture emphasizes those things which can be perceived only by the **mind**.
- It is **abstract, religious**, concerned with **faith** and ultimate **truth**.
- It is the opposite of the sensate culture. Both represent '**pure**' types of culture. Hence no society ever fully conforms to either type.

b. Sensate phase

- People seek **knowledge** through science and materialism.

- The sensate culture stresses those things which can be perceived **directly** by the senses.
- It is **practical**, hedonistic, **sensual**, and materialistic.
- Like Spengler, Sorokin regarded the Western culture of his time as sensate and declining, overripe and ready to swing to the other extreme – ideational culture which emphasizes religion.

Without mentioning the causes, he said that as the culture of a society develops towards one pure type, it is countered by the opposing cultural force in form of development of new institutions and normative patterns. Cultural development is then reversed moving towards the opposite type of culture.

In brief, too much emphasis on one type of culture leads to a reaction towards the other. *'Societies contain both these impulses in varying degrees and the tension between them creates long-term instability'.*

Criticism of Sorokin and other cyclical theories –

- I. Sorokin's theory is considered to be too **speculative** and impossible to test scientifically.
- II. Sorokin's theory has not been accepted by the sociologists for it portrays his **prejudices** and probably his disgust with the **modern** society.
- III. His concepts of 'sensate' and 'ideational' are purely subjective. It does not provide an explanation as to why social change should take this form.

STRUCTURE FUNCTIONALIST THEORY of SOCIAL CHANGE of PARSONS

Functionalists are accused of being status quoist and ignoring change. According to the critics, if a system is stable, how change is possible. Parsons addressed this issue by giving the concept of '*dynamic equilibrium*' or '*moving equilibrium*'. Change is seen as a progress from one stage of moving equilibrium to another.

Parsons takes a systems view of society and Parsonian system is a dynamic one. It is not in static equilibrium, but in a dynamic one. First, there is a certain amount of flux in the external situation which tends to throw system off balance. Secondly, inside the system also, there are processes in form of actions going on which provide an impulse for change. Thus, equilibrium is disturbed and system again restores it making it a dynamic equilibrium. So, Parson's idea of change is linked with dynamic equilibrium. Parson sees change as temporary state which is overcome by the systemic forces. Change occurs when **structural strain** of a system exceeds equilibrium forces.

Parsons' idea of social change is linked with his idea of social system and equilibrium which is the structural part and long term evolutionary change (evolution of society from simple to more complex). He didn't see change in absolute terms, but in terms **of a moving equilibrium in which a system moves from one state of equilibrium to another. According to him, when 'shared values' are institutionalized in a system, it results into an equilibrium state. This equilibrium is dynamic equilibrium.**

- I. Systems View of Change – For Parsons, change is **restorative**, the one that brings system back to its equilibrium. All the structures are closely related to each other and all the functions are interrelated and interdependent. It is related to AGIL framework of Parsons and any disturbance in energy flow or information flow leads to social change. Since system is an integrated one, change in any of the functional pre-requisite produces change in others also.
- II. Evolutionary View of Social Change – Like evolutionary theorists, he believes that societies evolve from simple to compound societies and head from one 'Evolutionary Universal' to another in five stages. The history of human society from the simple hunting gathering to complex is seen in terms of **'increasing adaptive capacity of society'**. As societies evolve from simple to complex, control over environment increases. This in turns pose a problem of integration. This problem is solved by generalization of values. Thus, social integration and social order are maintained by generalization. Social change, thus, involves process of **increasing differentiation, specialization and adaptation.**

POST MODERNIST PERSPECTIVE on SOCIAL CHANGE

Post modernists see social change beyond integration-conflict debate. They **reject grand theories** of social change as proposed by Marx, Durkheim and Parsons.

Feminist sociology is one of the strands of post-modernist sociology. It emphasizes centrality of gender in social change. According them, social reality is viewed differently by the two sexes. Rising awareness of rights, feminization of workforce, women's movements are seen as new dimension of social change.

Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault laid foundation of 'post structuralism'. Foucault analyzed the emergence of modern institutions like prisons, hospitals and schools as a sign of increasing surveillance and discipline in society. Postmodern society is not destined to socialism as Marx had predicted, but is likely to be more multi-cultural and diverse that traditional branches of sociology will prove insufficient to account for social change. According to French author Jean Baudrillard, mass media has reversed the Marxist idea that society is dominated by economic structure, rather it will be now increasingly controlled by the signs and images which are a creation of mass media.

Development and Dependency

Development as a social concept involves progressive change from one inferior state to a superior state of well being or simply *change in the desired direction*. It is also defined as **'development is about removing the obstacles to the things that a person can do in life, such as illiteracy, ill health, lack of access to resources, or lack of civil and political freedoms'**. It can have many dimensions – cultural, economic, political etc. True development is the one which not only means growth, but also self realization and independence of thoughts and actions leading to full realization of one's potential. Classical sociologists took an evolutionary view of development which is often simplified

Dependency Culture was a term popularized by Charles Murray to describe individuals who rely on state doles rather than entering labor market. It is argued that an aggressive welfare state makes people indolent and their self reliance capability is eroded. Today, rights based, self-help and self-respect based approaches of development are more popular.

as a shift from a traditional or simple society to modern or industrialized society. Thus, according to this view, development means high industrialization, high production, urbanization, secularization, democracy, individual liberty etc which are characteristics of modern industrial societies. This model is later accused with suffering from Western bias, ignoring ingenious approaches. Contemporary notions of development stress on justice, rights, equality, equity, human development, sustainability, individual liberty and realization of potential.

Developed countries over the years developed their model of development which was primarily focused on material well being. The western notion of development was imposed on newly liberated nations after Second World War when numerous of them became independent. However, soon it was realized that their conditions were not improving and instead they were facing a net outflow of resources, stagnant levels of poverty and worse of all a dependency on the western countries.

World Systems Theory: World-systems theory stresses that the world-system (and not individual/collective nation states or the distinct First World, Second and Third World countries etc) should be the basic unit of social analysis. This theory is an extension of Marxian concepts of Dialectical Materialism and Class Struggle.

The most well-known version of the world-system approach has been developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1970s in his book – ‘*The Modern World System, 1974*’. The modern world system, essentially capitalist in nature, followed the crisis of the feudal system. Wallerstein locates the origin of the ‘modern world-system’ in 16th-century Western Europe and the Americas when Feudalism was replaced by Capitalism. Process of exploitation during colonial period produced **a world system madeup of core, semi-periphery and periphery. World-system refers to the international division of labor in unequal terms.** He develops the concepts of ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ from the wider Dependency Theory. Core forms the exploitative capitalist class on a global level. While countries may transit from core to semi-periphery and vice versa, structure of world system remains same.

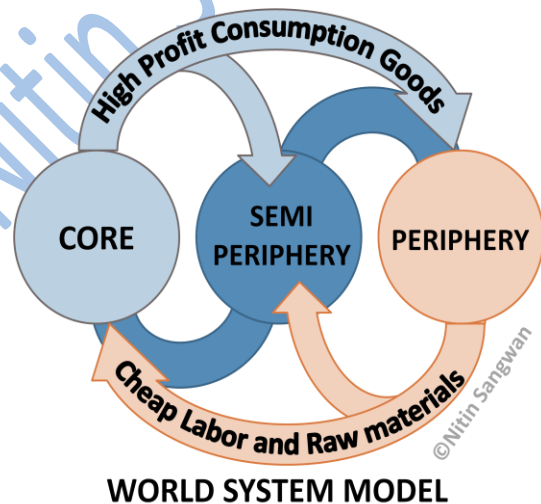
Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Economic exchange between core and periphery takes place on unequal terms - the periphery is forced to sell its products at low prices but has to buy the core's products at comparatively high prices.

This leads to rise of ‘dependency theories’ in 1950s in Latin American countries – which were under communist influence – which saw development process as essentially one creating dependency of developing countries on developed countries. They rejected the arguments of modernization theorists that modernity and development reach bottom most in its own due course. They rejected the notion that underdevelopment of countries is due to their own cultural and institutional faults. They are an offshoot of Marxist thinking which sees a creation of global haves and have nots in form of a highly unequal global north and global south. According to it, though colonialism has officially ended, it continues to be practiced in disguised manner and developed countries prevent development of underdeveloped countries for their own vested interests. These theories regard power as central to enforcing unequal economic relations.

Dependency theory is a reaction to conventional wisdom of development which supports a Western model of development. Andre Gunder Frank in his book – ‘*Development of Underdevelopment, 1966*’ argues that in fact the contemporary underdevelopment of Latin American countries and Afro-Asian

countries is a result of artificial dependency that West has historically created and this underdevelopment is fundamentally different from undevelopment. Colonialism and capitalism led to a complex integration of colonies into world economy in a subservient manner. According to him, though Adam Smith perceived global trade to be based on principles of equality, powerful rich countries impose unequal terms on the name of free trade and developmental help. Surplus by trade and industrialization is taken away by the developed countries and multinationals. Emmanuel in his '*Unequal Exchange, 1972*' refers to low income countries as not under-developed, but as 'mis-developed'. Similarly scholars like Wallerstein blame developed countries of perpetuating a culture of dependency and forwarding hollow slogans of development and in turn sucking out the resources of lesser developed countries. According to him, self-sufficient units of pre-capitalist society are now a victim of global capitalism and market forces. **Dependency theorists also highlight the stalling of Doha WTO round as a symbol of Western vested interests** in promoting an unequal global trade framework. Instead of developing institutes of excellence globalization of trade has given birth to sweatshops in developing countries.

Development can be truly meaningful if it can bring happiness to all the participants and their collective rise. Development which is unequal will always lead to dependency. True development creates synergy and not dependence. In India too, this dependency is created by unequal development and unequal distribution of benefits. Visionaries like Mahatma Gandhi visualized this situation and therefore he stressed upon grass-root level empowerment in villages. Dependency can be curtailed only through empowerment of those who are at the receiving end of the development process. New approaches like sustainable development, rights based approach, bottoms up development etc are emerging as viable alternatives to the traditional approaches to development which creates dependency and not liberation.



Dependency theory is criticized by liberals who tem this theory as simplistic and suffering from ideological biases. Gunnar Myrdal contends that developmental deficit cannot be completely attributed to dependency, but its major causes are value deficit and institutional inadequacies in third world countries. Another principal criticism of dependency theories has been that the school does not provide any substantive empirical evidences to support its arguments.

Dependency theorists also fail to account for the rapid economic development of many East Asian economies and even Latin American countries like Brazil, Mexico etc.

Amartya Sen also rejects dependency theory and argues that third world countries have benefited from technology transfers and revolutionary changes in social sectors like – health, education and communication. They have achieved results in a matter of a decade, what developed countries achieved in centuries.

Agents of Social Change

Agents of social change can be various. They can be from within the society i.e. *endogenous/orthogenetic* or can be from external sources i.e. *exogenous/heterogenetic*. Internal causes include factors like – stress and conflict in society, conflicts between ideals of society and actual reality, charismatic leadership as in case of Gandhi, Lenin, Mandela etc, planning, political rule, and inventions and so on. Russian Revolution is an example of social change driven by internal causes. External causes may include cultural causes, environmental causes etc. Attack, war, urbanization, industrialization, trade, migration, westernization are some of social causes and earthquakes, pollution, deforestation, ecological changes are some of exogenous physical factors. Global warming has emerged a big challenge which poses imminent threat of adverse social changes for low lying countries. Christianity and Islam also brought considerable cultural changes in India when they arrived in India. Sorokin proposed a theory of 'inner causes' which said that inner linkages and conflicts cause change in a particular society.

Various factors of social change can be like –

- I. **Cultural factors** – A large part of change in society is caused by change in culture. Culture is a system that constantly loses and gains components. Invention, discovery and diffusion are considered to be the main sources of cultural change. Diffusion is a process of the spreading of ideas, culture and objects to other societies. Change in position of women in many societies is an example of cultural change.
- II. **Ideas and values** – New ideas and modification of old ideas in a new context bring wide-scale changes in society. For example, Max Weber established that rationalization of religious ideas brought about phenomenal change in Protestant world.
- III. **Social structure** – The seeds of change sometimes lie within the very social structure – the changes arising out of tensions and conflicts. The most influential theory linking change to social structure was by Karl Marx, who claimed that social class was the basis of conflict between unequally positioned sections of the population – the rich and the poor. The rising tension between the haves and have not, he held, would lead to class struggle, in which the capitalist system, which is advantageous to the haves would be replaced by a socialist system.
- IV. **Political factors** – Ruling class defines the political atmosphere of a society. For example – in military dictatorship, resources are channelized in a different manner as compared to a democracy. Often a redistribution of power happens due to some big political events like revolutions, coups etc as in case of French Revolution. Gradual changes also take as a result of far reaching political initiatives like universal adult franchise.
- V. **Environmental and physical factors** – Early civilizations were mostly situated in flood plains. Village life is drastically changed by Tsunami. Now a days global warming also looms large which may bring multiplicities of change.
- VI. **Economic factors** – According to Karl Marx, true social change in form of communist revolution can come only by change in economic infrastructure. Discovery of oil in Middle East, rise of industrialization and capitalism are some of examples. Globalization of economies is the most recent example.

- VII. **Demographic factors** – Demographic change is caused by an increase in birth and decline in death, and migration of populations. Change occurs from the demographic transition in society.
- VIII. **Religious factors** – Religion can act as an agent of change as well as resistance to change. Weber has shown how protestant ethics brought industrialization to Europe.
- IX. **Technological factors** – Industrial Revolution is such an example. In Ogburn's concept of 'culture lag' technology has been an important factor in social change.
- X. **Conflict and change** – Social change is also caused by tension and conflict. Structural strain, deprivation, cultural revitalization etc have been the major causes of conflict. Social division based on class, caste, gender, ethnicity, estate, etc. have also been important sources of conflict and change in society.
- XI. **Social movements and change** – Social movements are organized efforts of groups of people to bring about deliberate change in the values, norms, institutions, culture relationships and traditions of the society. They also generate new identities and a new perspective.

Education and Social Change

In 1960s, US President Lyndon Johnson stated that '*The answer to all our national problems comes down to a single word – Education*'. According to Dr Radha Krishnan, the second President of India, '*Education is an agent for social change what in simple societies was done by the family, the religions, social and political institutions has to be done by the educational institutions today*'.

Education is more than schooling or being literate. While school is a formal institutional mechanism for imparting formal education, education as an informal process is ever continuing. It is a social process which enables and promotes the education and skills, knowledge and the broadening of personal horizons. It is defined as '*The process of education comprises cultivation of distinct qualities and traits through explicit instructions or through implicit inhibition as part of growing up amidst family members, kin and peer groups*'.

Francis J Brown remarks that '*education is a process which brings about changes in the behavior of society. It is a process which enables every individual to effectively participate in the activities of society and to make positive contribution to the progress of society*'.

In traditional societies, education function was performed by family, but in modern societies functional alternatives in form of schools, colleges and other institutions have come up. Further, earlier it was mostly linked to religion, but today it is secular in its character and is more inclusive in its approach. The invention of the printing press in the year 1423 was a milestone in the history of education. Books and print material now became readily available and education itself became more broad based and open to all. It also promoted vernaculars. One consequence of this was the spread of literacy.

Education brings social change by way of affecting existing value systems and beliefs, creating capacity among the individuals to absorb new ideas, opening up of avenues for social mobility and so on. Education fosters personal development and self-fulfillment. It encourages the individual to develop his or her mental, physical, emotional and spiritual talents to the full. Hence, education and social change are linked in following way –

- I. **Initiate social change** – Education is the most powerful instrument of social change because education fulfils the needs of society and **propagates such ideas which promote social change** in all fields of life. Education prepares ground for the advent of social change. Many great evils like Sati, child marriage etc were largely banished from Indian society due to education.
- II. **Capacity to welcome change** – Education promotes **capacity to welcome and accept social change** easily and gladly. Education creates a wholesome and conducive **environment** for the social changes to become acceptable to all.
- III. **Equality of opportunity** – Modern education system and schools **provide equality of opportunity to members of society to a great extent regardless of their position in the system** of stratification. It helps in creating a more **open society** and provides greater opportunities of social mobility. As educational capabilities of members increase, their **bargaining powers** in market also increase.
- IV. **Moral agent** – Education also plays a role in **imbibing social values like empathy, rational investigation etc.** It upgrades personal skills and make **members more valuable in society**. It broadens personal horizons as well. Children become in their lives what they practice at schools and educational institutions. In Aristotle's words, '*We become just by performing just acts, temperate by performing temperate ones, brave by performing brave ones*'. Schools perform the function of **laying moral foundation** in society.
- V. **Economic role** – Education also has a close linkage with economic system. **Mass education** began only with industrial revolution. It began as the need of economic system. Technical education helped in scaling up the industries which heralded industrial revolution.
- VI. **Fights orthodoxy, promotes liberal ideas** – Education strives to **banish social evils, blind customs and traditions** through various social reform projects. It helps in minimizing discrimination. Schools in modern societies are designed to **promote uniformity, standardized aspirations and universalistic values**. This is done through uniform textbooks, uniform dress code and a common pedagogy.
- VII. **Social mobility** – It provides avenues for structural mobility. Mass education brings fundamental changes in social structure. Examples of Jyotiba Phule, Brahma Samaj shows how education heralded social change for such sections of society. It is a force that is even breaking the moulds of rigid stratification like caste and providing opportunities in closed societies also. It facilitates both inter-generational and intra-generational mobility. In modern society it offers multiple avenues of livelihood and hence offers **occupational mobility**. Modern societies are individual achievement oriented. Education in facilitates equality of opportunity in future life.
- VIII. **Research role** – It opens new vistas for **deeper investigations and researches** which brings desirable changes in the society.
- IX. **Evaluate change** – Apart from these, education also accelerates and stimulates change and later evaluates social change.

Durkheim says it is an agent of **transmission of social norms**. By respecting rules in schools, children learn to respect norms of the society. Parsons says schools are '*society in miniature*' and education plays a key role in **role allocation** in an increasingly specialized industrial economy. In family child is judged on 'particularistic standards', in schools child learns universal values which are necessary for social integration. Other functions that are performed by the education are – social **control, communication of knowledge, character building, development of human resources, contributing to human and economic development and so on.**

There is an alternative view as well which is not so optimistic about role of education in bringing social change. Mark Twain famously said '*I never let my schooling get in the way of my education*'. Modern education has become synonymous with schooling and it **removes focus from wider learning opportunities**. In a study by Raymond Boudon in his '*Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality, 1974*', he shows that the role of education in providing for social mobility is not very significant. In fact, education based on equality **only perpetuates inequality**. Power, wealth and other material resources play a greater role in such societies. **Commercialization of education** has further diluted role of education in social change as there is now unequal access to quality education based on one's class. Children of working class only have 'working class suited' education which offers only limited avenues. According to Paul Willis, working class kids get only working class jobs as differential education leads to **differential reproduction of cultural values**. According to Pierre Bourdieu, education also helps in reproducing 'cultural capital' which is as necessary as social capital and economic capital. Cultural capital influences acquisition of other capitals as well. Thus, cultural reproduction in schools in unequal societies also leads to unequal educational attainments.

Feminine perspective also emerged on education in 1970s. According to feminists like McRobbie and Sue Lee **schooling reproduces appropriate feminine roles in girls**. Schools saw their task as preparing girls for family life and responsibilities and boys for future employment, thus reproducing the gender stereotypes prevailing in society. Paul Willis also highlights that boys use derogatory language which is not checked effectively in schools and it promotes **aggressive masculinity**.

There is also alternate Marxist view by likes of Althusser. Althusser in his '*Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus, 1972*' treats education as the most important 'ideological state apparatus' appropriated by the ruling classes to pursue their own ideas and interests, and **it reinforces dominant ideology** and thus hinders real social change in society. It merely leads to **reproduction of labor force**. Similarly, Bowles and Gintis in their '*Schooling in Capitalist America, 1976*' say it is a '*giant myth making machine*' with a '*hidden curriculum*' which serves the interests of dominant groups. Ivan Illich in '*Deschooling Society, 1971*' says that it has a hidden curriculum which promotes existing social relations and according to him, '*The pupil confuses teaching with learning, grades advancement with education and a diploma with competence*'. According to him, **schools suffocate creativity and deskill the individuals** as they become more dependent on capitalist system. Schools promote '**passive consumption**' i.e. an **uncritical acceptance of existing social order**. To overcome these problems, he suggested deschooling of society.

Science, Technology and Social Change

Science and technology are essential ingredients of modern life. Science and technology accompany us from cradle to grave. Science and technology is an important secular medium which transcends local boundaries and touches lives of everyone.

Evolution of mankind can be seen in terms of technological evolution as well. Invention of fire and wheel changed the face of mankind. Various historical epochs viz – hunter-gatherers, agrarian society, industrialist society – are distinguished from each other in term of technological advancement. Invention of steam engine heralded industrial revolution and also led to increased international trade as shipping became faster. Aided by technology, Green Revolution in India led to self sufficiency in food grains and no major famine has hit India since then. Japan is a classical example of a nation which has scarce natural resources, but is among the most developed countries due to development in science and technology.

Science and technology can help lift millions above poverty by helping in improving food security and making basic amenities more affordable. Science and technology has greatly improved connectivity and communication. People can remain in touch with each other in a never before manner.

Similar technologies also have different impacts in different societies. Printing in China led to standardization of manuscripts, but in Europe it led to diversity in literary works. During Second World War, nuclear power was used to annihilate two cities, but was later used for peaceful purposes also. Similarly, information technology can also be used for centralization and espionage, but can also be used for empowerment and social change as well.

Science and technology also have a homogenizing tendency. Work is now increasingly done in similar fashion. Industries are now global in scale leading to similar products, similar cloths, similar tastes and similar consumption. It is bringing the world together, but at a cost of their diversity and the assimilative effect is creating yet another evolutionary universal in Parsonian sense which will be all encompassing.

Over-reliance on science and technology is also leading to a shift from 'adaptation' to 'change' the environment. This is having serious consequences in terms of climate change and increasing frequency of disasters.

One major difficulty in technology as source of change is that its impact on society is not visible in short run. Technological changes don't lead to social change so easily and often there is backlash as well. Early use of anesthesia, stem cell research, cloning etc were all opposed as an attempt of man playing as god. Luddites vandalized industrial machinery as a reaction to newly introduced machines at workplace. Robert Blauner in his study 'Alienation and Freedom 1964' has also highlighted the alienating aspects of technology at work place. Some technologies like automation lead to monotony at workplace. Marxists also argue that technology alienates man from its labor and fruit of labor.

PAPER 2

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

PART A – INTRODUCING INDIAN SOCIETY

PERSPECTIVES ON STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIETY & IMPACT of COLONIAL RULE

Indian society is a multicultural society which is marked by multiple complexities and efforts to understand by scholars were on even before beginning of sociology as a formal discipline in 1920. Although efforts have been made to develop an understanding of society since ancient times, but systematic efforts were made only after establishment of political administrative rule of the British. Earlier the understanding of society was contained in religious scriptures, travelogues and political works. There is a 'marked discontinuity' in such writings creating a challenge in understanding of society.

It is generally viewed as a society which still holds tradition dear. It has many peculiar features like – caste, kinship and village which are unparalleled elsewhere. Its unique social structure has attracted many interests from India and outside and as a result, it has been studied from different perspectives. Major perspectives include – Indological perspective, Marxist perspective, structural functionalist perspective and so on.

Seeds of sociological thought were sown by voluntary organizations of 18th and 19th century like Asiatic Society of Bengal led by William Jones who translated Manusmriti in English. Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge was formed in 1838. In Madras also, Bethune Society was formed in 1859 which used to have regular discussions on various aspects of social sciences.

Apart from voluntary organizations, government machinery and administration also laid stress on study of Indian life. Colonial rulers started to pursue social understanding of society to rule the country better in areas of law and order, revenue collection etc. During early period, say till 1850s, understanding of Indian society was generated primarily by British administrators and not scholars. During 1820-50, many books and works were done. They developed an orthodox view of India society, having broad features like – self sufficient and closed village economies, caste based social structure, primitive tribal communities. Universities were also established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857, Department of Census was established in 1871, Ethnic Survey was made in 1901 and so on. These helped in a scientific study of social sciences and Indian society.

After 1850s, India came under direct administration of British crown and by that time, British rule was extended to the whole territory. Now, the understanding of Indian society was supplemented by writings of Christian Missionaries, Academic theologists, ethnographers and industry experts. The process was supplemented by establishment of western education and tremendous expansion of administrative framework in India. During this period a few educated Indians also help in understanding of Indian society. Many other elements like – joint family, jajmani system customary laws, Panchayati raj etc were studied along with previous elements. At the macro level also, historical works were used to generate a theoretical understanding of the society without supplementing it with field studies.

Early protagonists of the discipline were – Patrick Geddes and Ghurye in Bombay, Radhakamal Mukharjee and D P Mukharjee in Lucknow and A R Wadia in Mysore.

Major areas of focus of the discipline in India were –

- I. Indian Philosophy
- II. Orientology and Indology
- III. Ethnic and social survey
- IV. History

Ghurye was influenced by all the four currents and he made study of Indian caste, tribes, culture, cities, religion and trade.

Radhakamal Mukharjee represented the spirit of the synthesis of Indian intellectual life and Western analysis.

Sociology was established as an academic discipline by Sir Patrick Geddes in 1919 in Bombay University and later on a separate department was also established in Lucknow and Mysore and universities as well. It was at this time, that understanding of Indian society came in domain of 'sociologists'. Many perspectives slowly emerged. Before independence, primarily book view was taken by the scholars. This perspective of studying of Indian society using historical texts came to be known as Indology. G S Ghurye was father of Indian sociology and Indology as well. In 1940s, the discipline got recognition in other universities as well.

Yogendra Singh classified the theoretical and systematic perspectives in Indian sociology in following aspects –

- I. Philosophical – Sociologists of Lucknow school were particularly influenced by it.
- II. Cultural – It included the works of Srinivas, Milton Singer, Redfield, McKim Marriott
- III. Structural – F G Bailey made important contribution towards explaining the structural perspective in Indian context
- IV. Dialectical Historical Perspectives – Ramakrishna Mukharjee used this perspective in the study of Bengal and development of colonialism. D P Mukharjee also used this perspective. A R Desai used it to study nationalism, social change and modernization.

Early sociological thought in India was also influenced by the ideology of Indian freedom struggle and uniqueness of Indian culture and thought. It is reflected in the choice of subjects of study of Ghurye, D P Mukharjee etc as well.

After Independence, sociology developed more scientifically and it was also influenced by American functionalism in 1950s. M N Srinivas introduced 'Structural Functional Perspective' in study of Indian society in his famous study of Coorgs of Mysore and emphasis on field view was also given. Emphasis was laid on factual, empirical surveying and field studies in place of theocratic and traditional issues. Thus, a series of rural and urban studies came to light. However, they lacked serious theoretical basis and were narrow in focus with short term objectives. During 1970s A R Desai popularized Marxist perspective in study of Indian society.

Indology (G S Ghurye)

'Indology' literally means '*systematic study of Indian society and culture*'. Task of Indological perspective is to interpret and understand Indian society on the basis of traditional religious text, ancient legal and historical documents, literary works and even archeological evidence. Religious texts like – Mahabharata, Ramayana, Vedas, Upnishads, Smritis etc, historical texts like – Kautilya's Arthshastra, travelogues like those of Megasthenese, Fa-Xian etc, writings and inscription by kings and other archeological evidences were used for the study of Indian society. Indology emphasizes upon study of Indian languages, ideas, beliefs, customs etc within broad purview of Indian society.

Culture is the central premise on which the understanding of Indian society is build. Salient features of Indological approach are –

- I. Indian society is unique and it can be understood by theories and concept unique to Indian society and not by prevailing Western theories and concepts.
- II. Indologists emphasize more on understanding, rather than suggesting solutions to the problems.
- III. Understanding of the society is developed in terms of continuity from the past and through identification of historical moorings.
- IV. This perspective seldom uses field view for taking into account the existence of heterogeneity and variations present in the Indian society. The resulting view has been very broad and ideal typical in nature.

Indological perspective changed with time as nature of study changed and is broadly categorized as –

- I. Classical Indology – It was prevalent before 1920s in the writings of British intellectuals. It refers to a pure-book view. Initial emphasis on this perspective was on translations of Sanskrit texts and developing an understanding on this basis. William Jones established Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1787 which later on emerged as major study of Indology. Max Muller's '*Sacred Books of the East*' – a multiple volume work published from 1849-74 – translated Vedas and other sacred texts. Henry Maine's '*Ancient Law, 1861*' and '*Village Communities in East and West, 1871*' were classical Indological texts. Initial Indologists were either Western scholars or British officials, but later on many Indian Indological schools were established including – Theosophical Society in 1886, Oriental Research Institute in Mysore in 1891, Bhandarkar Institute in Pune in 1917 etc. Western scholars in general had a critical view of Indian society and Indian scholars highlighted greatness and uniqueness of Indian society. India was considered as a land of villages which were considered as self-sufficient, isolated, static and orthodox by Western view. Religion was considered central to understanding of other social institutions. Social relationships were guided by traditionalism and caste system. Caste system was considered as closed and a symbol of feudal and backward character of Indian society. Gradually, joint families, panchayats and Jajmani system etc were considered other elements of Indian social life.
- II. Modern Indology – With the establishment of sociology as a discipline the task of understanding society came within its purview. Classical Indology was modified by combining it with various sociological perspectives leading to development of Modern Indology. It is sometimes also

referred as 'Social Indology'. Modern Indology was used by academicians – in contrast to scholars and officials of Classical Indology. G S Ghurye is considered 'father of Modern Indology'. He synthesized Classical Indological approach with anthropological diffusionist approach. Radha Kamal Mukharjee combined it with empirical sociology. D P Mukharjee developed Marxological approach by combining Classical Indology with Marxian analytical framework. After independence, the use of Indology continued, but other perspectives remained predominant. Modern Indological perspective criticized orthodox picture of Indian society. Villages were not seen as isolated or static or self-sufficient. Religion was considered the central institution, but nowhere as hindrance to dynamism of Indian society. The present changes on account of colonial rule were also studied. The relevance of joint family, panchayats etc was emphasized with an Indological view.

In spite of being the earliest perspective, Indology started to lose its relevance on account of various reasons –

- I. Later field studies revealed that normative order followed by people in practice is highly different from the ideal typical view of Indologists. For example, M N Srinivas' concepts of 'dominant caste', 'Sanskritization' changed the traditional notions of caste generated by Indological views.
- II. Contradictory information in Indological sources introduced subjectivity in the analysis. The understanding differed on the basis of references to different texts. This reduced the reliability of the analysis.
- III. Indologists relied on the 'book view', authenticity of which is questionable. These texts generally depicted an idealized version of Indian society.
- IV. Finally, Indologists have always been accused of compromising with objectivity in sociological research i.e. Indological explanations had been colored with vested interests and Western scholars were biased for their colonial interests and Indian scholars were biased with nationalist interests. Thus, no objective view could be generated.

Though Indology may be losing its perspective, 'Indological studies' continued to be relevant till date. Recently, there has been effort to revisit the traditional texts for seeking re-interpretations. Some form of 'post-modern Indology' seems to be emerging with revival of interest among scholars about ancient culture of India.

INDOLOGY of G S GHURYE

Ghurye was born in a Brahmin family and was a trained Sanskrit scholar as well. To develop his Indological perspective, he profoundly studied Vedas, Shaastras, poetry of Kalidas and so on. However, he was also greatly influenced by Western scholars like W H R Rivers as well. He pioneered the Modern Indology which improved upon the narrow view of Indian society taken by Classical Indology.



G S GHURYE

In Ghurye's Indology, culture is central element throughout his works. He understands society in terms of Sanskrit texts, historical documents and other archeological material, but supplements it with theoretical perspectives as well.

Methodology of Ghurye is based upon a large number of texts. His ideological view is also influenced by Bhandarkar Institute of Pune. His approach was a combination of historical, diffusionist and descriptive ethnography. He attempted to study Indian society in a specific historical context. Indian traditions were seen as diffusion from one place to another resulting in unity of society. His descriptive ethnography was very much rooted in empirical reality.

His view on Indian society can be seen in terms of his overall view of society as well as in terms of his specific views on various elements of society. His general view of society was that Indian society is unique and it should be understood in terms of concepts and theories particular to Indian society. According to him, Indian society is a 'Hindu Society' and it cannot be understood without understanding Hindu tradition. He emphasized upon understanding Hindu tradition first rather than suggesting solutions to the problems faced by Hindu society. Indian society is viewed as a continuity from past in form of its historical moorings. He also emphasized on understanding of order and change in society. Order is understood in terms of specific aspects of society like – caste, religion, village, tribe, urbanization etc. He took a dynamic view of Indian society, not only in terms of continuities from the past, but also in terms of understanding the process of change in terms of British influence. The process of change is understood in terms of changing Hindu tradition and he refrains from mentioning any great modernizing influence of British rule.

His specific views about caste are mentioned in his various works. He gave a theory of origin of caste as well and said that caste originated from Gangetic plains and spread to other areas – it highlighted his diffusionist approach. He understood caste in terms of its various features and he mentioned six features of caste as – division of labor, principle of purity and pollution, hierarchy, civil and religious disabilities, hereditary nature and endogamy. Endogamy is regarded by Ghurye as the key principle which maintains boundaries in caste. He also draws a parallel between caste and tribe and calls tribals as 'backward Hindus'. He also talked about status of caste in modern times. He sees formation of caste associations as spreading of caste consciousness and he calls it as '*caste patriotism*'. He was opposed to caste system firmly, but he talks of its disappearance with time due to influence of urbanization, education etc.

He also talks about religion and he wrote many books on it including '*Indian Sadhu, 1952*', '*God and Men, 1962*' etc. He sees religion as dynamic as Indian society. He didn't see it from an orthodox point of view and he even offered rational explanations. He also didn't see religious diversity as contradictory. For example, in his '*Indian Sadhu*', he sees Sadhus as a social link between the spiritual persons and common people.

His views on tribes are also influenced by his Hindu tradition view of life. He rejected the policy of isolation. For him, tribes have always been in contact with Hindus and they have assimilated themselves into mainstream in various degrees. He called tribes as '*Backward Hindus*' and differentiated them as – Hinduized tribes, Partially Hinduized tribes and Hill section.

He also studied the impact of outsiders on tribal culture and considered it as a result of British policy. According to him, British never followed an appropriate policy for the development of tribes. Instead, forest policy of British brought huge hardship to tribes.

He also expresses his views on village life in India. According to him, villages are centre of Indian social life, but he rejected the self-sufficiency view of western scholars. His understanding of village draws mainly from the caste. He has totally ignored the actual structures operating within the villages which are highlighted by various other scholars in terms of dominant castes, caste class nexus etc.

He has an optimist view of urbanization and he rejects Louis Wirth's pessimistic view of urban growth in form of excessive individualism. He considers urban areas as cradle of innovation. According to him urban and rural areas are organically linked and their growth is also connected.

Ghurye is however criticized for his over Hinduized view of Indian society. He also takes a favorable view of caste and failed to see its dehumanizing aspect. He fails to recognize qualitative changes that have occurred during colonial rule. He also fails to explore the structural implications of various social institutions like caste and he only focused on cultural aspects only.

Structural Functionalism (M N Srinivas)

Use of structural functional perspective is considered an important development in 1940s in understanding of India society. After independence, with establishment of welfare state, sociologists were oriented towards developing systemic view that could provide critical input for planning. Emergence of this perspective in India can be traced to initial sociologists who got their training under Western, primarily American, anthropologist and sociologists. During this period, this perspective was quite popular in America in the writings of Parsons, Merton, Davis and Moore and in Europe in writings of Radcliffe Brown, Malinowski etc.

M N Srinivas is considered to be the first sociologist who systematically used this perspective for the understanding of Coorgs of Mysore. Although, W H Wiser had used this perspective in highlighting the functional importance of Jajmani system, Srinivas applied this perspective for the understanding of the whole society. This perspective became more important as it used the field view to provide an actual view of reality. The prevailing perspectives like – Indological, anthropological, economic and philosophical suffered from one deficiency or another.

The major premise of this perspective include –

- I. It aims at studying the pattern of relationship, social institutions and their working in society in a holistic manner. For example – M N Srinivas in his study Coorgs of Mysore, not only gave an ethnographical account of Coorg society, but also developed a holistic picture of solidarity among Coorgs in terms of their – customs, beliefs, religion, family etc. More importantly existing socio-political framework was taken into account through a field view.
- II. This perspective attempted to develop an interpretation of a particular social phenomenon in functional terms within a larger social context. For example – studies on family in India

emphasized upon understanding its significance in the Indian society rather than simply studying it as a type of family. In this context, studies conducted by K M Kapadia, Karve etc are quite significant.

- III. Structural functional perspective in India took into account actual structural cleavages and social differentiation in society. This made sociological understanding more empirical and contextual. In this, functions were seen not only in cultural angle, but also within changing structural context.
- IV. This perspective also emphasized upon comparative understanding of various social institutions, taking into consideration various variations and their implications on wider society.
- V. Initially, structural functional perspective was confined with an anthropological view, but during 1960s and 1970s studies focused on particular phenomenon or institutions from purely structural functional perspective.

Like its original framework in West, structural functionalism in India also suffered from several limitations and was criticized for following reasons -

- I. Perspective ignored conflict in Indian society. Social institutions may be dysfunctional and causing conflict in society. For example – caste is more dysfunctional than functional.
- II. This perspective is considered status quoist. Generally, social patterns were considered desirable and functional in a broader context.
- III. It lacked purity in its application owing to influence of other perspectives. Cultural influence was quite marked in study of structures.
- IV. A number of studies become too much empirical that there were nothing more than explanations of empirical generalizations.

STRUCTURE FUNCTIONALISM of M N SRINIVAS

He pioneered structural functionalism in India through his path breaking work among Coorgs of Mysore in 1940s. It was a holistic study of Coorg society and he analyzed how different cultural elements contribute to solidarity of Coorg society. He developed his perspective by deviating from a pure Indological perspective.

His structural functionalism was a blend of approaches used by Radcliffe Brown and Evans Pritchard. He used structural functionalism of Brown and field view of Pritchard. He blended theoretical structural functionalism with empirical work. He used method of direct observation to study Coorg society and introduced elements of ethnography. His approach also took into account Indological views as well, influence of which cannot be ignored.

Srinivas had a systems view of Indian society and he studied Indian society in terms of patterns of relations, social institutions and their working in society in holistic manner. Srinivas interpreted particular social phenomenon like – caste, family, religion etc in functional terms



M N SRINIVAS

within a larger context of Indian society. In his study of Coorgs, he described the concept of functional unity and established interpretations in the context of various rituals followed by Coorgs.

He also took a comparative view of Indian society by studying the same phenomenon within specific regional context. He understood order and change as well. Order is understood in terms of – caste, village, religion etc. He is known for understanding of dynamics of Indian society. He emphasizes upon understanding cultural changes, leading to change in Indian society.

Study of India society through institution of caste dominated his writings. His concept of '*Dominant Caste*' in his study of village Rampura, his concept of '*Sanskritization*' in his study of Coorgs of Mysore highlight it.

He also studied process of change in detail in his '*Social Change in Modern India, 1962*' through his twin concepts of Westernization and Sanskritization.

M N Srinivas on the Village: Work of Srinivas was pioneering in the field of village studies. According to him, villages were the focal points of understanding Indian society. He refuted the logic of cultural theorists like Dumont that only caste should be focused upon to understand Indian society. He took a two prong approach in studying the villages – though 'field studies' and 'historical analyses'. According to him, ethnographic account of villages was necessary to study the village dynamics and process of change. He used historical analysis to counter the argument of British administrators that village was an unchanging unit of self sufficiency. According to him, villages had served as a unifying identity and that village unity was quite significant in rural social life. Village studies, according to him, provided an opportunity to illustrate the importance of ethnographic research methods. They also offered eye-witness accounts of the rapid social change that was taking place in the Indian countryside which helped policy makers a great deal in designing the developmental agenda for the villages. Village studies thus provided a new role for a discipline like sociology in the context of an independent nation.

Apart from the above general view of Indian society, he also had a specific view of various social institutions.

His understanding of caste is primarily driven from his numerous field studies. He combines theory with practice. His understanding of caste though has some Indological elements also, but it is more oriented towards its operational aspects. His concepts of '*Sanskritization*', '*Dominant Caste*', '*Vote bank*' etc give a practical view of Indian society.

He views Indian village as a prototype of Indian society or microcosm of Indian society and like Ghurye, he also rejects the colonial notions of self-sufficiency of Indian village. Village exogamy is one of the prime examples that villages were interdependent. He considers village as integrated with the wider society. His concept of village is overburden with the caste, but he also sees marriage, family and Jajmani system as central to understanding of caste.

Marxist Sociology (A R Desai)

Indian Marxist scholars use basic assumptions of Marxian analysis of understanding of society. In India, this view found favor among nationalist leadership after Russian revolution. This new leadership favored

this approach within the context of freedom struggle. Before independence, this perspective was used by D P Mukharjee by combining it with Indological perspective to develop a Marxological perspective to analyze social change.

A R Desai pioneered the use of this perspective since 1940s and it is best exemplified in his – '*Social Background of Indian Nationalism, 1946*'. This perspective couldn't become popular because, firstly, before independence British government was strictly opposed to Marxian thoughts. Secondly, after independence due to euphoria generated by the welfare state, Marxist perspective was given a pass. However, this perspective became popular during the eventful 1970s after an article written by A R Desai titled '*Relevance of Marxist Perspective in the Understanding of Indian Society*' on account of two reasons –

- I. Two decades of planning was inadequate in meeting the aspirations of people and their problems still remained. It was felt that there is some deficiency in interpretation of Indian society.
- II. Although, initially it was felt that the academic perspective has to just provide inputs for the planning rather than just suggesting ideological alternatives. After 1970s, whole conception of planning came under serious doubt for its apparent failures.

In this context, Marxist perspective attempts to understand society in following ways –

- I. Marxists approach understands society in terms of a process of historical developments in dialectical materialistic terms. Causative factors are the changing material conditions. For example, A R Desai in his book – '*Social Background of Indian Nationalism, 1946*' takes historic materialistic view and understands the process of historical change in Indian society in terms of changing economic activities.
- II. The social structure and institutions are seen as rooted in productive relations. The dynamic conception is also based in changing production relations. For example – Kathleen Gough in the context of 'caste, class nexus' uses Marxist perspective for generating an understanding of Marxist perspective.
- III. While understanding society, primacy is given to economic infrastructure, culture is seen as rooted in economic infrastructure. This amounts to rejection of pure Indological view and the faulty interpretation it generates.
- IV. Society is seen in systemic terms conforming to model of economic interpretation of superstructure. For example – Marxist village studies emphasize more on understanding of socio-political setup on the basis of network relations woven around land.
- V. Indian society is studied in terms of conflict and social institutions are seen as exploitative and existing for the benefit of the few. For example – Jajmani system was interpreted as coercive and exploitative institutions by Marxists like Berreman. A R Desai was critical of harmonious and cooperative picture of Indian village. Similarly, various village studies, a number of them compiled in his book '*Rural Sociology in India, 1959*' studied various other social institutions from Marxist point of view.

However, Marxist perspective suffers from a number of deficiencies, some of which are –

- I. In a bid to give importance to material aspects, it ignored the importance of religion and culture in the lives of people of India. Religion occupies an important place in Indian society and world view of people is influenced by it. This perspective is not capable of portraying a total view of social reality in India and takes only a material view.
- II. Another deficiency has been ignoring of 'caste' as the basis of traditional Hindu social organization. Caste was often equated with class which generated an over-simplistic view of the pattern of social inequalities.
- III. Over emphasis upon conflict led them to overlook integration and solidarity aspect of Indian society. For example – institutions like Jajmani and panchayats were also seen as exploitative.

MARXIST SOCIOLOGY of A R DESAI

He is pioneer of use of Marxist perspective of Indian society. His seminal work '*Social Background of Indian Nationalism*' generates a detailed view of Indian society by using this perspective. This perspective was further popularized through his one of articles '*Relevance of Marxist Perspective in Understanding of Indian Society*' in 1970s.

He also used the dialectical-historical approach in understanding of Indian society. He conducted his village studies in order to identify the contradictions present in Indian society. He also emphasizes comparative approach in his writings. His approach witnesses a transition from an emphasis on understanding to suggestion of alternatives. Like other Marxist scholars, he also tried to expose the contradictions and anomalies in the process of change in Indian society.

He understood society in terms of process of historical development in terms of a dialectical materialist basis. The study of productive relations is used to interpret social structure and institutions. Indian society is and its traditions are seen as influenced by from economic infrastructure i.e. culture is rooted in the economic infrastructure. Systemic view of Indian society is drawn after Marxist model. Desai highlighted the contradictions and conflicts present in India during turbulent decade of 1970s in wake of apparent failure of planned growth. His main focus areas were – state, nationalism, village, peasant struggle, caste etc.

A R Desai on State: He approached the idea of state also from Marxist perspective and hence, he was more interested in the capitalist state. He questioned the notion of 'welfare state' for its many shortcomings in meeting the goals of society. In an essay called '*The Myth of the Welfare State*', Desai provides a detailed critique of this notion. According to him, an ideal welfare state has three core features – it is democratic, it is a mixed economy and it is a positive state rather than a laissez faire state i.e. it intervenes positively when things go out of hand. But according to him, welfare states around the world have failed on these counts as they has not been able to remove poverty, reduce income gaps, eliminate social discrimination, check the capitalist greed and provide employment for all. For these reasons, he termed idea of welfare state as a myth and according to him, in practice only a capitalist state exists. According to him, even communist states have also failed on many of these counts, especially on democracy.

Villages evolved historically in pre-British era and it was a relatively self-sufficient unit in economic relations. It never had considerable exchange relations with the outside world and relations within village were feudal in nature. He saw Jajmani system as an exploitative one. According to him, land revenue and tenure led to formation of new classes and capitalist mode of production was introduced by the British.

He saw nationalism as a result of materialistic conditions created by the British. Exploitation leads to unification of society as there is identification of common enemy. Thus, instead of a pure socio-cultural explanation of rise of nationalism, he put forwards an economic explanation. New means of communication like – Railways, press, post office etc brought people together. Various exploitative mechanisms used by the British led to unintentional unification of Indian society.

He saw peasant struggle as a result of introduction of new mode of production in Indian agriculture. He attributes it to the introduction of exploitative capitalist system as a result, new classes emerge in agriculture.

	GHURYE	SRINIVAS	A R DESAI
Influenced by	W H R rivers; Bhandarkar Institute of Pune	Radcliffe Brown, Evan Pritchard	Marx
Major works	a. Theory of Origin of Caste (on Caste) b. Indian Sadhu (on Religion)	a. Social Change in Modern India, 1962 – (On order and change in Indian Society)	a. Social Background of Indian Nationalism – (on Change in Indian Society) b. Relevance of Marxist Perspective in Understanding of Indian Society
Methods	Book View; Diffusionist Approach (in Understanding caste); Descriptive Ethnography	Field View; Direct Observation; Ethnography	Field View; Historical materialistic approach
Concepts		Dominant Caste, Sanskritization, Westernisation	
General view of society	a. Hindu Society b. Unique c. Order and Change – Change in terms of effect of British rule, changing Hindu tradition	a. Systemic, Holistic b. Functional organization in society c. Order and Change – Change in terms of cultural change – analyzed through case studies which yielded ideas of Sanskritization and Westernisation (Social Change in Modern India, 1962)	a. Historical materialistic view b. Rejected a homogeneous and cooperative image
Perspective	Indological, Modern	Structural functionalist	Conflict

	sociological		
Features in perspective	a. Culture is central b. See Indian Society as unique, so unique approach is required c. Western theories not applicable d. Develop Understanding and not build a theory e. Society as a 'continuity from past' f. Ideal typical view of society, minimum field view	a. Systemic view – Didn't study entities as separate b. Relation to larger function – Family by Kapadia is not studied just as a type but in terms of larger functions c. Structural Cleavages – How they appeared in new changed structural context (not in just cultural perspective) d. Comparative methods – Karve studies kinship e. Anthropological to structural functionalism	a. View of society – Contradictions and conflicts – Jajmani system as exploitative b. Change - Historical materialistic view – Social change in terms of changing economic relations c. Structure - Structure/relations and production relations – Kathleen Gough studies caste class nexus d. Villages and conflict perspective – Land is central
Other contribution to perspective	a. Radha Kamal Mukharjee combined Indological perspective with Empiricism b. D P Mukharjee blended Marxian view with Indology	a. Karve took functionalist view in understanding kinship relations b. Pauline Kolenda also used functional view	a. D P Mukharjee blended Marxian view with Indology b. Kathleen Gough used it in understanding 'Caste Class Nexus'
Contribution to subject	a. One of the founders b. Made Indology a balanced perspective	a. Added systemic view	a. Brought materialistic conception
Key focus areas	a. CASTE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In terms of its diffusion from plains of Ganges to other places Purity and pollution perspective In terms of civil and religious disabilities it poses Losing relevance in modern urban setup b. RELIGION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dynamic Rational explanations of rituals c. VILLAGE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not closed and static Center of Indian life d. TRIBES	a. CASTE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saw caste in terms of the organizational value Took a field view Understood in terms of changing structure – Dominant Caste, Sanskritization etc b. RELIGION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Took both macro and micro view 'Without understanding religion, the understanding of Indian society remains Incomplete' c. VILLAGE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Took systemic view of village – 'Microcosm of 	a. VILLAGES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self Sufficient during British time Based on feudal relations Saw Jajmani Exploitative Land revenue and tenure led to new classes b. NATIONALISM <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Result of materialistic conditions created by the British Exploitation leads to unification of society – identification of common enemy

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Called them as Backward Hindus • Rejected their isolation • Divide them into three categories – <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. Hinduized II. Partially Hinduized III. Hill Section e. URBAN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Center of innovation • Rejected Louis Wirth view of excessive individualism 	<p>Indian Society'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functionalist view of Panchayats • 'Overburdened with Caste' 	
Relevance	<p>Still used and served as basis of many field studies</p> <p>New techniques like content analysis giving a new lease of life.</p>	<p>Predominant form of sociological studies in Indian context today</p>	<p>Highlights the counterintuitive results of the sociological developments for example – Globalization and conflict</p>
Criticism	<p>a. Subjectivity in interpretation – British were negatively biased, Indian scholars had nationalistic bias</p> <p>b. Ideal typical view of society</p>	<p>a. Ignored conflict</p> <p>b. Lacked purity in approach, Indology was apparent in views</p>	<p>a. Ignored organizational aspect of social institutions like caste</p> <p>b. Lacked purity in approach, Indology was apparent in views</p> <p>c. Ignored religion and culture</p>

IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON INDIAN SOCIETY

Colonialism and capitalism led to a complex integration of colonies into world economy in a subservient manner. Indian raw material was cheaply exported and finished goods were expensively imported which also destroyed domestic industries. This subservient and disadvantaged position led to extremely poor domestic savings – less than 3% of GNP, as compared to 33% today. Even this chunk of savings was misappropriated by the colonial rulers in form of economic drain, military and administrative spending. From 1890 to 1947, military spending amounted 50% of total government budget. State support to industries was zero in contrast to most of the European countries at that time. While free trade was established with India no tariff protection was given to fledgling Indian industry which was done aggressively at home. Similarly, currency policy was manipulated in colonial favor.

Further, tax structure was highly iniquitous, as peasantry was heavily taxed and upper class like bureaucrats, landlords etc paid hardly any tax. In 1900, land revenue alone contributed more than 50% – it has been abolished altogether in Independent India – of government revenues and salt tax another 16%. As a result, poor investment and lack of modernization of agriculture led to poor produce and stagnation. Moneylenders, landlords and middlemen made the situation worse and they too find exploitation of sharecroppers, tenants and laborers easier than investing in agriculture. At the time of independence, 70% land was with landlords and landlessness was at historic high level of 28% at time of independence. Land holdings had fragmented to uneconomical sizes.

British rule also transformed the administrative structure of India. New administrative units were formed in form of provinces and new bureaucratic machinery was put in place. Rule of law was established, but it was not true to its spirit and Indians were discriminated by law. Political system was also impacted as ideas of democracy and equality also took roots in India. Formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was the first step in this direction. Administrative unity also led to political unity as well and later a pan Indian feeling also gave birth to nationalistic feeling as well.

In cultural sphere, education and missionaries were the big influencing agents. English education on the one hand led to decline of older systems of education, it opened up new avenues on the other hand and Indians were introduced to modern ideas.

Port towns and coastal areas were the ones which were the most impacted by the British rule as they were the centers of economic and political activity.

Social Background of Indian Nationalism

It was in the colonial period that a specifically pan-Indian consciousness took shape. Colonial rule unified all of the India for the first time – economically, administratively and through vast communication network, and brought in the forces of modernization and capitalist economic change. The economic, political and administrative unification of India under colonial rule was achieved at great expense. Colonial exploitation and domination scarred Indian society in many ways and different sections had their own reasons as well to get rid of the foreign rule. The British also tried their best to divide the

population and prevent the modernization fearing the development of a common feeling. But paradoxically, the same actions of colonialism gave birth to its own enemy – nationalism.

Various social factors which played a role in the growth of nationalism are –

- I. **Economic Contradictions** – Contradictions of the British rule were exposed for the first time in the economic field and it was exposed in the writings of many prominent nationalists like Dadabhai Naroji and R C Dutt. Unequal control over forces of production and export of surplus was exposed by early nationalists. Images of pre-colonial fabled riches of India were contrasted with the poverty of British India. The Swadeshi movement further strengthened the loyalty to the national economy.
- II. **Political Awakening** – First move was made in form of establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. It was realized that way to achievement of nationalistic goal is through political power. Political struggle led to gradual reforms and it also led to mobilization of masses.
- III. **Role of Charismatic Personalities** – Many charismatic leaders like Gandhi, Subhash, Tilak also played a leadership role in mobilizing millions of masses and united them.
- IV. **Role of Modern Ideas and Education** – Indians in the colonial period read about western liberalism and freedom. Yet they lived under a western, colonial rule that denied Indians liberty and freedom. It is contradictions of this kind that shaped many of the structural and cultural changes. Indian nationalist leaders were quick to grasp this irony.
- V. **Role of Middle Class** – Colonialism created new classes and communities which came to play significant roles in subsequent history. The urban middle classes were the main carriers of nationalism and they led the campaign for freedom. The emerging middle classes began, with the aid of western style education, to challenge colonialism on its own ground. Ironically, colonialism and western education also gave the impetus for the rediscovery of tradition. This led to the developments on the cultural and social front which solidified emergent forms of community at the national and regional levels.
- VI. **Cultural Revolt** – Colonial interventions also crystallized religious and caste based communities. These too became major players. In fact, attack on cultural identities became the basis of the first war of independence of 1857. Cultural arrogance and a sense of superiority of white British also provoked Indians to prove them wrong. Along with secular ideals of liberty and self rule, cultural dimensions were also highlighted by the leaders like Tilak, Annie Besant, Veer Savarkar etc. They declared that freedom or *swaraj* was their birth-right and fought for both political and economic freedom.
- VII. **Reformist and Revivalist Agenda** – Social reform agenda was also clubbed with agenda of unification. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dayanand Saraswati also preached nationalism as well. A R Desai saw socio-religious movements as an expression of national awakening due to contradictions between the old value system and new economic realities. First war of independence sought to revive the glorious period of Indian history and Bahadur Shah Jafar was chosen as a symbol of that.

- VIII. **Impact of Global Events** – Events like Russian Revolution aroused the revolutionary spirits in India as well. Defeat of imperial powers like Italy at the hand of Ethiopia also boosted morale of nationalists in colonial countries like India. Communist nationalism also grew in the meanwhile in 1930s both within and outside Congress.
- IX. **Communalism and Divisive Politics** – British policy of divide and rule also sowed seeds of a parallel nationalism as well which ultimately led to the bifurcation of nation at the time of independence.

Nationalism passed through various stages which are marked by various phases of national movement. Till the first half of 20th century, political movement was dominated by moderate nationalists who lacked a mass base and hence, nationalist feelings were also limited to middle class and intellectual circles. Mass based movement started with arrival of Gandhian politics. A parallel aggressive nationalism also emerged in form of revolutionary movements in various parts of India. However, the nationalism was bifurcated while national struggle was still going on and Muslims started to demand a separate nation. There were other hurdles as well in the rise of nationalism including – casteism, communalism including Hindu communalism, poor response of Southern provinces, divisive politics of the British, poor response of princely states, regionalism and so on.

Rise of Indian nationalism can also be studied from many different perspectives –

- I. Historians like Romila Thapar, K M Panicker and Stevenson argue that despite invasions, mixing and confrontation a single dominant culture never existed in India and even no culture threatened the other to subjugation. As a result composite culture evolved. In such an environment, nationalism in India evolved not out of a common single cultural heritage, but it developed under same colonial ideology which it fought with.
- II. Another strand tried to invoke nationalist spirit through re-interpretation of tradition and invoking past glory. Arya Samaj belonged to this category. Revival of traditional festivals like Shivaji Festival, Ganpati Festival by Tilak was also a part of this strand.
- III. National leaders like Nehru realized that to fight colonialism, first regional aspirations have to take backseat and spirit of nationalism need to come at forefront. Thus, to unify divided India and prevent its Balkanization, nationalism was a pre-requisite.
- IV. A R Desai on the other hand considers Indian nationalism is a product of material conditions in India and nationalism was non-existent before the arrival of the British. New material conditions were a result of industrialization, new land policy and modernization. British rule led to economic disintegration as well as economic reforms which led to birth of new social consciousness and class structure through which nationalism followed. Different classes like industrialists, peasants etc have their own grievances which along with common desire for freedom led to birth of nationalism. According to him, role of education in birth of nationalism is overplayed and instead change in material conditions was the real cause. Class based inequalities and contradictions, according to Desai, determine the nature of social change.
- V. A common exploitative land tenure system, a uniform emergent pan-Indian working class and new classes were other contributing factors.

Amidst this, there was opposition to this process as well, especially from South India and depressed castes. Periyar debunked Gandhian idea of nationalism as alien to Dravidians. He saw in it an attempt to foist upon them Brahminic culture. Similarly, Ambedkar too rejected Gandhian nationalism and argued that it gives moral justification to caste based inequalities. However, the most serious impediment emerged in form of 'two nation theory'.

Modernization of Indian Tradition

According to Yogendra Singh, modernization is a form of cultural response, involving attributes which are basically universalistic and evolutionary; they are pan-humanistic, trans-ethnic and non-ideological.

Process of modernization of Indian tradition started during British rule, but it was not a linear uni-directional process as it happened in West, but it also involved a dialectical relationship between modernity and tradition and modern was also traditionalized in the process, though in less significant manner. Modernization of tradition includes change in traditional institutions, values and processes like caste, family, kinship, political and social organization, religion and so on.

Introduction of new means of communication like – railway, telephone and telegram hastened the process. New administrative and judicial system changed the social outlook. New types of jobs changed occupational stance. Literature and art made cultural and psychological impact. A new type of scientific and rational thinking made ideological and value impact. Universalism, individualism and secularism questioned the existing beliefs of hierarchy, particularism etc. Industrialization and urbanization changed the social structure. Early carriers of modernization were urban middle class elite who first came into contact of westerners. Education became a big symbol of modernization and it influenced all aspects of tradition – food habits, dressing, language and so on. According to Yogendra Singh, it not only impacted cultural aspects, but also structural aspects as well. New social classes emerged. Power situation was altered. New political system and new economic practices led to formation of new elite classes and new deprived sections. Due to industrialization and urbanization, professional class and working classes emerged. Trade unions emerged as new organizations. Older economic institutions like Jajmani system perished with arrival of money economy.

Modernization was sometimes even hindered by the undue emphasis of Indians on mysticism and renunciation. On the contrary, the West has succeeded in setting aside their feudal past. Individual got prominence in industrial society which has not completely happened in case of India. Caste and religion also remained strong and even became stronger. So, modernization in some way strengthened some aspects of tradition as well. Now, caste is not confined to ritual sphere only, caste association, casteism have made it even more conspicuous.

Modernization also had ill side-effects as well. Economic system was severely damaged and cultural values of Indians were represented as inferior in a prejudiced manner. Education was worst sufferer and absence of mass education along with breakdown of traditional *guru-shishya parampara* without its replacement left masses untouched from benefit of education. Modernization itself was lopsided one. Some regions benefited and others didn't which laid the foundation of region based inequalities. Urban-rural inequalities were deepened.

Today, in post British period, in the sphere of rituals and religion also modernization has influenced tradition. For example – today, a considerable part of ritual in India has direct reference to the pursuit of secular ends and morals. During the last few decades in particular, the economic, political and status dimensions of ritual have become increasingly conspicuous, and the number of cars lined up outside a wedding house and the VIPs who attended the wedding, provide the index to the household's standing in the local community. In political sphere also, democratic institutions are replacing traditional feudal institutions. In economic sphere capitalism and market is replacing traditional forms of production. Traditionally, seasonal cycles determined the days of the celebration; now dates for the celebration have been formalized with each marked on the official government calendar.

YOGENDRA SINGH on MODERNIZATION of INDIAN TRADITION

He has critically examined the concept of cultural change through the various processes defined by various sociologists like – Sanskritization, Westernization, Little and Great Tradition and so on in his work '*Modernization of Indian Tradition, 1973*'. He highlights limitation of such concepts as they explain only cultural dynamics and not structural changes. His idea of social change/modernization is essentially a combination of cultural as well as structural change. He has an integrated approach in analyzing social change in India and he considers all factors of social change or modernization viz – source of change (orthogenetic or heterogenetic), cultural change (Sanskritization, Westernization, Great Tradition etc) and structural change (at Micro level and Macro level).

He adopts an evolutionary approach and his analysis has two dimensions –

- I. First he locates sources of social change as – endogenous/orthogenetic or exogenous/heterogenetic. Orthogenetic sources include Sanskritization, cultural renaissance are endogamous sources of cultural change and migration, population change, elite circulation, royal successions etc at structural level. Heterogenetic sources of social change include – Islamic influence in the medieval period, Western influence in modern period.
- II. In second dimension he sees social change in India both in terms of changes in '*social structure*' and changes in '*tradition/culture*'. At cultural level modernization of tradition took place in form of infusion of modern values of rationality, scientific outlook, modern education, urbanization, struggle against social evils, and amelioration of caste system and so on. According to him, theories of Sanskritization, Westernization, Little and Great Tradition etc were an attempt to explain cultural change in society. On the other hand, at structural level, institutions of bureaucracy, middle class, new class of industrial elite, army, working class etc were result of modernization of tradition in structural terms. These were largely at macro level and have a pan-Indian effect.
- III. Structural changes in tradition is studied from further two point of views –
 - a. Micro Changes in structure analogous to little tradition and it includes linkages which have limited boundaries like related to a linguistic region, a kinship ties based territory etc. For example – changes in caste, family, village community etc.

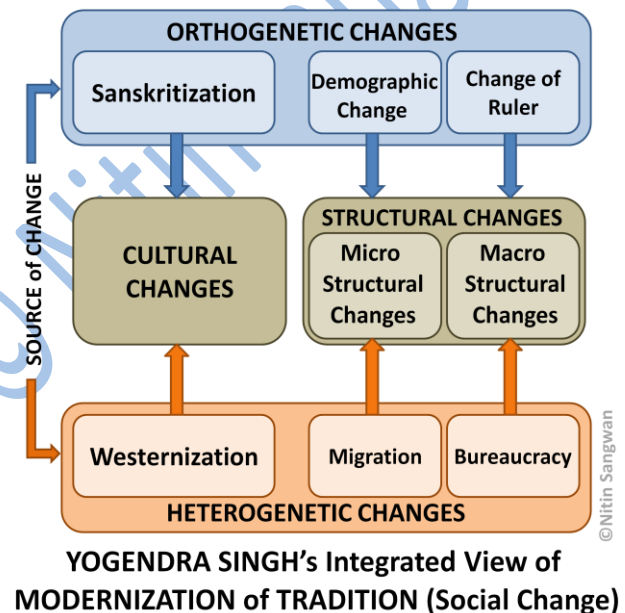
- b. Macro Changes in structure analogous to great tradition, pan Indian relations like – political, industrial, bureaucratic and urban structures have been identified. Role of bureaucracy, industrial elite and political elite has been studied.

Both at micro level and macro level, structure offers resilience to the forces of modernization and there is strain also at times. Further, there is relative independence between the two levels and changes at macro level often fail to have effect at micro level. This explains local cultural continuity in different parts of India and the selective syncretism it has witnessed. Similarly, innovation at one micro level didn't lead to breakdown of social structure as a whole.

Changes in tradition started to manifest in considerable sense only after contact with West as earlier contact with Islam didn't bring about modernization as it also cherished values which were rooted in tradition. So, there was social change, but not modernization. Further, all changes due to contact with West were not modernizing and some of them even reinforced traditional institutions. So there is no clear contrariety between modernization and tradition.

In fact, modernization of tradition was selective and micro structure was even deliberately left undisturbed by colonial rulers. They distanced themselves from caste and village community. It was only after communal electorate that some aspects of micro structure were significantly affected by modernizing influence. National movement and social reforms also played their part in this modernization process.

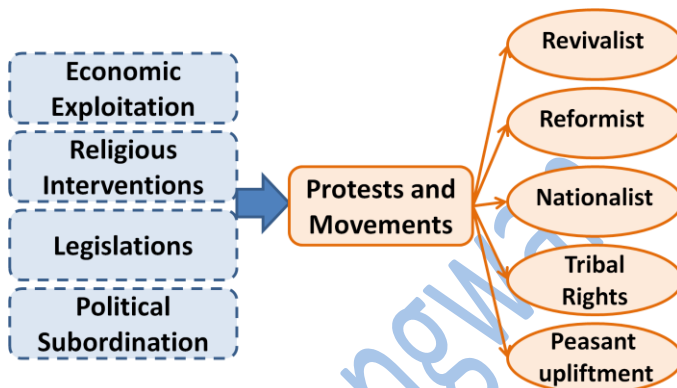
He further argues that, changes in tradition have been in nature of 'adaptive changes' in traditional structure and not due to breakdown or dissociation. Thus a form of '*neo-traditionalisation*' proceeds along with modernization.



Protests and Movements during the Colonial Period

From definitional perspective, protests are generally issue based and relatively short lived as compared to movements. Colonial rule saw numerous types of protests and social movements arising out of discontent with colonial rules and structural disparities of Indian society. Colonial rules led to many changes to traditional social structure which was resisted by Indians. Their economic policies, their religious policies, their social policies all led to reactions from Indians. So, causes were both internal as well as external. For example – while peasant movements were largely result of excesses of colonial policies, caste movements were result of internal fault lines in Indian society.

Various social movements were – tribals movements, backward class movements, peasants movements, women movements, religious movements, nationalistic movements, educational movements, industrial or labor movements and so on. Most of them were issue based and concerned minimum needs under an oppressive rule in an unequal society. Leadership was generally from inside, but some enlightened Europeans also lent helping hand. Most of them were driven by interest ideology, but some of them were also integrated with nationalistic ideology. Ideology of many of social movements was also influenced by the Western liberal ideas to which Indian society was exposed as a result of colonial rule.



Main socio religious reform movements were – Brahmo Samaj, Prarthna Samaj, Arya Samaj, Aligarh Movement and so on. Similarly tribal movements were – Rampa rebellion, Khond rebellion, Koya rebellion and so on. Peasant movements included – Champaran movement, Kheda Satyagraha, Tebhaga movement.

According to Sumit Sarkar, movements and protests before independence period were localized in nature and were not nationalistic. They were driven by interest ideology. They were millenarian movements as people participating in these movements always dreamed of their golden past, which will again be revisited. These movements are broadly classified as – peasant protests and movements, tribal protests and movements, reform movements.

Budhadeb Choudhary classifies movements during colonial period as – revivalist and reactionary. For example – Tana Bhagat movement was a revivalist movement. Causes were rooted in cultural and economic exploitation of tribals. Similarly, Arya Samaj movement was also a revivalist movement.

There were reformatory movements as well. According to Dhanagare, idea of peasant and tribal movement is often stretched too far by historian to associate them with national movement. However, they were mostly interest focused and transitory, while national movement was continuous.

Many movements and protests gained considerable traction and also became part of nationalistic agenda. Peasant movements laid foundation of agrarian reform agenda post independence. Similarly, women's movements led to legislations like Anti Sati legislation, Sarda Act etc. Similarly, workers movement led to regulation of work hours. Religious reform movements like Akali movement led to reforms of Gurudwara management. Many of the movements, hence, achieved their objective fully or partially.

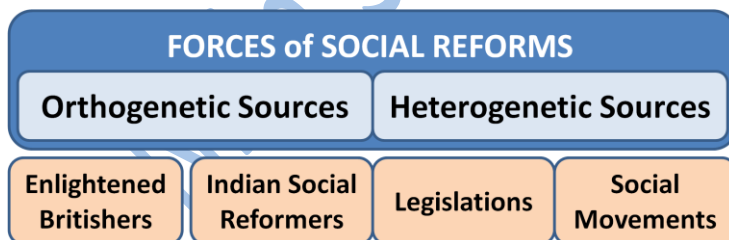
Protests and movements during colonial rules are also seen with skepticism by some as many of them, especially reform movements, saw only elite participation and they could never become mass movements to bring any significant structural change. So, they were often called as 'denationalized and westernized' movements. Secondly, they were also narrow in their approach and most of the time were localized and often excluded the part of India which fell under the princely states.

Movements during colonial rule in a way laid down the foundation of social change in India as ideas behind many of the movements were also affected by Western ideas of equality and liberty for all. They also, in a way checked the decadence of Indian society and led to national awakening. Protests and movements during colonial period also bred nationalistic sentiments and many of them worked in tandem with national freedom struggle and helped in achieving independence.

Social Reforms during Colonial Rule

British advent into India also brought modern ideas and reformatory approach. Much orthodoxy was prevalent in India when British arrived in India. While Sati, child marriage and patriarchy ailed women, caste, untouchability ailed lower castes, educational backwardness, superstition, health problems ailed society at large.

Social reforms during colonial rule came as a result of both orthogenetic and heterogenetic changes and were pursued by many enlightened Britishers like William Bentick, Metcalfe, Ripon etc, by many other Western social activists like Madam Annie Besant, many Western educated Indians like Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Justice Ranade etc, by many local social reformers like Mahatma Gandhi, Jyotiba Phule, Narayan Guru etc, by many indigenous social organizations like Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, by Women's organizations like Sarda Sadan, All India Women's Conference etc, by various social legislations and institutional mechanisms.



Abolition of Sati Act, 1829 was perhaps first major social legislation which was work of some enlightened Indian social reformers like Raja Ram Mohun Roy and British legislators. Brahmo Samaj worked especially for the upliftment of women. Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 was another landmark legislation which further strengthened position of women. Later other champions of women's rights like Margareta Cousins, Annie Besant etc strived for political rights for women as well.

In 1843 'The Indian Slavery Act' was also passed.

Caste system was attacked by likes of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule who also worked for women's upliftment. Ambedkar and Gandhiji also worked at ground level to reform the caste system. In 1850, 'Removal of the Caste Disability Act' was also passed by colonial government. Self-respect movement in south India was another example to oppose caste. Temple entry and Guruvayur Satyagrah were other reformatory movements.

Sarda Act, 1929 (Child Marriage Act) aimed at reforming institution of marriage in India despite stiff opposition from conservative Hindu groups.

Education was another area where social legislations were made. First major development in the field of education was made with the establishment of Woods Despatch (1854) by the then Secretary of State Woods. It recommended promotion of both Western educations at the same time of promotion of Vernacular education at primary level for education of masses. As a result of this dispatch, universities

were established at Calcutta (Jan 1857) Bombay (Jul 1857), Madras (Sep 1857), Punjab (1882) and Allahabad (1887). Another big push came in 1929, with the establishment of Hartog Commission which recommended reforms at elementary level and university level.

However, reformist agenda of British is taken with a pinch of salt by many scholars. Their educational policy undermined local knowledge base and traditional knowledge. Their bid to reform tribals led to their alienation and tribal unrest. They also didn't not pay much attention on reforming caste due to fears of a cultural mutiny. Condition of women also remained deplorable till the time of independence. Condition of peasantry and rural inequalities were worst.

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

PART B – SOCIAL STRUCTURE

RURAL and AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Rural social structure includes all the social institutions like caste, class, kinships, religion and other institutions. Agrarian Social Structure primarily includes social institutions and relations which are directly linked with the land and agriculture.

Changes have occurred in social structure and leadership in villages after gaining independence due to various factors e.g. land reforms, social legislation, Panchayati raj, parliamentary politics, development programmes and agrarian movements.

Idea of Indian Village

Historically, India is deemed as a land of villages. Village in India is not merely a spatial unit, but it is Indian society in miniature. According to Andre Beteille – *'Village was not merely a place where people lived... It had a design in which were reflected basic values of Indian society'*.

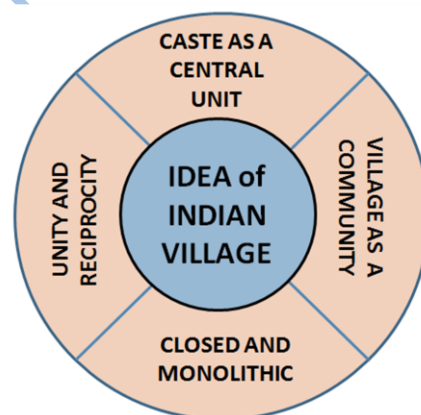
Since ancient times, attempts have been made to understand Indian villages. The idea of Indian village in pre-British period is drawn from various indological sources, literary works etc. Villages were considered as micro-cosmos of traditional Hindu social organization and were mainly understood in cultural terms.

Early idea of Indian village was developed by mainly using book view by British administrators and scholars. Indian village was understood and portrayed as unchanging by British officials like Metcalfe. He saw Indian villages as 'little republic' – monolithic, atomistic and unchanging. He wrote – *'Village communities are 'little republics' having everything they want within themselves and independent of any foreign relations'*. Western writers saw in the Indian village a remnant or survival from what was called *'the infancy of society'*. Others like Maine, Munroe, Baden Powell too had similar views. Religion was seen as orthodox and caste as essential part of village life. Further, early view was also influenced by the colonial interests as well.

There was other extreme view of Nationalists who glorified Indian village as authentic model of true India and storehouse of Indian culture and civilization.

However, there were likes of Gandhiji also who were careful enough to not glorify the decay of villages over times, but at the same time celebrating the simplicity of village life.

The colonial idea of Indian village was greatly corrected upon by later Indologists like Ghurye and other scholars. Some rural survey done post 1920s to get an economic picture of hinterlands also helped in formation of a new picture. For example – Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry in 1920s, Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry of 1930s conducted such surveys. J C Kumarappa made significant contribution. Idea



IDEA of INDIAN VILLAGE evolved over time and village was viewed as a microcosm of Indian society

of Indian village matured significantly with establishment of Sociology as a discipline. Oppression of British rule was highlighted. Peasant struggles and impoverishment of peasantry was also highlighted. It was shown that villages were not as isolated as British had projected. There was migration, village exogamy, inter-village economic ties in form of Jajmani system and so on.

A more realistic picture was presented after the numerous field studies that were done right after independence in 1950s and colonial notions of village as a closed, isolated and unchanging entity. Book view gave way for field work for more realistic assessment of villages. Villages were also studied in terms of their economic basis. Cropping patterns were studied and agrarian structures were analyzed. Evils prevailing in Indian villages were also realistically assessed and a holistic account of not only economic condition, but social and cultural situation was also taken.

According to Dumont, *'a village is far more than a locale, more than just a collection of houses and fields'*. It was not as isolated as the British had projected. Similarly, according to Andre Beteille in his study *'Sripuram: A Village in Tanjore District, 1962'*, *'At least as far back in times as living memory goes, there was no reason to believe that village was fully self sufficient even in economic sphere'*. Observations by others like B R Chauhan indicate that due to enormous structural and cultural variations among the villages, they cannot be confined in strict typological terms.

After independence, on the back of civic reforms, land reforms and establishment of rule of law, traditional inequalities in village came under great strain in 1950s. With abolition of land revenue, villages now had a different pattern of relation with the revenue officials. New schemes of Panchayati Raj and Community Development also changed the picture of traditional Indian village. Today, competition for resources has increased in villages and there are conflicts also at times. Power dynamics have also changed due to arrival of universal adult suffrage and elections. As a result, role of caste Panchayats has also been diluted except in a few ritual spheres.

Village Studies

Though some field work was done in pre-independence period also, village studies became a prominent feature of study of Indian society in 1950s-60s. Earlier they were either led by colonial administrators or Indologists. Study of Indian villages began in 18th century itself with intensive survey of land holdings. Early approaches included those influenced by the book view and such studies formed a textually informed orthodox view of Indian villages. Purpose of such colonial studies was either to make an economic assessment or draw a cultural map of India for rulers. W H R Rivers's study of The Todas in 1906 was based on intensive field work and was the first monograph on a people of India in the modern anthropological tradition. Some other well known village studies of colonial times include – *'Behind Mud Walls, 1930'*, was written by William and Charlotte Wiser, a missionary couple who lived for five years in a village in United Provinces, studies by Robert Redfield, Munro, Metcalfe, Reed etc.

Village Studies marked a shift from book view to field view in Indian sociology and rejected static view of village and corrected colonial stereotype. Since sociologists consider village as foundation of understanding of Indian society, village studies are important. They were *also important to gauge the true picture of villages to properly plan and implement developmental policies in a newly independent*

nation whose population was predominantly rural. The ‘village community’ was identified as the social foundation of the peasant economy in India. Village studies also meant study of caste and inequality.

After Independence, major agenda was to study villages so as to find out the socio-economic makeup so that realistic policies may be formulated by government. Economic surveys were done along with anthropological studies. While economists used quantitative techniques and their method was ‘more scientific’, the anthropological approach had its own advantages. Anthropological studies provided qualitative analysis. Village studies now included all the dimensions of study – structure, culture and change.

In the 1950s, many anthropologists and sociologists, both Indian and foreign, began working on village life and society. Village studies were important because they provided Indian sociology with a subject that was of great interest in newly independent India. The government was interested in developing rural India. And even urban educated Indians were very interested in village life because most of them retained some family and recent historical links to villages. Above all, villages were the places where most Indians lived (and still do).

Among the first works on the subject, ‘*Village India: Studies in the Little Community*’ by McKim Marriott, 1955, was brought out under the direct supervision of Redfield.

M.N. Srinivas compiled many essays in the form of a book with the title ‘*India’s Villages*’ in 1955.

Perhaps the best known example of field work is reported in M.N. Srinivas’s famous book, ‘*The Remembered Village, 1976*’. Srinivas spent a year in a village near Mysore that he named Rampura. The Indian village and village society remained a life-long focus of interest for Srinivas. Using historical and sociological evidence, Srinivas showed that the village had, in fact, experienced considerable change. Moreover, villages were never self-sufficient, and had been involved in various kinds of economic, social and political relationships at the regional level. Srinivas also published another important work ‘*India’s Villages*’ during 1950s.

S C Dube also published his full length study of a village Shamirpet near Hyderabad, ‘*Indian Village*’ in 1955. As a social anthropologist at Osmania University, Dube was part of a multidisciplinary team – including the departments of agricultural sciences, economics, veterinary sciences and medicine – that studied a village called Shamirpet near Secunderabad. This large collective project was meant not only to study the village but also to develop it. In fact, Shamirpet was meant to be a sort of laboratory where experiments in designing rural development programmes could be carried out. Dube identified six factors that contributed towards the status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet – religion and caste, landownership, wealth, position in government service and village organization, age, and distinctive personality traits.

Andre Beteille in his study ‘*Sripuram: A Village in Tanjore District, 1962*’ stated that – ‘*At least as far back in times as living memory goes, there was no reason to believe that village was fully self sufficient even in economic sphere*’.

A R Desai on the other hand viewed Indian village as isolated at least in economic terms. He added a new dimension by using Marxist perspective in his works ‘*Rural Society in India*’ and ‘*Peasant Struggle in India*’.

Studies during 1980s and 1990s were far less and much focused in approach. These mainly contained the idea of revisiting the village or focusing on specific issue like – status of women, Dalit issues, impact of green revolution etc.

Village studies presented many results and explained village in terms of its features like –

- I. These studies helped in contesting the dominant stereotype of the Indian village made popular by the colonial administrators. They showed that India's villages had been well integrated into the broader economy and society of the region even before the colonial rule introduced new agrarian legislation.
- II. These studies also offered an alternative to the dominant 'book-view' of India constructed by Indologists and orientalist from the Hindu scriptures. They broke many notions like – caste is completely closed group.
- III. Village was not a homogeneous entity in time and space and is internally differentiated in diverse groupings and had a complex structure of social relations. Studies by Karve and Kolenda studied variations in kinship and family.
- IV. Primary focus of these studies was on the social and ritual life of the village people, but they also deepened our understanding of the political and economic life in the rural society
- V. Village is an important source of identity for villagers. They attach notions of respect, insult and pride with their village. Insult of one's village, according to Srinivas, has to be avenged like insult of one's father, brother and wife. Adrian Mayer termed such solidarity as '*Village patriotism*'.
- VI. Despite caste and community diversity, village is united in its economic, social and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations.
- VII. Great value is attached on neighborhood and village as a community.
- VIII. Some of the studies also cautioned against an over harmonized picture. Studies by F G Bailey, Lewis, Andre Beteille etc also highlighted divisive tendencies. F.G. Bailey, for example provided a radical critique of the 'unity-reciprocity' thesis and highlighted the coercive aspects of caste relations. Similarly, Beteille had argued in his study of village '*Sripuram as a whole constituted a unit in a physical sense and, to a much lesser extent, in the social sense*'. He also highlighted the gender dimension and according to him, the village was not only caste conscious, it was also class and gender conscious.
- IX. Village life is also viewed as essentially a religious life.
- X. It was from the village studies that the concepts like Sanskritisation, dominant caste, segmental structures, harmonic and disharmonic systems emerged

Village studies post independence, thus, provided a much holistic, diverse and authentic picture of Indian village.

However, village studies were also constrained by a number of factors. They were limited in their focus and didn't develop any new theoretical perspective which could be applied in other villages as well. The method of participant observation that was the main strength of these studies also imposed certain limitations on the fieldworkers. It also limited their access to the dominant groups in the local society. They chose to avoid asking all those questions or approaching those subordinate groups, which they thought, could offend the dominant interests in the village. The anxiety of the researchers to get

accepted by the village community made their work conservative in outlook. Further, different sections of village had a different picture of village based on their social position. This made choice of researchers difficult to arrive at a single narrative.

Agrarian Social Structure – Evolution of Land Tenure System and Land Reforms

The term agrarian structure is often used to refer to the structure or distribution of landholding. Because agricultural land is the most important productive resource in rural areas, access to land shapes the rural class structure as well. Historically, caste and land were also linked. Usually, dominant and upper castes had the control over the land and the lower castes barely had any land. Thus, land-caste and class were intimately linked.

LAND TENURE SYSTEM

Tenure is derived from 'teneo' – means 'to hold'. It refers to conditions under which land is held. Land was centerpiece of economy in past and still holds an important place in it.

Historically, land in India was not private property and was held as a matter of traditional right. Coomarswamy indicates that it belonged to village community. Majumdar indicates it belonged to king. According to A R Desai, king was only partial owner as he had given rights over land to certain group like officers, priests etc. During Sultanate period also, big changes in tenure system didn't happen, however Mughal period saw considerable changes and traditional right was still accepted, but in exchange of taxes. Monetary tax was also introduced. Country was systematically divided into units like Pargana, Taluks etc and officers like Zamindars, Talukdars etc were appointed to extract revenue. There were some other forms of tenure like – Ryotwari, Patta – were also in vogue. After Aurangzeb's death, centralized power of Mughal Empire declined and land was leased to highest bidder for a fixed sum. However, land tenure system in modern sense evolved only during British period.

British rule made significant changes in Land tenure system and land was for the first time linked to market. British introduced three broad systems of land tenure or land reforms viz – Zamindari system, Ryotwari system, Mahalwari system.

Zamindari System was introduced during Cornwallis in 1793 in areas of Bengal and Bihar. This was also called permanent settlement system as land was settled permanently with Zamindar who was given land for a fixed sum and payment to British government at a fixed rate. In turn, Zamindar was given the right to collect land revenue. Sub-Zamindars and a hierarchy of Zamindars also emerged and Zamindars often charged unreasonably high land revenue. Land revenue was as high as 3/4th of produce in some areas. It led to mass impoverishment in such areas and also pushed the agriculture into backwardness.

In Madras and other provinces **Ryotwari** System was introduced by Munro and Reed. It was first introduced in Bombay. Under this, each ryot or peasant was recognized as a proprietor by law. Thus, revenue was paid directly by the peasant to the government. Hence, this reduced some of the hardship of the peasantry. However, this system was also no less exploitative. Small

Zamindars were replaced by state as a bigger Zamindar and government officials often exploited the peasant class. A new class of peasant was created in the long run which were subordinate to ryots or proprietors and instances of agriculture labor increased.

In UP and Punjab, **Mahalwari** system was introduced by McKenzie in 1833. In this settlement was done with entire village. Panchayat acted as an intermediary in this system. Each villager had a fixed share and in distress, other villagers could make up for his share. Mahal or village was a fiscal unit instead of small land tracts.

Apart from other three predominant systems, there were also other systems like *Jagirdari* etc.

Impact of land tenure system during British rule –

- I. Economic Impact – It led to mass proletarianisation of peasantry and it was maximum in Zamindari areas. Land was commercialized. In some areas commercial farming was also promoted. Traditional crops gave way to cash-crops. In many areas good land was diverted to cash-crops. High taxes pushed rural areas into indebtedness. These system discouraged investment and capitalization of Indian agriculture and Indian agriculture remained backward. It was compounded by the slow pace of industrialization in India and as landholdings were depleted, agriculture became over-crowded.
- II. Social Impact – It was closely wedded with economic impact, it gradually altered the agrarian social structure. New social classes were formed. Caste was compounded by class Social inequalities were widened leading to conflicts. Whole social fabric including Jajmani system, family and Panchayat underwent a change.

After independence, efforts were made to give land directly in hands of the tillers. Many state led legislations aimed at reforming tenancy laws. Ceiling was also imposed. Many other reforms were also initiated to eliminate intermediaries and land revenue.

LAND REFORMS

Before colonial times, land was owned by aristocracy and there were no popular ownership rights among the ruled. British, to enhance their revenues introduced reforms in form of tenure systems like Zamindari System, Ryotwari System etc, but it led to exploitation of peasantry. It also worked in disfavor of overall farm community as it didn't lead to advanced mode of production and agriculture in India remained backward, productivity declined as land holding size decreased and peasants often left their lands to escape oppressive revenue and tenure terms. In this background, land reforms were required to both ameliorate the condition of farmers as well as introduce a scientific outlook in Indian agriculture.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, a series of land reform laws were passed by the welfare state to improve condition of farmers, bring food security, bring agriculture out of colonial backwardness and improve efficiency of Indian agriculture and so on. Thus, goal was not only to bring about social justice, but also to improve productivity of land. Social justice was planned by eliminating intermediaries, conferring land rights on landless and removal of taxes.

First major landmark was in form of '*Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, 1949*' headed by J C Kumarappa. Its biggest recommendation was abolition of feudal intermediaries. It called for '*land to the tiller*'. Second Plan also suggested sweeping reforms. Land reforms in India were primarily from 'above' in form of legislations. However, some movements like Bhoodan, Gramdan were also started aiming at reforms from 'below'. There were also some other effort in form of militant movements as in case of Telangana movement, Naxalbari and Bargadari movements which coerced governments to enact enabling legislations. Major areas of reforms included –

Bhoodan and Gramdan: The Bhoodan movement was launched in 1951 by Gandhian social worker Acharya Vinoba Bhave immediately after the peasant uprising in Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh. After some years, another movement known as Gramdan came into being in 1957. The objective was to persuade landowners and leaseholders in each concerned village to renounce their land rights, after which all the lands would become the property of a village association for the egalitarian redistribution and for purpose of joint cultivation. Vinoba Bhave hoped to eliminate private ownership of land through Bhoodan and Gramdan.

However, the movement failed to meet its target, and the land that was collected was also either of poor quality of was disputed in many instances. Of the total land of about 42.6 lakh acres, received through Bhoodan, more than 17.3 lakh acres were rejected as they were found unfit for cultivation.

- I. **Abolition of Intermediaries** – The first important legislation was the abolition of the Zamindari system and elimination of intermediaries. Revenue system and taxes were abolished. This was relatively successful as there was general negative perception towards Zamindars and intermediaries. As a result of abolition of intermediaries between 1950 and 1960, nearly 20 million cultivators in the country were brought into direct contact with the Government.
- II. **Tenancy reforms** – Among the other major land reform laws that were introduced were the tenancy reforms, security of tenure and rent regulation Acts. In West Bengal and Kerala, there was a radical restructuring of the agrarian structure that gave land rights to the tenants. In West Bengal Operation Barga was launched under communist leadership which led to passing of legislation as well as forced occupation of sharecroppers. But in other part of country it didn't take off very well. Land owners were apprehensive of entering into formal contracts as they were skeptical that prolonged occupancy of tenants may deprive original owners of their lands. As a result, tenancy reforms were implemented in just 4% of the area.
- III. **Land ceilings and redistribution of land holdings** – The third major category of land reform laws were the Land Ceiling Acts. But in most of the states these acts proved to

be toothless despite their major revision in 1972 after Chief Ministers' conference. Only 2% of the operational area could be brought under it. J&K, West Bengal and Assam were a few exceptions. Flawed laws, frequent litigations, collusion of landlords, administrators and politicians marred these reforms. Government clearly lacked a political will to pursue these. By end of 10th plan, 2.09 million hectares were distributed among 5.5 million beneficiaries.

- IV. **Reorganization and consolidation of land holdings** – Reorganization of agriculture was also carried out in form of consolidation of land holdings, cooperative farming etc. Small uneconomical landholdings were grouped together and redistribute to make cultivation economical. It also had a limited impact except in states of Haryana and Punjab where green revolution made it a requirement as fertilizers and HYV application required consolidated holdings. As on 31 March 2003, the total area consolidated was 66.10 million hectares, against a total cultivable area of 142 million hectares.
- V. **Cooperative Farming** – It was also mooted on the pattern of socialist economies to gain from economies of scale, but remained almost a non-starter.
- VI. **Up-gradation of land records** was also taken up as lack of land records was one of the biggest hurdles in implementation of land reforms and conferment of titles. This activity is still going on. The Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) brought out a '*Vision Document for Computerization of Land Records*' in 1999 to bring uniformity in land administration. This document, for the first time, spoke about the standardization of a Land Information System. By 2014, most of the states have rolled out their respective programs.
- VII. **Granting of homestead rights** provided for construction of homes on agriculture land.

However, there were marked hurdles in implementation of land reforms. The old system resisted the new. Many big Zamindars took the benefits of the loopholes in legislation. Major hurdles in Land Reforms included –

- I. Socio cultural factors – traditional sentiments attached with land, ignorance hindered consolidation and redistribution. Caste hierarchies also obstructed the process and community farming failed. So consolidation was largely dropped by every state.
- II. Legal Factors – In case of tenancy laws, burden of proof lied with tenant. Loopholes were liberally exploited by rich farmers. According to Khusro's 1959 study, land was forcefully evicted and was fraudulently shown as 'voluntarily surrendered'.
- III. Politico Administrative Factors – Bureaucracy was uncommitted and was hand in glove with rich farmers.

The agrarian structure varies greatly across India, and the progress of land reforms has also been uneven across the states. In West Bengal, redistribution work was carried out quite successfully, in Haryana and Punjab consolidation work was done quite effectively, in Karnataka land record modernization was implemented effectively. However, in all instances, right of women on land was totally ignored.

Consequences of land reforms were felt in form of food security and social impacts which were both positive and negative –

- I. **Redistribution of land** – Land reforms have resulted in redistribution of land and systematization of land records. Intermediaries were largely abolished and ownership rights were awarded to some 200 lakh tenants. More than 53 lakh acre of land was redistributed and most of the beneficiaries were SCs and STs.
- II. **Impact on joint family** – Concept of individual ownership under revised land ceiling Acts led to breakdown of joint family as authority of Karta declined.
- III. **Rural inequalities** – Rural inequalities increased due to land reforms. Incidence of land lease reduced due to fear of alienation of land and incidence of agricultural laborer increased. A form of 'concealed tenancy' was put into practice. Due to ineffective land distribution, landless household number increased from 9.6% in 1971 to 11.2 in 1992.
- IV. **Agrarian class structure** – It underwent complete transformation. Landlords were replaced by rich farmers and tenants were replaced by marginal farmers and agricultural laborers. Due to redistribution of land share of Backward Caste/Classes swelled. As per a study by Zoya Hasan, share of Backward classes increased from 8% before independence to 38% in 1989.
- V. **Social conflicts** – Erstwhile dominant caste retaliated the land alienation in many ways which also included violent backlashes. In Bihar, caste *senas* like Ranvir Sena, Diamond Sena etc were formed.
- VI. **Migration** – Poor implementation of land reforms and eviction of tenants rendered large population in poorer states to take to agriculture labor in other prosperous states. Rich farmers also resorted to self cultivation and traditional social ties broke. This led to rural-urban migration.
- VII. **Impact on caste system** – Land reforms led to emergence of strong middle peasant castes. Traditionally cultivator classes were largest beneficiaries. After success of Green Revolution, emerged as dominant castes. Post 1970s political consolidation of these castes projected their interests on national and state level political theater as well. Rudolph & Rudolph in their book '*In Pursuit of Lakshmi, 1987*' termed this growing rich middle class farmers as '*Bullock Capitalists*'.
- VIII. **Homestead rights** – Peasants also derived right to make homes on agricultural land without change of use of land.

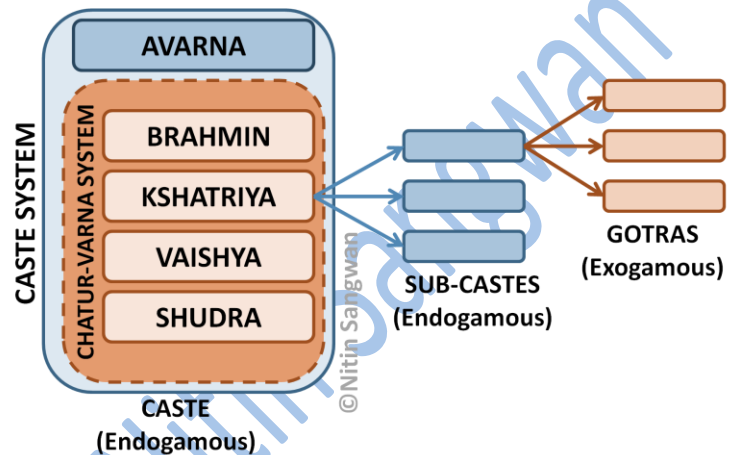
With limited success of land reforms, several steps need immediate attention. Proper identification of land above ceiling and identification of *benami* transfers is the top most issue which is also linked with the land redistribution policy. Improvement of wasteland and transfer it to the needy. Legal and physical support to tenants against their eviction from the homestead. Concerned intelligentsia and social activists have also warned of the complacent position that government has taken in wake of liberalization and the fact that it have almost de facto declared land as a market commodity.

Land reforms didn't create much upheaval as they did in China, nor did they bring radical changes as they did in Japan. In Words of Prof M L Dantewala, '*Reforms had been more or less in right direction, but due to lack of implementation results were far from satisfactory*'. M S Swaminathan, chairman of the first National Commission on Agriculture termed land reforms as '*Unfinished Agenda*' in his report.

For SAMKALP © Nitin Sangwan

CASTE SYSTEM

Caste system is a closed system of stratification which is peculiar to India. It existed from centuries and its exact origin is still not known. Primarily, it is a system called 'Varna' system under the Hindu fold of Indian society which divides society into four groups or 'Varnas' based on the birth – Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishyas and Shudras. Apart from these, a fifth group – which falls outside the Varna system – and is called 'Avarna' or outcastes or untouchables also exists. While 'Varna' is a macro conception, 'caste or jati' is the ground reality. There are only four Varnas, but there are around 3,000 castes and sub-castes in India. Caste is an endogamous group having an independent culture and structural existence. Castes are further divided into sub-caste which are endogamous and *gotras* which are exogamous groups.



Caste is considered as both a cultural and structural phenomenon. Culturally, it is a system of value, beliefs and practices associated with a particular strata. G S Ghurye, M N Srinivas etc have understood it in cultural terms. Structurally, it refers to a specific pattern of inter-related structures alongwith interaction among the various castes on the basis of various disabilities and restriction. It also studies actual power relations between caste groups and inequalities thereof. Andre Beteille, Dipankar Gupta etc subscribe to this perspective.

Caste is also viewed in terms of its specific features. For example Bougle has identified three core features – heredity, occupation and hierarchy. Similarly Ghurye has also identified six features.

Historically, caste was not a closed group since beginning. During Vedic times, it was an open system and occupations were open to all. Even inter-caste marriages were allowed. Even women had right to property. It was during the later Vedic period that caste became a rigid institution. Purushukta hymns of Rigveda trace the origin of different varnas to the different parts of the progenitor Brahma.

Caste is also viewed from two broad perspectives – *attributional* and *interactional* perspective. Ghurye and Srinivas belong to interactional perspective. These scholars used the early insights of Weber and Bougle and this perspective focused on 'features' of the cast to distinguish it from other forms of the social stratification. Attributes are considered as inherent inalienable qualities associated with the caste system. Dumont and Beteille belong to attributional perspective. Interaction approach takes into account how castes are actually ranked with respect to one another in a local empirical context. Though they also mentioned attributes, but their prime focus was on interactions.

G S Ghurye's Perspective on Caste System

G S Ghurye's academic reputation was built on the basis of his doctoral dissertation at Cambridge, which was later published as '*Caste and Race in India, 1932*'. In this and his other works, he has examined caste

from a historical indological, comparative and integrative perspective. According to him caste and kinship in India has played an integrative role.

He was initially influenced by the reality of diffusionist approach – according to which, caste originated in plains of Ganges and then spread to other parts of India – of British social anthropology, but later shifted to both Indological and anthropological perspective.

Herbert Risley, a British colonial official who was deeply interested in anthropological matters, was the main proponent of the dominant view that caste must have originated in race because different caste groups seemed to belong to distinct racial types. In general, the higher castes approximated Indo-Aryan racial traits, while the lower castes seemed to belong to non-Aryan aboriginal, Mongoloid or other racial groups. Ghurye did not disagree with the basic argument put forward by Risley but believed it to be only partially correct. Ghurye believed that Risley's thesis of the upper castes being Aryan and the lower castes being non-Aryan was broadly true only for northern India. In other parts of India, the inter-group differences in the anthropometric measurements were not very large or systematic. So, Ghurye played a lead role in toppling the racial theory of caste propounded by Western Anthropologists led by Risley.

Further, he also relates caste and race as well. According to him, whole Indian society is caste based and even tribes are also part of this system as opposed to Western notion that tribes and castes are two different concepts. According to him, tribals are '*backward Hindus*' who are at various levels of assimilation in Hindu society. He, thus, also opposed the colonial view of isolating the tribals.

Ghurye is also known for offering a comprehensive definition of caste. His definition emphasizes six features which were derived from various indological studies done by him –

- I. Caste is an institution based on segmental division. This means that caste society is divided into a number of closed, mutually exclusive segments or compartments. It is closed as caste is decided by birth — the children born to parents of a particular caste will always belong to that caste.
- II. Caste society is based on hierarchical division. No two castes are ever equal.
- III. The institution of caste necessarily involves restrictions on feeding and social interaction, specially the sharing of food. These rules are governed by ideas of purity and pollution.
- IV. Following from the principles of hierarchy and restricted social interaction, caste also involves differential rights and duties for different castes and civil and religious disabilities and privileges.
- V. Caste restricts the choice of occupation, which, like caste itself, is decided by birth and is hereditary.
- VI. Caste involves strict restrictions on marriage. Caste 'endogamy', or marriage only within the caste, is often accompanied by rules about 'exogamy', or whom one may not marry. His greatest emphasis among these features was on endogamy as it maintains the boundary of caste groups.

Ghurye's definition helped to make the study of caste more systematic.

He has also analyzed the changing pattern of caste system and has opined that it will diminish with rise of modern education, but at the same time also admits that as caste based social and political organizations are developing, it is difficult to eliminate it. Scramble for benefits will destroy the unity of Indian society according to him.

His conceptual definition was based on what the classical texts prescribed. In actual practice, many of these features of caste were changing, though all of them continue to exist in some form.

He has, however, tried to glorify culture of India in general and Hindus in particular. He also depicted caste as integrative force in society in past, but also acknowledges its disharmonious present role. He proposes a revival of culture to infuse spirit of fraternity to get rid of current evils from caste system.

His critics accuse him of relying too much on text and not going for empirical studies. According to Beteille, his understanding of caste is confusing as he continuously changes his goal post from Indological to diffusionism to comparative to outright nationalism. Ghurye is also accused of taking a Hindu centric view of society which is apparent his calling of tribes as 'backward Hindus'. Srinivas also takes exception to understanding of caste rooted in Varna system as it makes caste system rigidly hierarchical, but in practice caste structure is dynamic. So, he makes a shift from 'Varna view' to 'caste view'.

However, he will be always known for challenging the colonial notions of caste as unchanging and he was the first to approach caste from sociological point of view. He provided a springboard for later research on caste and his disciples like Srinivas and Desai drew heavily upon him.

M N Srinivas' Perspective on Caste System

His seminal work '*Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, 1952*' uses a theoretical framework derived from Structural Functionalism of Radcliffe Brown which he combined with sociological Indology. He considered *Varna* as a broad framework of reference used for the study of caste system, but draws deeper understanding from ethnographic studies. He sees caste as rooted in local hierarchy rather than broader *Varna* framework. He wrote numerous books and essays on caste like – '*Caste in Modern India, 1962*', '*The Dominant Caste and Other Essays, 1987*', '*Village, Caste, Gender and Method, 1996*' etc.

He tried to capture the fluidity of caste system through concepts of *Sanskritization*, *Dominant Caste* and *Brahminisation*. He predominantly used field to explain working of caste, but also resorted to Indological sources. He used multidimensional approach and focused on not just tradition, but he understood it in terms of status, wealth and power.

He rejected mono-causal approach of Dumont in understanding the caste in terms of purity and pollution only. Srinivas didn't profess himself as a structure functionalist, but considered Indological and Marxist approaches as too ambitious for study of Indian society as they claim an absolute understanding of Indian society.

He had a segmentary view of caste. According to him, castes have numerous sub-divisions in form of sub-caste and study of all of them under an all encompassing theory is doing an injustice to study of caste. He made a clear distinction between Varna and Jati. According to Srinivas, '*Varna is a macro theoretical schema, whereas caste or Jati is an all India phenomenon defining reality*'. He views caste system as dynamic and rejected the 'Varna view' which considers caste system as a rigid hierarchical system. Srinivas insists that the social reality of the caste system is not Varna – the ideological categorization – but Jati – the sub-caste that is the actually the interacting group. Concentration on

Varna also meant stressing the ritual factors in mutual caste ranking at the expense of economic and political factors.

At the same time, he also acknowledges that each caste and sub-caste has certain common attributes like – hierarchy, occupational differentiation, restrictions, pollution etc. Hierarchy, according to him, is the core of the caste and caste structure is guided by *two hierarchies* – one guided by ritual and other secular. Ritual hierarchy is manifested in dressing, rules of segregation, rules of eating etc. Secular hierarchy is manifested in power, wealth, education etc.

According to him, mobility in secular hierarchy by way of migration, ownership of land, government jobs etc is a historical fact and this mobility in secular hierarchy also lead to change in their ritual/cultural position also which he termed as *Sanskritization*. Hence, according to him caste system is not rigid as depicted by historians. For example – Kayasth of Bengal during Mughal times started to come close to ruling elite and eventually declared themselves as rajputs. Similar is the example of rise of Jats in North India and Lingyats in Karnataka as dominant castes. Thus, he views caste in much dynamic terms and secular mobility as a pre-condition for ritual mobility. Further, caste mobility is essentially group mobility.

He also mentions concept of '*Dominant caste*' to illustrate the fluidity of caste system. According to him castes even ritually lower in hierarchy can have dominant position by virtue of their numbers and land resources.

For long, he believed that caste will remain important dimension of Indian society, but in a public speech titled '*Obituary on Caste System*' in 1999 he acknowledged that caste will ultimately fade away.

His combination of book view and field view opened numerous avenues to understand caste in India. His theoretical strands were also picked up by scholars like – F G Bailey, M S A Rao etc in understanding of mobility in caste system in different parts of country.

However, he is often criticized for taking view of dominant section of the society. He is accused of giving Sanskritization undue importance and ignoring the culture of lower castes. Others argue that Sanskritization was also not a new concept and just a cosmetic makeover of universal process of reference groups.

Louis Dumont's Perspective on Caste System

In 1970s, French sociologist Louis Dumont in his seminal work '*Homo Hierarchicus: Caste System and Its Implication, 1966*' synthesized macro perspective of Ghurye with micro perspective of empirical studies, thus, combining 'text' with 'context'. His theory of caste hierarchy locates its basis in '*pollution and purity*' distinction and it is a special type of inequality according to him.

- I. He borrowed theoretical framework from Levis Strauss which calls for identification of binary opposites and applied it in Indian context as caste being opposition of pure and impure.
- II. He was also deeply influenced by Bougle's cultural explanation of caste and his ideas that division of labor in caste system is not on economic basis, but cultural basis and hence not exploitative. Bougle further argues that position of every other caste is relative to Brahmins and they evaluate themselves taking position of Brahmins as reference and every caste is concerned

with its boundary maintenance. He condensed the 3 core features of Bougle into one all encompassing principle of caste as an 'ideology' of separation of pure and impure.

Thus, he sees caste from an '*ideological perspective*' and not just an empirical reality. Louis Dumont constructed a textually-informed image of caste which according to him is a combination of *Indological and structuralist approach* with dual focus on ideology as well as structure.

According to him, caste plays an integrative role in Indian society and is distinctive of India and he sees caste system in terms of 'ideas and values' i.e. caste system is an ideology. Ideology of Indian society is in binary opposition with Western ideology – modern against tradition, holism against individualism, hierarchy against equality, purity against pollution and status against power. Dumont emphasized on ideology as it is reflected through ancient texts.

According to Dumont, caste hierarchy is a peculiar feature of Indian society and there cannot be any cross cultural comparisons of caste system. He further says that hierarchy is of status and hence is independent of power. According to him even kings were subordinate to priests. This hierarchy, and hence separation of pure and impure, is evident in other fields of Hindu life as well. Jajmani as an economic system is also dominated by hierarchy and not principles of economics. Similarly, aspects of civil life such as marriage, eating, socialization are governed by hierarchy.

Louis Dumont in his – '*Homo Hierarchicus – The Caste System and Its Implication, 1966*' conceptualized caste as 'opposition of pure and impure'. Three elements are central to his analysis –

- I. Division of labor on basis of pure and impure
- II. Superiority of pure over impure
- III. The separation of the two

These unique core principles of caste-hierarchy, according to Dumont, are observed in scriptural formulation as well as the every-day life of all Hindus. He identified a number of pure and impure practices which are attached with notions of purity and impurity. Endogamy, cleanliness, vegetarianism are considered pure and superior. Accordingly, those who are engaged in impure occupations are separated from the class of sacred/pure occupations. Pure and impure are attached to not only occupation, but to the entire structure of ideas.

The *interactional* approach to caste (as used by Beteille) draws attention to the structural aspect as opposed to *attributional*/ritual/cultural one. However, for an institution like caste the 'ideology' supporting it is of critical importance for proper understanding of caste and the identity politics of today. According to him, caste is a set of relationships of economic, political and kinship systems sustained by certain values which are mostly religious in nature.

In the Indian context Dumont has made an incisive statement against the use of stratification model for caste in his '*Homo Hierarchicus*' has forced attention to the ideological approach once again. According to him, '*caste is not a form of stratification, but a special form of inequality and hierarchy is the central tenet of this system*'. According to him, in Indian context, opposition of equality is hierarchy. Dumont defines hierarchy '*as the principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in relation to the whole.*'

His concept of 'Homo-Hierarchicus' has built up a model of Indian civilization based on non-competitive ritual hierarchical system.

In urging the relevance of the principle of hierarchy, Dumont notes how alien it is to the modern mentality. Modern man's ideology is decidedly egalitarian and individualistic, diametrically opposite to a hierarchical and collectivist one.

According to him, principle of purity and pollution is universal irrespective of region and class. He thus rejects Srinivas' idea that caste hierarchy has both ritual and secular streams. Ritual hierarchy always dominates secular status. Division of labor is culturally defined and not by economic needs.

He also analyzed caste in changing times and according to him, overall framework has not changed. *'There is change in society and not of society'*. One significant change that has taken place is that traditional interdependence has been replaced by competing interests which he termed as *'substantialisation of caste'*.

However, critics question his approach for being too textual. Andre Beteille says his views are much on what caste ought to be and not what caste today is. Superiority of Brahmins claimed by him is also questioned by others who see power concentrated in hands of kings. Beteille blames Dumont in particular for encouraging a 'caste-view' of Indian society. Gerald Berreman rejects his idea of impurity or pollution and cites example of foothills of Himalaya, where people never considered themselves impure in terms of mannerism, food habits etc. According to him caste is a product of domination and sub-domination. Dumont has almost tried to represent caste as a static concept and Indian society a stagnated society. Gerald Berreman also criticized Dumont's notion that power and economic factors are distinct from caste. Similarly, Dipankar Gupta's study of Jats in North India indicates that Jat consider Brahmins as idle, lazy and greedy contrary to Dumont's understanding of Brahmins as pure, sacred and high placed. His critics compare him to 'new Manu' and his idea of Homo-hierarchicus as *'new Manusmriti'*. Yogendra Singh accuses him of obsessed with integrational aspects of caste. According to Hira Singh in his *'Recasting Caste, 2014'*, Dumont's approach is overburdened with religion and it also fails to see that caste was never a rigid fixed entity even in ancient India.

Despite criticism, his approach to caste study is unique and thought provoking. In words of T N Madan, *'Indian sociology must have been poorer to a great extent without contribution of Dumont'*.

Andre Beteille's Perspective on Caste System

Understanding of Beteille is diffusive and he adopts an interactional approach rather than uni-dimensional approach to describe caste. He started his analysis of caste from the empirical study of caste in village of Sripuram in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu (*Sripuram: A Village in Tanjore District, 1962*) which he also explained in his book *'Case, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village, 1965'*. He also wrote many other essays and books like – *'Social and Cultural Reproduction of Caste, Kinship and Occupation in India'*, *'Inequalities among Men, 1977'*, *'The Backward Classes in Contemporary India, 1992'* etc.

While Ghurye and Dumont focused only on ideological/ritual aspect of caste only, Beteille casts his net wider to understand Indian society and adopts a trinitarian approach of Weber. According to him, along

with caste, one should also study kinship, class and power as well. So, according to him structural aspects of caste – mainly economic and political dimensions have remained underestimated by these thinkers. So, he advocates studying of relations between upper caste and lower caste, between landowning and land landless caste, between Jajman and Kamin etc should be studied from structural perspective also by using universal stratification as a general phenomenon. His analysis is also useful in showing that empirical reality of caste is remarkably different from the cultural ideal type of caste.

His multi-dimensional view affords us a better view of society as a whole and caste in relation to other social dimensions. For example, according to his study, he concluded that Kinships also play an important role as individuals often chose the occupation of their parents. This influence of kin is evident in Industry, cinema and politics as well. So, his focus is not on hierarchy of caste alone, but stratification in general. His understanding of caste is reflexive and it doesn't take a stereotypical approach.

In Sripuram, it was not only Brahmins that maintained distance from other castes, but Adi-Dravidians (so called depressed classes) also avoided mixing with Brahmins as they saw doing so will attract misfortune. Thus, it rejects view of Ghurye, Dumont and others which saw caste as a uniform phenomenon with implicit superiority of Brahmins. Further, lower castes were equally concerned about boundary maintenance and less keen on Sanskritization. He also noticed that sub-castes among even Brahmins have unequal relations. For example – Iyenger Brahmins deem themselves ritually purest.

He observes that, education becomes open and Dravidians too are able to place themselves in white collar jobs. Within village also, land had come into market and Brahmins have also sold their land in many instances and Adi-Dravidians bought in other. As land comes in open market, the productive organization of village tended to be free from the structure of caste. Thus, due to these factors, power structure in villages also changes. Caste alone is now not the only determinant of status and power.

According to Beteille, shift from traditional occupation also impact social standing of caste groups. Most Brahmins are now either in government jobs or in agriculture. This has also impacted relations of Brahmins with other castes.

Further, according to him inter-relation between caste, class and power is not as harmonious as it was before which is attributed to factors like – growth of education, secularization of society and occupations, migration, politics and democracy etc. Further, dilution of values, decline of Jajmani system have contributed to hierarchical gradation of caste in India.

However, caste dimension still remains and India has gone for only '*selective modernization*' and not complete modernization as explained by Yogendra Singh neither has it remained totally traditional as Dumont has put it. Andre Beteille observes that power has shifted from one dominant caste to another and it is shifted from the caste structure itself, and come to be located in more differentiated structures such as panchayats and political parties.

He is sometimes criticized for being obsessed with only understanding the dynamism of caste through three hierarchies only and also accused of narrow empiricism for generalization from the study of a single village of Southern India.

	DUMONT	BETEILLE
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Work	Homo hierarchicus – Caste System and Its Implications – 1966	Caste, Class and Power – Changing patterns of stratification in a Tanjore village, 1965
Perspective	Structural Indological	Weberian Trinitarian; Multidimensional view
Methods	Book View	Direct Observation; Ethnographic studies
Key idea	Purity-Impurity	Caste, Class and Power Nexus
Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Hierarchy is core of caste system b. Indian society is based on hierarchy – Homo Hierarchicus and Western Society is based on equality – Homo Aquealis c. Hierarchy is understood in terms of purity and impurity d. In distinction of purity and impurity, implicit is notion of superiority and inferiority e. ‘Ritual Status’ and ‘Power’ are distinct in caste system. This also implies that there is no parallel of Indian caste system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Ritual Status is not the only determinant of structural relations b. Power and Class also play important role c. Villages are integrated with wider society – Systemic view d. Structural shifts are happening – Landed elite from upper caste no longer call the shots
Future of caste	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Ritual Status to remain significant b. Substantialisation of Caste going on c. Change ‘in’ society will happen and not change ‘of’ society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Becomes more complex – Caste, Class and Power Nexus b. Caste no longer basis of occupations
Criticism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Berrmen criticize him for looking at power and status in dichotomous terms as more often than not they are two sides of same coin b. Too much of Indology, sweeping inferences drawn from Sanskritic Classical texts which contradict with today’s ground reality c. Caste is almost seen as functional when he talks it as ‘functional necessity’ – ignored the conflict that exist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Narrow Empiricism – A single village study cannot be generalized for whole India

Other Perspectives on Caste

DIPANKAR GUPTA ON CASTE

His concept of caste is based on ‘*differences*’ and ‘*multiple hierarchies*’, which is in contrast with Dumont’s concept of ‘*hierarchy*’ in caste system. Gupta claims that empirically as well as logically it is wrong to say that a single all inclusive hierarchy based on the principle of the

opposition of purity and pollution can be a defining feature of the caste system. This is not only a contemporary fact, but a historical reality.

Gupta argues that different 'origin tales' or '*Jati puranas*' of different castes justify different hierarchies and the Brahmin is not always at the top. The existence of various models of Sanskritization for upward mobility also indicates strongly the presence of multiple caste hierarchies. Each of these '*origin tales*' or caste legends '*Capture independently the essence of 'difference' between castes and are therefore logically of equal status*'. The constitutive elements of 'difference' 'are not arranged vertically or hierarchically, but horizontally or even separately'. Therefore, in the system of 'difference' one encounters discrete categories in place of a continuous scale. None of the castes considers that it is made up of unique substance, or that the substance in it are less pure. Each caste maintains its own traditions, customs and ideologies and, therefore, differentiates from others.

Therefore, Gupta opines that 'difference' and '*ritualization of multiple social practices*' constitute the essence of the caste system. Castes are discrete categories which cannot be placed on a continuous scale. To quote him, '*Any notion of hierarchy is arbitrary and valid from the perspective of certain individual castes. To state that pure hierarchy is one that is universally believed in, or one which legitimizes the position of those, who participate in the caste system is misleading. The separation between castes is not only on matters which connote the opposition between purity and pollution. Conversely, distinctions relating to purity and pollution do not systematically affect caste status. The cultivating Amot caste solemnize their Goraiya festival with the sacrifice of a pig and yet Brahmins take water from them*'.

Features of Caste System

Principle of purity and pollution is the foremost feature of caste system. Six features have been defined by Ghurye. Other scholars have also identified different features. Bougle identified three such core features – heredity occupation, hierarchy, mutual repulsion in terms of pollution and purity. Dumont has considered 'hierarchy' and separation of '*pollution and purity*' as core features of caste system.

Some commonly understood features are –

- I. **Hierarchy** – Theoretically, Brahmins were at the top and it was defined on the basis of religious scriptures and Brahminical values. Srinivas, like Ghurye, identified hierarchy as the first and foremost principle of caste. However, according to Srinivas, this hierarchy is symbolic and in various regions other castes which are ritually lower may be dominant. Louis Dumont in his '*Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications, 1966*' identified 'purity and pollution' as the single true principle of hierarchy. Today, ritual hierarchy is fast losing significance due to modernizing forces and democratic institutions.
- II. **Caste based occupation** – Occupations were graded on the basis of principles of pollution and purity. For example, ritually purest Brahmins got the task of preaching and teaching and *Avarnas* have to do polluted tasks like scavenging. In reality, however such an occupational differentiation has never been concrete. At times India had been ruled by different rulers who were not Kshatriyas. According to K M Pannikar, Nandas were last true Kshatriyas. Today, this

feature is totally overshadowed by the secular nature of modern occupations. Even a Brahmin can be a barber and a 'naai' can teach.

- III. **Endogamy** – Caste endogamy and gotra exogamy are commonly practiced. Hypergamy/anuloma is allowed, but hypogamy/pratiloma is not allowed. This feature is perhaps most persistent in modern times as this has very personal notions which are much less affected by legislations.
- IV. **Feeding and social intercourse restrictions** – Such rules have been laid down even *smritis* which had rules pertaining to inter-dining and *kachha* and *pakka* food. Similarly, social interaction was also limited. Government after independence has declared imposing such disabilities as illegal and constitution also prohibits them.
- V. **Civil and religious disabilities** – There were separate wells and schools. Permission from upper castes was necessary to construct even a *pukka* house. Religious disabilities included restrictions on temple entry, performance of ritual etc. Such disabilities are also prohibited by government, but many of these are still practiced in a subversive manner.
- VI. **Social mobility** – Caste is generally considered a closed system, but avenues of mobility were there according to scholars like Srinivas who demonstrate it through concept of Sanskritization. Royal patronage, conversions and census operations were other avenues of mobility.
- VII. **Segmental organization** – Castes also involve sub-divisions within themselves, i.e., castes almost always have sub-castes and sometimes sub-castes may also have sub-sub-castes.
- VIII. **Common name and common decent** – Sub-castes and castes often trace their origin to a common mythological personality.

Apart from these features, it is also clear from the historical evidence that caste was a very unequal institution – some castes benefitted greatly from the system, while others were condemned to a life of endless labor and subordination. It also became ascriptive in nature in post-Vedic period and it was in principle impossible for a person to ever change his or caste their caste.

However, caste system – and many of its features – has been diluted because of many new developments like – urbanization, secularization of society, modernization and so on. Occupations have diversified and are now chosen by will of individual. At the same time the working of democracy has affected the caste system. It is in political field that caste has been impacted the most. In 1980s, many caste based political parties were formed. Rule of Law as basic principle of modern polity and concept of fundamental rights – especially right to equality and right against exploitation – and human rights have also helped in mitigating menace of caste system. This has also led to caste groups emerging as 'interest groups' and are becoming more assertive and are now leveraging upon their numbers. Thus, features of caste system are highly varying and have been under constant stress and change at times.

Untouchability – Forms

Despite the limited literal meaning of the word, the institution of 'untouchability' refers not just to the avoidance or prohibition of physical contact but to a much broader set of social sanctions and social disabilities which are ascriptive in nature within the ritual framework of the caste system. It refers to a practice in which various types of segregation are imposed within the cultural framework of the caste. It is also understood in terms of the 'social distance' that various castes maintain with each other. Three

main dimensions of untouchability – namely, exclusion, humiliation-subordination and exploitation – are all equally important in defining the phenomenon. It is seen in two contexts –

- I. In terms of restrictions imposed on *Avarna* by all other higher castes – Various forms in which untouchability was practiced are – social disabilities (prohibition from wearing new clothes, shoes etc), social isolation, religious disabilities, separation of roads and wells, working at night (so that even their shadow doesn't fall on *dwijas*), no ownership of property and work without wages.
- II. As an integral aspect of caste system – While Shudra consider Dalits as untouchables, they themselves are untouchable to the other upper castes in hierarchy.

Segregation can be – physical or social. Under physical segregation, there is limitation on physical contact, there are separate utensils, prohibition from temple entry, prohibition of using village wells and ponds etc. Social segregation includes – restriction on marrying, eating with other caste members, prohibition from entering homes, restriction on occupational mobility and so on. Untouchability has different forms, but is more acute in rural areas. Prasad in a study conducted in 50 Andhra villages enumerated more than 150 forms in which it is practiced. In general, North India today exhibits it to a lesser degree. Untouchability today is practiced at two levels – Less prevalent manifest form and more prevalent latent form

Common forms of untouchability that exist –

- I. Habitation Segregation – Segregation of Dalits is seen almost everywhere in Tamil Nadu's villages.
- II. Occupational Segregation and Manual Scavenging – 98% Manual scavengers are from lower castes. Even after 65 years Manual Scavenging is still going on and government has failed to curb this form of inhumane untouchability despite repeat SC orders. Irony is that government is the biggest culprit in promoting it as most of the 13 Lakh manual scavengers in India are employed by railway and municipal corporations. Earlier, tanning, lifting carcasses, removing hides etc were branded as occupations of untouchables.
- III. Civic Segregation – In villages there are still prohibitions on commensuality, social mixing, using common wells, separate dwelling and so on. The Puruda Varnar of Tamil Nadu are most striking example of this segregation. They are a sub-caste which is given duty of washing clothes and providing other services to untouchables. They were untouchables even by the 'untouchables' themselves. They had a nocturnal sub-human existence and worked only during night as creatures of extreme abhorrence.
- IV. Ritual Segregation – scriptures and holy texts were disallowed for the untouchables. Certain rites like Upnayana ceremony is preserved for twice born castes. Deities worshipped by different castes are different. Hindu temples were forbidden for lower castes and such practices still continue. In September 2014, Bihar Chief Minister Jitan Ram Manjhi visited a temple in Bihar's Madhubani district and the shrine was purified after his visit. In Karnataka, temple entry restrictions are as high as 94%.
- V. Inter Caste Marriages – especially in villages of North India – Haryana, Western UP and Punjab – Khap Panchayats still disallow inter-caste marriages

VI. Other Incidents that have been noted –

- a. Postmen don't deliver letters to Dalit homes
- b. Teachers in government schools call the caste Hindus by their caste names. In a survey undertaken by National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights in 565 villages in 11 cities revealed that in 38% of government schools, children are made to sit separately while taking Mid Day Meal.
- c. Even at PDS shops, day of ration for Dalits have been fixed separately

Historically, Mahatma Gandhi had popularized the term '*Harijan*' (literally, children of God) in the 1930s to counter the derogatory notions carried by caste names. However, the ex-untouchable communities and their leaders have coined another term, '*Dalit*', which is now the generally accepted term for referring to these groups. The term is also used to assert their identity as part of their struggle for rights and dignity.

'Untouchability Offences Act, 1955' has been enacted which criminalizes practice of untouchability in every form. Greatest hurdle is the attitude of people. Caste is still alive in mental systems especially so in rural setups where customs still outweigh rationality.

Untouchability – Perspectives

Perspectives on untouchability address two major, but inter-related issues –

I. Origin of untouchability

Most often cited account is historical indological perspective. Historical accounts and religious texts have suggested various names for untouchables – *Nishads*, *Chandals*, *Kirat* and so on as the people outside Varna system. Earlier *Avarna* were not untouchables, but the system evolved gradually in Post Vedic period as mentioned by texts like *Manusmriti*. Untouchability glorified Brahmanism on one hand and helped in strengthening of occupations on the other. Ghurye, Vivekananda Jha, Ambedkar have used this approach. Ghurye traces it in post-vedic period, Vivekananda Jha gave a more detailed account and traces its origin in four phases, Ambedkar gave broken man theory. Structural Functional perspective was used by Srinivas and Dumont. Dumont used ideology of separation of

Vivekananda Jha on origin of untouchability: He uses a historic indological perspective to trace its origin. He traced origin of untouchability using ancient texts by finding words which would have been used for untouchables. He considered rise of Jainism and Buddhism as contemporary events which intensified the notion of untouchability. Before later Vedic period, it was almost non-existent. He traced the origin in 4 phases –

- I. In first phase around 6th century BC, later Vedic texts carry the words like – '*chandals*' and tanners which are referred as objects of abhorrence, but not untouchables per se.
- II. Second phase around 400 BC, dharmashastras mention transmission of infection, but it was not institutionalized. However, there is mention of word '*nirvasitas*' to describe a person whose touch can be defiling for pots in Panini's grammar. It talks of some castes living in separate quarters.
- III. In third phase, untouchability is clearly in manifest form. In Vishnusmriti, the word '*Apurusya*' is used for untouchables.
- IV. Finally, the process of segregation is complete and there are sharp demarcations. By 3rd century AD it was a wide spread phenomenon.

pure and impure behind its origin. D P Mukharjee used a dialectical approach and considers it as imposed by higher occupation doers on low ranked occupations.

II. Untouchability as a problem and a solution

Broadly, solution to the problems can be divided into two categories – *reformative* movements against untouchability and *alternative* movements against untouchability. The reformative movements aim to reform the caste system in order to put an end to the problem of untouchability. The alternative movements aim to create an alternative cultural environment often by conversion to another religion. The reformative movements arrived out during different periods in India are broadly of three types – *Bhakti* movement; neo-Vedantic movements like Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Mahatma Gandhi led reform movement; and Sanskritisation movement.

Perspective of Gandhiji – Gandhiji supported *Varna Vyavastha* and *Ashram Vyavastha* as organizing principles of Indian society, however he condemned the current caste system. In his opinion '*Untouchability has made Indians untouchables in the whole world*'. According to him while *Varna Vyavastha* united society, untouchability is exploitative. To Gandhiji, the continuance of untouchability meant a slow destruction overtaking the Hinduism. He was also of the opinion that without integrating the vast sections of the Depressed Classes in the Hindu society and without removing untouchability, it would be difficult to achieve '*swaraj*'. He wrote numerous articles like – '*Caste Must Go*', '*Untouchability as a Crime*' etc, but he focused on a reformative approach – an approach to reform Hinduism from within by getting rid of evils of untouchability. He deemed untouchables as equal children of god and called them '*Harijans*'. He aimed at reforming the Hindu society from within to get rid of evils of caste system. He led by example and he lived and worked with untouchables for two years and did all those works which were considered polluting to dispel various notions attach with it.

Perspective of Ambedkar – He had a radical view of caste system and called for annihilation of caste system. He considered Gandhian view as utopian where castes should voluntarily come forward to bridge their differences and Varnisation of caste system will only make it stronger. So, legislative measures and political empowerment are the only way to get rid of untouchability. According to him in a liberal society where merit and equality are the guiding principles there should be no place for heredity status. Ambedkar analyzed the impact of the division of the society into Varnas on the Hindu social order. He argued that because of this division the Hindu social order has failed to uphold liberty, equality and fraternity – the three essentials of a free social order. He also recommended abolition of religion and state appointed priests in temples selected on basis of merit and not caste. Ambedkar saw that intermarriage would be the structural antidote to the religiously administered social poison that was causing that 'hideous' degradation and alienation in modern India. He was the face of Dalits in pre-independence India and rise of Dalit consciousness in India is attributed to him. Ambedkar was born a Hindu, he often swore he wouldn't die one, and, true to his word, he converted to Buddhism along with 200,000 of his followers weeks before his death in 1956 and lived up to his vow.

Gandhiji on Caste	Ambedkar on Caste
Gandhiji challenged the caste system from above	Ambedkar challenged it from below
According to him, <i>varna vyavastha</i> was integral to the Hindu social organization, though it needed reforms	He deemed it as a product of Brahminical distortions and gave 'Broken Men' theory to explain the subjugation of untouchables. According to it according to which untouchables the Buddhists who lost the wars
Gandhiji's views on caste evolved slowly over the years, he remained deeply spiritual and sought social change within Hinduism	Ambedkar had radical views on caste and argued that beliefs of people cannot be altered and favored using the state as an instrument for establishing forward-thinking social policies
Gandhiji saw solution in terms of gradual change of hearts of Hindus	Ambedkar on the other hand envisaged a political-economic solution in terms of change of structure itself
Gandhiji gave untouchables a new name – Harijan – to denote that they are equal children of god	Ambedkar also rejected Gandhian notion of Harijan as ' <i>soothing palliative</i> ' to disguise the hard reality of caste
According to him every work was sacred and type of work performed by one caste doesn't make it superior or inferior to other castes	Work assigned to untouchables was dehumanizing
He wanted reformation of caste and Hindu society	Ambedkar wanted 'annihilation' of caste

There are various other approaches like – constitutional legal approach (reservation, Article 17, Untouchability Offences Act 1955), reformist approach (rise of new sects, revival of old glory by Arya samjhis who see Vedic Hinduism as free from untouchability), people led approach (work by civil society, NGOs, leading by example).

State and Non-State Steps towards abolition of Caste and Tribal Discrimination

The Indian state has had special programmes for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes since even before Independence. The 'Schedules' listing the castes and tribes recognized as deserving of special treatment because of the massive discrimination practiced against them were drawn up in 1935, by the British Indian government.

Policy of reservation was used as a tool of positive discrimination which was extended later to OBCs also. In addition to reservations, there have been a number of laws passed to end, prohibit and punish caste discrimination, especially untouchability. One of the earliest such laws was the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850, which disallowed the curtailment of rights of citizens due solely to change of religion or caste. The Constitution also abolished untouchability under Article 17. 'Untouchability Offences Act, 1955' has been enacted which criminalizes practice of untouchability in every form.

The Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 revised and strengthened the legal provisions punishing acts of violence or humiliation against Dalits and *Adivasis*. The fact that legislation was passed repeatedly on this subject is proof of the fact that the law alone cannot end a social practice.

State action alone cannot ensure social change. In any case, no social group howsoever weak or oppressed is only a victim. Human beings are always capable of organizing and acting on their own – often against very heavy odds – to struggle for justice and dignity. Dalits too have been increasingly active on the political, agitational, and cultural fronts. From the pre-Independence struggles and movements launched by people like Jyotiba Phule, Iyatheedas, Periyar, Ambedkar and others to contemporary political organizations like the Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh or the Dalit Sangharsh Samiti of Karnataka, Dalit political assertion has come a long way.

Mobility in Caste System

Caste has been considered to be a closed system of stratification. Ideological basis behind this closeness was belief in '*Karma*' which stipulates that individual cannot undo his or her past deeds. Kings, in the past, were also ordained to prevent intermixing of caste to maintain social order. However, in reality no system can be absolutely closed. In fact, social mobility has always been present within the caste system. Mobility was more frequent in intermediate castes i.e. Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and Shudras. Buddhist scriptures mention Kshatriya as the superior caste and Jaina scriptures mention Vaishyas as '*Mahajana*' or superior. According to K M Pannicker, Nandas were the last true Kshatriyas and later rulers were from lower castes who usurped power, thus, mobility in caste is an historical fact. Historically, both ritual and secular status were one and same as those who were ritually inferior were also disallowed to possess material or secular attributes as well.

Various contemporary and historical avenues of mobility in caste system are –

- I. Sanskritization and Westernization as identified by M N Srinivas.
- II. Fluidity of Caste System as a Historical Fact – Flexibility in caste laws permitted very low-caste religious clerics such as Valmiki to compose the Ramayana, which became a central work of Hindu scripture. But general masses have comparatively less opportunity of mobility.
- III. Political Power and Mobility – In the older days, Srinivas points out, there were two major sources of mobility. First was the fluidity of the political system, which made it feasible for new castes to assume the status of Kshatriyas and exercise power, and availability of marginal land.
- IV. Availability of Marginal Land which could be brought under cultivation. Leaders from dominant castes such as Reddis, Marathas could seize political power and claim Kshatriyas status.
- V. Social Movements and Mobility – Those castes which cannot benefit from Sanskritization and Westernization resorted to collective mobilization. Temple Entry Satyagraha, SNDP movement etc are some of the examples.
- VI. Caste and Occupation Discrepancy in Modern Times – Social mobility in the caste system is evident in the increasing discrepancy between caste and occupations, withering away of Jajmani obligations, the rigidity regarding purity and pollution and acceptance of secular lifestyle. Occupations have differentiated today and they are secular in nature.

- VII. Policy of positive discrimination and legislative measures has also helped in mobility in the caste system.
- VIII. Census 1901 which was conducted under supervision of Herbert Risley also recorded caste information as well. Many lower castes registered themselves as higher castes in census data.
- IX. Geographic Migration and mobility – many members shift to other areas and adopt different titles to gain mobility.
- X. Education, Secularization, Democracy, Industrialization and Urbanization – Religious sanction is the core of caste segregation. In modern times when religion itself is weakening, caste also weakens as a result. Modern education instills universalistic values and ideals of justice and equality. Democracy and equal franchise has also weakened the civic basis of caste and it is now largely limited to ritual sphere only.

Today, democratic state provides larger opportunities of mobility. High stress on secular status has also aided the process of mobility.

KL Sharma defines three levels of mobility in caste system –

- I. Mobility of Individual – Some individuals even though of low caste, may have better status and prestige compared to other members of their family. Scriptures have accounts of a Brahmin liable to lose his status if he recourses to such things.
- II. Mobility of a minority of families – The improvement in status could be result of acquisition of land and education which is further reiterated by emulating the practices of higher caste with regard to dress, lifestyle and rituals. Mobility of this type is not corporate in nature.
- III. Mobility of majority of groups of families – This kind of mobility is 'corporate' in nature. Sanskritization was the chief process which helped these castes to move up in hierarchy and legitimize their claim to the upward mobility.

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES in INDIA

India has perhaps the highest concentration of tribal population anywhere in the world except Africa. Tribals in India are not a homogeneous group. Their features vary from one part of country to another in terms of their traits, assimilation with larger world, religion, marriage and kinship and so on. Their spread is also uneven.

Tribals are also distinguished by their distinctive socio-cultural features. Mandelbaum mentions the following characteristics of Indian tribes –

- I. Kinship as an instrument of social bonds.
- II. A lack of hierarchy among men and groups.
- III. Absence of strong, complex, formal organization.
- IV. Communitarian basis of land holding.
- V. Segmentary character.
- VI. Little value on surplus accumulation on the use of capital and on market trading
- VII. Lack of distinction between form and substance of religion
- VIII. A distinct psychological bent for enjoying life.

They also have simple religions like totemic religions, have absence of caste in general, distinct language and so on. Apart from these, on the basis of racial features, Guha considers that they belong to the three racial groups – *The Proto-Australoids*, *The Mongoloids* and *The Negrito*.

Tribals also have their own problems which are distinct from the problems of the mainstream. Some of them are –

- I. Land alienation
- II. Indebtedness
- III. Relation with forests, and govt monopoly over minor forest produce
- IV. Non implementation of the Forest Rights Act 2006
- V. Ineffective implementation of PESA for Schedule V areas
- VI. Involuntary displacement
- VII. Health problems
- VIII. Poor education
- IX. Shifting cultivation
- X. Poor utilisation of government funds
- XI. Poor delivery of government programmes
- XII. Political problems and insurgency in Northeast

Definitional Problems

Historically, tribes have been addressed by the different authorities and by different names like – *Adivasi*, aborigines, primitives, backward Hindus and so on. Definitional problem of tribes deals with two inter-related problems – problem of defining the tribes and evolving the understanding of tribes in Indian context.

During the British period, the word 'tribe' was used by administrators to understand the numerical strength of different cultural communities. Those living in village and practicing agriculture were termed as 'caste' groups, while those living in forest practicing primitive occupations were termed as tribes.

In an ethno-centric assessment, the tribals were viewed at par with stage of bestiality. The classical theory of evolution, which had gripped academic attention in late nineties and early twenties, had treated the 'contemporary primitives' as the remnants or survivals of the early stages of humanity, savagery and barbarism.

Early British administrator-anthropologists didn't make much distinction between caste and tribe groups as primary difference was in terms of mode of production and style of settlement. However, this understanding was modified as many colonial and local scholars took anthropological studies in different parts of India like – Gonds, Todas of Nilgiri, Andaman Islanders etc. and their distinctive lifestyle and religion were recognized as different from caste groups. Hutton called them 'Aborigines' and famous Anthropologist Elwin called them 'Aboriginals'. Indian scholars however disagreed with British and saw caste and tribe along a continuum. S C Roy contends that '*Jana*' and '*Jati*' existed in India since long. According to Mendelbaum also, there is no strict cultural differences between caste groups and tribes. Similarly, S C Dube asserted that Great Tradition of Hinduism and little tradition of Tribes existed together for long. Likes of L P Vidyarthi and Ghurya cited ancient texts as historical proofs of their assertion. A R Desai classified tribes in terms of their degree of assimilation into mainstream society. Beteille also differentiates different tribal groups on the basis of language, religion and degree of isolation.

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS – CONTEMPORARY VIEW

Today, tribes are generally defined in terms of various general features rather than a fixed definition and are defined as a group of individuals with shallow history, indigenous in nature, a common name, having a particular territory, tied by closed bonds of kinship, practicing endogamy, having distinct customs, rituals and beliefs, simple social ranking and political organization, common ownership of resources and so on.

Earlier, the use of a single term for a very disparate set of communities was more a matter of administrative convenience. For example, 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' defined them as – '*Collection of family, bearing a common name, common dialect, occupying or professing a particular territory and not endogamous though originally might have been*'.

S C Dube provided a fivefold classification of Indian tribes to highlight the diversity that lies among them –

- I. Aborigines living in seclusion
- II. Tribal groups having an association with the neighboring non-tribal society, but maintaining their distinctiveness
- III. Tribals living in villages along with caste groups, sects and religious groups and maintaining their identity
- IV. Tribals who have been degraded to the status of untouchables
- V. Tribals who enjoy high economic, social and political status

Tribes in India have also been defined in terms of '*what they were not*'. Tribes were communities that did not practice a religion with a written text; did not have a state or political

form of the normal kind; did not have sharp class divisions; didn't have a deep notions of history; and, most important, they did not have caste and were neither Hindus nor peasants.

In terms of positive characteristics, tribes have been classified according to their '*permanent*' and '*acquired*' traits. Permanent traits include region, language, physical characteristics and ecological habitat. In terms of languages, predominantly they speak Austric and Tibeto-Burman languages and also speak Indo-Aryan and Dravidian as well.

Classifications based on '*acquired*' traits use two main criteria – mode of livelihood, and extent of incorporation into Hindu society – or a combination of the two. On the basis of livelihood, tribes can be categorized into fishermen, food gatherers and hunters, shifting cultivators, peasants and plantation and industrial workers.

Tribes were also classified by scholars on various other parameters like –

- I. Geographical spread
- II. Linguistic classification – Dravidian, Austric and Tibeto Chinese
- III. Racial classification – Herbert Risley in his book '*The Peoples of India, 1908*' classified people of India into seven racial groups
- IV. Economic classification – On the basis of economic activity they are engaged in
- V. Classification on basis of degree of cultural contact – Verrier Elwin classified four types of tribes on the basis of their degree of acculturation

But these traits and definitions were not uniformly applicable. Such definitions are insufficient as most of them are of typical primitive tribes and don't account for a proper picture of the diverse tribal groups in India. Tribes in India are a highly heterogeneous group. Tribal groups vary from highly underdeveloped – like Jarawas of Andaman – to almost assimilated in the mainstream – as Meenas of Rajasthan and Negis of Himachal. They also have their distinctive culture, habitats, occupation and lifestyle which vary from one group to another. Some of them still practice animistic religions, others have come into fold of dominant religions like Hinduism and Christianity. Some speak their own distinct languages, others speak dialects of mainstream languages like Hindi and other Dravidian languages. Some tribes like Negi are no longer geographically isolated nor do they practice simple primitive occupations. Cultural assimilation has brought them into mainstream and some of them no longer have distinct rituals, rites etc. Backwardness is also not a criterion as many of them are forward no longer very backward and many non-tribes are equally backward. This make task of defining them difficult. India exhibits a composite culture where indigenous identity is greatly fluid and hence European concept of indigenous group cannot be extended to tribes of India.

In wake of such definitional limitations, several scholars have used some other methods like using a variable definitional criterion. Even before independence likes of Ghurye offered alternative view. He said that tribes always had close association with larger society and he called them 'backward Hindus' and identified three types – Hinduized tribes, Partially Hinduized tribes and Hill section. F G Bailey famously gave the concept of '*Tribe Caste Continuum*'. However, critics argue that tribes are wholly different from castes as they had no notion of

purity and pollution which is central to the caste system. Similarly, Sanskritization thesis argues that tribes gradually became part of caste society.

During the 1960s scholars debated whether tribes should be seen as one end of a continuum with caste-based (Hindu) peasant society, or whether they are an altogether different kind of community. But, by the 1970s all the major definitions of tribe were shown to be faulty. It was pointed out that the tribe-peasantry or tribe-caste distinction did not hold in terms of any of the commonly advanced criteria – size, isolation, religion, and means of livelihood. Today, tribal identity is defined in terms of interactional process with mainstream – and the resulting resistance and opposition from tribes to preserve their unique identities – rather than any primordial (original, ancient) characteristics peculiar to tribes.

Constitution makers also recognized definitional problem and instead of focusing on definition, they instead focus on developmental strategies.

Tribal definitional problem is significant because it is closely related to their identity and to their development question. Without knowing who exactly they are it is not possible to chart out a proper developmental plan. A change in definition from colonial time to present time also shows the changing attitude of mainstream towards them. Thus, definition is an important starting point that defines the course of their socio-economic and cultural development and preservation of their identities.

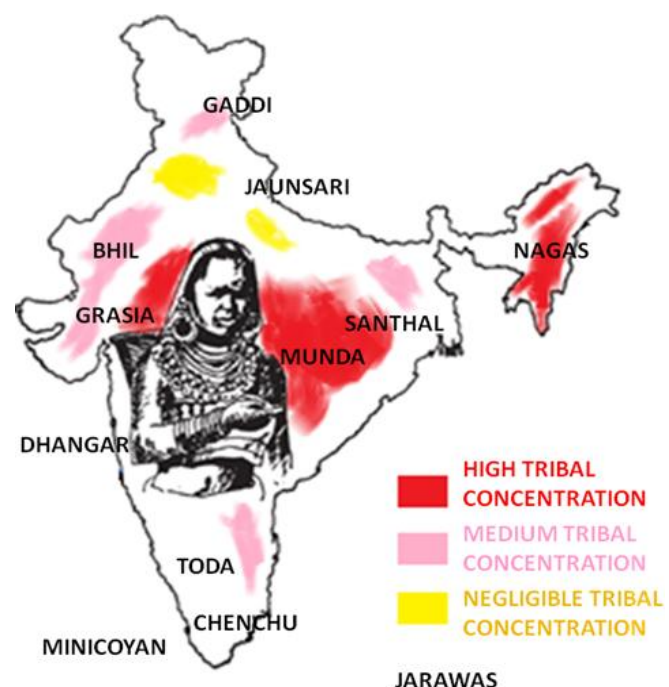
Geographical Spread of Tribes

As per some estimates, tribals are concentrated in about 15% of geographical area and constitute about 8% of population. There are more than 530 notified tribes under Article 342 and there are many more sub-tribes as well.

About 85% of the tribal population lives in central India. Chhattisgarh, parts of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh form the heart of this region. Of the remaining 15%, over 11% is in the North Eastern states, leaving only a little over 3% living in the rest of India.

While Vidyarthi has suggested a fivefold classification on the basis of their geographical spread, Dube has suggested a fourfold classification. Roy and Burman also make a fivefold territorial classification. In general, the tribal population can be demarcated in the following geographical zones –

- I. North-North-Eastern Zone: North East comprising seven states (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram,



Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura) consist these areas. Main tribes that live in these areas include – Abhor, Kuki, Mismi, Khasi, Garo, Naga etc. Most of them belong to Mongolian stock.

- II. Himalayan Region: It includes the tribal areas of Laddakh (Jammu & Kashmir), Himachal Pradesh, Northern Uttar Pradesh etc. Major tribes in this area are – Lepchas, Bhotias, Gadd, Jaunsari etc. Most of them also belong to Mongolian stock.
- III. Central or Middle Zone: It includes West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Southern Uttar Pradesh, Southern Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra. Tribes in this area include – Bhumij, Gond, Ho, Dhangar, Oraon, Munda, Santhal etc. They primarily belong to Proto-Australoid stock.
- IV. Western Region: It includes Gujarat, Rajasthan etc and main tribes include Bhils, Grasia etc and they also belong to Proto-Australoid stock.
- V. Southern Zone: It includes Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and the two Union Territories of Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep. Tribes in these areas include – Chenchu, Toda, Minicoyans, Jarawas, Irula, Kadar etc and they have a mix of Negrito, Caucasoid and Proto-Australoid stocks.

If we look at the share of tribals in the state population, then the North Eastern states have the highest concentrations, with all states except Assam having concentrations of more than 30%, and some like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland with more than 60% and up to 95% of tribal population.

Colonial Policies and Tribes

Before colonial rule, tribes have been living in forest and hilly area as part and parcel of Indian population and they enjoyed a free life of their own without interference of state.

The British policy towards the tribals had two major elements. Firstly, it favored isolation of the tribal areas from the mainstream. Their political interests also prevented integration of tribes in mainstream as they saw their union with larger population as a threat to their empire. Secondly, at the level of reform, the British administration was interested in ‘civilizing’ these people. Colonial rulers followed similar policy of exploitation and alienation with tribes that they followed in rest of India. To maximize their earnings, various attempts were made to bring tribes into fold of revenue administration.

Initial attempts of the British to interfere with the tribal areas led to a large number of tribal revolts like Chaur Uprising, 1832, Kol and Ho Uprising, Chota Nagpur, 1832, Satara Revolt, 1840, Santhal Rebellion, 1856 and so on. Due to this, during late 19th century a policy of administrative segregation emerged.

During 19th century the British policy towards tribes is seen in terms of 3 aspects –

- I. Administrative segregation – This policy aimed at isolating tribals from the mainstream. Consequent Government of India Acts of 1870 and 1901 led to creation of autonomous tribal areas. Act of 1870 defined many tribal areas ‘Scheduled Tracts’. 1935 Act also created ‘excluded’ and ‘partially excluded’ areas with a different administrative structure. Even Elwin, who worked a lot for tribals in India, talked of creating ‘Tribal National Parks’.
- II. A proactive forest policy – Forests have been traditional lifeline of tribes as they were source of their livelihood and tribals also had a cultural attachment with forests. However, a proactive forest alienated tribes from forests. In forest they saw valuable resources and they passed

exclusionary laws like 1865 Forest Act which took away traditional forest rights. Forests were classified as Reserved, Protected and Village Forests without giving consideration to the rights of tribals. Even activities like grazing of cattle and collection of fuel wood were declared illegal and they have to pay tax for these activities where permissible. Forest laws were so exhaustive and complex that according to Elwin, every tribal violated many of them in a single day. According to Vidyarthi, alienation from forests was not only economic, but also emotional and cultural isolation. Trees, rivers, mountains carried symbolic and religious meanings for them. As a result tribals became antagonistic towards colonial rule and incidences of confrontations only increased. Commercial exploitation of forests and pushing of tribals into subsistence agriculture also led to introduction of middlemen and moneylenders in tribal areas and their indebtedness become another problem.

- III. A reformist approach – According to K L Srikanth, British policy to allow Christian missionaries to proselytize tribals also led to a gulf between mainstream Hindus and tribes creating social divide in an already divided society. Its terminal manifestation in recent years is seen in form of various secessionist movements. However, some sociologists also contend that Christian missionaries are instrumental in taking tribes out of darkness of ages and made them aware of their rightful place in society.

British rule led to increase in suffering of the tribals as the whole economic base was eroded. Tribals were forced to give up their traditional occupations. They were pushed into poverty and often into bonded labor. Many tea and coffee plantations had bonded tribal labor. Over-exploitation led to many uprisings as well. According to Buddhadeb in his book – '*Tribal Transformation in India, 1992*', expansion of railways broke down their historical isolation and initiated a process of unchecked and indiscriminate assimilation leading to '*detrribalisation*' of tribes. M S A Rao writes that during colonial rule mining and construction activities reduced tribe people as casual low paid labor. According to Guha & Gadgil, colonial rule also lead to '*ecological imperialism*' and tribals were invariably forced to move into commercial agriculture from hunting gathering nomadic activities. Some tribals were even termed as criminal tribes by Criminal Tribes Act 1871.

On the whole, tribals were detached from their traditional occupations, were forced into sedentary subsistence agriculture, pushed into poverty and indebtedness, were forced into bonded labor in tea estates, led to tribal unrest and so on.

Issues of Tribal Integration and Autonomy

Verrier Elwin said '*We don't want to preserve tribesman as museum specimen, but at the same want the development clock to show the right time*'. Issue of tribal autonomy and integration was identified by the national leadership even before independence. Taking along both autonomy and integration is a difficult balancing act as they are somewhat conflicting paradigms in tribal development context. Too much focus on autonomy sometimes leads to secessionist tendencies and also leads to a development of a narrow ethnocentric view. Integration, on the other hand, may pose a threat to their cultural identities.

The famous isolation versus integration debate of the 1940s built upon a standard picture of tribal societies as isolated wholes. The isolationist side argued that tribals needed protection from traders, moneylenders and Hindu and Christian missionaries, all of whom were intent on reducing tribals to detribalized landless labor. Hutton supported the isolation view, but Elwin modified it in favor 'no change and revivalism'. The integrationists, on the other hand, argued that tribals were merely backward Hindus, and their problems had to be addressed within the same framework as that of other backward classes. Renowned Indian anthropologist supported assimilation view. This debate also dominated the Constituent Assembly debates, which were finally settled along the lines of a compromise which advocated welfare schemes that would enable controlled integration.

After independence, the basic issue here is that the integration of tribes has neglected their own needs or desires. Integration has been on the terms of the mainstream society and for its own benefit. The tribal societies have had their lands, forests taken away and their communities shattered in the name of development.

The issue of tribal integration with larger society has been studied from two broad perspectives –

- I. Cultural Integration – Cultural Integration Theory is a byproduct of tribe-caste continuum proposition that was forwarded by early anthropologists. S C Roy articulated this thought through his idea of co-existence of '*Jana*' and '*Jati*', Ghurye called tribes as Backward Hindus and M N Srinivas too asserted that lower rungs of caste hierarchy are open to tribes and hence providing a transition point along tribe-caste continuum. Such arguments lead Andre Beteille to conclude that tribe and caste are similar as there are little racial, language differences.
- II. Political and Economic Integration – Others like Surjit Sinha understand integration in terms of economic necessity of peasants to have cheap labor and he instead gave concept of – 'Tribe-Peasant' continuum. Thus, cultural integration had an economic basis according to him.

As mainstream population intruded into tribal areas and exploited tribes as well as their traditional resources question of tribal autonomy became even more important. Mainstream development agenda also posed threat to tribal autonomy. According to Walter Fernandes, in his '*Power and Powerlessness: Development Projects and Displacement of Tribals, 1991*', around 3 crore people have been displaced by developmental activities in past 50 years and 42% of them were tribal. Number of tribal laborers has also increased substantially during the period. Poverty among tribal is around 50% much more than country average. There are also higher incidents of maternal mortality, anemia and child mortality among tribes.

According to Xaxa tribal integration in post independence period has been a constitutional prescription and not an empirical reality. Despite lofty plans like as suggested by Elwin that there be special blocks in first Five Year Plan (FYP) for tribal development, consequent adoption of 'Tribal Sub Plan' since 5th FYP and 'Diversified Approach' since 9th FYP have all proved inadequate. Instead, inconsiderate developmental process has posed a threat to their identity and it has not been for tribes, but at the cost of tribes and they are reduced to second class citizens. While linguistic factions are successful in carving out their own states, tribals are still struggling for meaningful autonomy. However, some concessions are made in form of Schedule 5th and 6th to tribals and recent progress like Darjeeling Hill Council being given as more autonomy in 2012 are some signs of state doing its extra bit towards tribal autonomy.

POST INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT versus TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Post independence Indian welfare state formed comprehensive policies for tribal development. Policy of tribal welfare was largely based on Tribal Panchsheel of Nehru which foresaw a controlled integration without violating autonomy of tribals. The constitution has committed the nation to two courses of action in respect of scheduled tribes, viz – Giving protection to their distinctive way of life; protecting them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation and discrimination and bringing them at par with the rest of the nation so that they may be integrated with the national life. However, some policies also promoted isolation and assimilation in long run.

TRIBAL PANCHSHEEL of NEHRU

- I. Tribal development should be based on old genius of tribals
- II. Tribes should be trained to participate in mainstream economic and political activities
- III. No developmental projects should be initiated that may alienate them
- IV. Every tribal development policy should be receiving inputs from the needs of locals
- V. Success of tribal development program should be evaluated not in terms of amount of money spent

The independence of India in 1947 should have made life easier for tribals but this was not the case –

- I. Firstly, the government monopoly over forests continued. If anything, the exploitation of forests accelerated.
- II. Secondly, the policy of capital-intensive industrialization adopted by the Indian government required mineral resources and power-generation capacities which were concentrated in *Adivasi* areas. *Adivasi* lands were rapidly acquired for new mining and dam projects. In the process, millions of *Adivasis* were displaced without any appropriate compensation or rehabilitation. Justified in the name of 'national development' and 'economic growth', these policies were also a form of internal colonialism, subjugating *Adivasis* and alienating the resources upon which they depended. Projects such as the Sardar Sarovar dam on the river Narmada in western India and the Polavaram dam on the river Godavari in Andhra Pradesh displaced hundreds of thousands of *Adivasis*, driving them to greater destitution.
- III. These processes continue to prevail and have become even more powerful since the 1990s when economic liberalization policies were officially adopted by the Indian government. It is now easier for corporate firms to acquire large areas of land by displacing *Adivasis*. This kind of development has benefited the mainstream at the expense of the tribes.
- IV. The coming of private property in land has also adversely affected tribals, whose community-based forms of collective ownership were placed at a disadvantage in the new system.
- V. Many tribal concentration regions and states have also been experiencing the problem of heavy in-migration of non-tribals in response to the pressures of development. The

industrial areas of Jharkhand for example have suffered a dilution of the tribal share of population. But the most dramatic cases are probably in the North-East. A state like Tripura had the tribal share of its population halved within a single decade, reducing them to a minority.

Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006 is a step to assuage their condition and address the long standing demand of forest rights. Other initiatives include – Tribal Sub Plan since 1974, National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, TRIFED for tribal goods marketing, reservation of seats for ST in Lok Sabha and Assemblies – Article 164, 330, 332, appointment of Minister in charge of Tribal welfare, Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) and so on which aim to address problems of integration, development and autonomy in a multi-dimensional manner.

SOCIAL CLASSES in INDIA

Class societies are characterized by the horizontal division of society into strata. In Marxist terms, classes are defined by their differential access to the means of production, however in actual it may vary from place to place.

The rise and growth of Indian social classes was organically linked to the basic structure of colonialism and bore the imprint of that association. This is not to say that the class phenomenon was absent in the pre-British Indian society. The class dimension of Indian society was only less pronounced than it turned out to be during the British period, even when there was a marked class dimension; it was overshadowed by the caste component. In fact, the only sphere where class dimension showed itself rather more sharply was in the nature of interaction between 'the rulers' and 'the ruled'. The king and his courtiers represented a class quite different from the subjects over whom they ruled.

With all structural constraints, colonialism also guaranteed the security of private property and sanctity of contract, the basic legal elements required for a market-led growth.

Agrarian Class Structure or Agrarian Social Structure in India

According to Bottomore, 'social classes' are the characteristic features of industrial societies. Before the British rule, there was little surplus available and hence stratification in terms of class was non-existent. Hence, whole society was considered agrarian society and was also called as 'peasant society'. The adage – '*Soil grows caste and machine grows class*' applies to India only partially. It is both soil/land and machine that give birth to class structure in agrarian India. Unlike urban areas where education, industry and employment determine class structure, today, in rural area it is the land holding quantum as well as attainment of education, skills etc also which defines social structure.

Agrarian social structure will include caste, class, land ownership, Jajmani system etc while agrarian class structure will include only classes. Land is the central element to the agrarian social structure in India and caste, class and land ownership are closely linked. Dominant landowning groups are usually middle or high ranked castes, most of the marginal farmers and landless belong to lower caste groups.

AGRARIAN CLASSES in PRE-BRITISH INDIA

In pre-British period, due to little surplus available, there was a little differentiation among the village population in class terms. Little differentiation existed among village population at material level, so, class dimension was overshadowed by caste dimension in economic setup and Jajmani system was its manifestation. Traditional Indian 'rural communities' and the *agrarian social structures were organized within the framework of 'Jajmani system' and caste*. The kamins provided different kinds of services to the jajmans. While the kamins were obliged to work for the jajmans, the latter were required to pay a share from the farm produce to their kamins in cash or kind. The relationship was based on a system of reciprocal exchange. However, participation in this system of reciprocal exchange was not on an equal footing.

Whole society was 'agrarian society' centered around agriculture. Agrarian classes were largely understood in terms of 'the ruler' (king and courtiers and administrators) and 'the ruled' only.

Factors that limited the emergence of class were – absence of private property and ownership rights over land, an underdeveloped market economy, communal production etc.

Towards the fag end of Mughal rule, some form of money economy was already in place and market mechanism also developed. New classes like merchants, traders, bankers developed but in terms of numerical representation they were overshadowed by largely agrarian structure that existed earlier.

AGRARIAN CLASSES in BRITISH INDIA

British conquest introduced the concept of private property, a well entrenched money economy and transformation of society from ‘peasant’ society to ‘agrarian class’ society started. Panchayats lost their jural and economic power. New methods of fixing land revenues created hierarchies in rural society and revenue was paid in cash. It promoted commercialization of agriculture. Earlier, village agriculture and industry co-existed and served as basic pillars for self-sufficiency of village, now revenue system, market forces defined village dynamics.

Revenue rates were high in both Zamindari and Ryotwari areas and land now came in hands of Zamindars and businessmen. Those who couldn’t pay revenue were stripped of land which was sold to highest bidders who were not farmers. Moneylenders and Zamindars evolved as integral new strata of rural agrarian social structure.

Creation of new classes of Zamindars provided social support to British who could have found it difficult to manage India alone.

In colonial times, agrarian structure was marked by two distinctive features. According to A R Desai state acted as ‘Supra Landlord’ and appointed landlords. A vicious mechanism of lease and sub-lease gave birth to leisure class and absentee landlords and an exploitative agrarian class structure. A R Desai conceptualized agrarian class structure as 3-tier system during colonial times. Upper class mainly included ‘absentee landlords’ and middle class included ‘sub-landlords’ and at bottom were marginalized farmers, peasants and sharecroppers. Similarly, Berman sees rural class in terms of size of land holdings.

To understand the dynamic nature of agrarian class structure in India during colonial rule, several considerations needed to be kept in mind like – nature and form of control over land; kind of technology used in cultivation; regional variations in land holding patterns etc. Since land tenure system was not uniform across India, classes also developed differently across India.

AGRARIAN CLASSES in POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

We can identify two important changes in the agrarian economy that came with industrialization and development. First, agriculture lost its earlier significance and became only a marginal sector of the economy. For example, in most countries of the West today, it employs only a small proportion of the total working population and its contribution to the total national income of these countries is also not very high. In India also, for example, though a large proportion of population is still employed in agricultural sector, its contribution to the total

national income has come down substantially (from nearly sixty per cent at the time of independence to less than thirty per cent during early 1990s).

The second important change that has been experienced in the agrarian sector is in its internal social organization. The social framework of agricultural production has experienced a sea change in different parts of the world during the last century or so. The earlier modes of social organizations, such as, 'feudalism' and 'peasant societies' have disintegrated giving way more differentiated social structures.

Factors leading to changing class or social structure in agrarian economy –

- I. **Technological changes and modernization of agriculture** – The modern industry has provided a large variety of machines and equipment for carrying out farm operations, such as, ploughing and threshing. This mechanization of agricultural production has made it possible for the landowners to cultivate much larger areas of land in lesser time. Introduction of machinery led to the *displacement of the service caste groups* who used to carry out these agriculture-related activities.
- II. **Commercialization of agriculture** – It altered the relation between land owners and traditional service castes. *Jajmani system declined*. A shift from payment in kind (grain) to *payment in cash has happened*, but payments are often low. Purchasing power of marginal sections of rural economy declined and inequalities increased.
- III. **Land reforms** – Land reforms altered the relations between landowners, tenants and labor as well. Many *tenants were dislodged* from the land fearing claims of occupancy rights by the tenants.
- IV. **Green revolution** – It made agriculture profitable in Green Revolution areas. Landowners began to *take back land from their tenants and cultivate it* directly because cultivation was becoming more profitable. This made the rich farmers better off, and worsened the condition of the landless and marginal holders.
- V. **Migration** – With breakdown of traditional ties and tenancy relations, use of agricultural labors has also increased and it has stoked inter-region migration. Well off states like Haryana and Punjab witness a lot of seasonal migration of labor from states like Bihar, eastern UP etc. Further, laborers also migrate due to the increasing inequalities in rural areas from the mid-1990s, which have forced many households to combine multiple occupations to sustain themselves. This has led to rise of a class of 'free' wage laborers which Jan Breman call as '*footloose labor*'.
- VI. **Marketization of land** – As a result of land coming into market, a lot of intermediate classes have also emerged. This and other events like Green Revolution and land reforms have led to *differentiation of class/social structure in rural areas*.
- VII. **State interventions** – New policies of subsidies, cooperatives and agriculture extension also benefited different section of agrarian society differently and hence also impacted the agrarian social structure as well.
- VIII. **Politicization and democratization** – Apart from economic factors, rural social structure was also affected by political participation of various sections. Arrival of Panchayati

system has also affected power situations. Attempts of lower castes to become assertive were met with violent retaliation in many cases.

- IX. **Education and employment** – Due to modern education, employment opportunity outside agriculture also increased. Due to political empowerment and educational empowerment, new types of rural elite emerged.
- X. **Processes of industrialization** – Establishment of new industries in vicinity of rural areas also led to rural-urban migrations. This reduced attachment to land and also diluted centrality of land in agrarian social structure.
- XI. **Urbanization** – As a process of urbanization, rural elites also started to invest in urban areas in new businesses. According to Mario Rutten in his '*Farms and Factories, 1995*', they emerged as new entrepreneurs and provided dynamism in the rural elite structure.
- XII. **Communication and transportation** – Rural areas are now well connected to the urban areas and wider society as well. It has led to better exploration of employment and educational opportunities and hence opportunities to break free from rural social structure.
- XIII. **Globalization and liberalization** – With globalization, Indian farmers are now integrated with the global economy and hence to the global competitions. They are now forced to use expensive inputs to compete with the competition which sometimes lead to economic hardships leading to suicides. Farmers are also exposed to new agricultural practices like 'contract farming', GM crops etc. According to Vasavi, such distress is compounded by the changing consumer culture in rural areas in which increased incomes are required for marriages, dowries, and to sustain new activities and expenses such as education and medical care. These have unforeseen consequences on rural social structure.

However, these changes have affected rural structures in different parts of country differently. In regions like Punjab, Haryana and Western UP, landed groups have transformed themselves into themselves into a dynamic entrepreneurial, rural-urban dominant class. On the other hand, in other regions such as eastern U.P. and Bihar, the lack of effective land reforms, political mobilization, and redistributive measures ensured that there were not too many changes in the agrarian structure and hence in the life conditions of most people. Further, in contrast, states such as Kerala have undergone a different process of development, in which political mobilization, redistributive measures, and linkages to an external economy – primarily the Gulf countries – have brought about a substantial transformation of the rural social structure in an all together different way.

In wake of these changes, many classificatory frameworks based on different parameters are given by various sociologists about the agrarian social/class structure. Daniel Thorner gives a three fold classification in his '*The Agrarian Prospects of India, 1956*' as – *Malik, Kisan* and *Mazdoor* on the basis of right over land. He also maintains that these three classes also reflect social structure too as most of Maliks belong to upper castes and Mazdoors from lower castes and Kisan belong to Artisan class. Maliks are those whose income is derived primarily from property rights in the soil and whose common interest is to keep the level of rents up while

keeping the wage-level down. They collect rent from tenants, sub-tenants and sharecroppers. Kisans are working peasants, who own small plots of land and work mostly with their own labor and that of their family members. They own much lesser lands than the Maliks. Mazdoors don't own any land. Development of capitalist relations in agrarian sector of the economy has also changed the older class structure. For example, in most regions of India, the Maliks have turned into enterprising farmers. Similarly, most of the tenants and sharecroppers among the landless mazdoors have begun to work as wage laborers.

However, most popular classification of agrarian class structure is influenced by Lenin-Mao classification which has five classes –

- I. **Big Landlords** – At the top are the big landlords who still exist in some parts of the country. They own very large holdings, in some cases even more than one hundred acres. However, unlike the old landlords, they do not always give away their lands to tenants and sharecroppers. Some of them organize their farms like modern industry, employing a manager and wage laborers and producing for the market.
- II. **Big Farmers** – The size of their land holdings varies from 15 acres to 50 acres or in some regions even more. They generally supervise their farms personally and work with wage labor. They invariably belong to the local dominant castes and command a considerable degree of influence over the local power structure, both at the village level as well as at the state level. While the big landlords command more influence in the backward regions, the power of the big farmers is more visible in the agriculturally developed regions of the country.
- III. **Medium Farmers** – They own relatively smaller holdings between 5 acres to 10 or 15 acres. Socially, like the big farmers, they too mostly come from the local dominant caste groups. However, unlike the big farmers, they carry out most of the work on farms with their own labor and the labor of their families. Proportionately, they constitute the largest segment among the cultivators.
- IV. **Small Farmers** – Their holding size is small – less than five acres and in some cases even less than one acre. They carry out almost all the farm operations with their own labor and rarely employ others to work on their farms. In order to add to their meager earnings from cultivation, some of them work as farm laborers with other cultivator.
- V. **Landless Laborers** – A large majority of them belong to the ex-untouchable or the Dalit caste groups. Most of them own no cultivable land of their own. Their proportion in the total agricultural population varies from state to state. While in the states like Punjab and Haryana they constitute 20 to 30 percent of the rural workforce, in some states, like Andhra Pradesh, their number is as high as fifty per cent. They are among the poorest of the poor in rural India.

Such classification based merely on land holding size and ignores other factors like – supplementary and other sources of income, rural service classes, emergence of new occupations etc. Therefore, Andre Beteille in his '*Agrarian Structure in India*' indicates that classes should be understood from cultural point of view as well. Agrarian class should be

understood not only from ownership criteria, but also from land use criteria. This leads to a variety of sub-categories in class structure like – owner controller, only controller, owners, but not controller, compulsive landlords, traditional landlords, entrepreneur landlords, absentee landlords and so on. Similarly lower classes can also be sub-divided.

In 1970s-80s, Marxist scholars like Bardhan and Rudra, Kathleen Gough, Utsa Patnaik provided another perspective on agrarian class structure. Utsa Patnaik used Leninist classification – Kulak, Strednik and Bednik – in Indian context in her study of post green revolution Punjab and adjacent areas. She concludes that large land holders and rich farmers have now controlled mode of production and have used dividends from agriculture to diversify their activities and hence further supplementing their agrarian incomes. Thus, further consolidating their position in agrarian class structure. Kathleen Gough too reaches to similar conclusions in her study of Tamil Nadu village.

Lindsberg goes a step further and analyzed the nexus between agrarian and urban class structure. According to him landed elite and urban merchant class exploit situation of distress sales and usurious lending.

Contemporary scholars like K L Sharma offer a diffusive view about agrarian class structure. And he divides agrarian classes into two broad groups with further sub classes.

Feminist sociologists like Bina Majumdar view agrarian class structure from feminist perspective and she argues that with economic growth, gender based exploitation gets institutionalized and agrarian social structure should also be studied with a gender perspective. According to her in agrarian structure women assumes role of home maker and men as bread winner curtailing economic freedom of women.

The agrarian social structure is marked by wide diversities. As pointed out by Dhanagare in his *'Peasant Movements in India, 1983'*, *'the relations among classes and social composition of groups that occupy specific class position in relation to land-control and land-use in India are so diverse and complex that it is difficult to incorporate them all in a general schema'*.

According to Joan Mencher, in different regions, agrarian classes are termed differently by different scholars. For example, in Bengal they are named as – Zamindars, Jotedars, Bargadars, Khet Mazdoors. In Bihar, they are known as – Ahraf, Bakal, Pawania and Jotiya. In Tamil Nadu they are known as Mirsadas, Payakari and Padiyals. So, agrarian class structure also shows regional variations. Thus, both Beteille and Mencher conclude that given the complexity, agrarian classes needed to be studied as particular types based on spatial, interest criteria.

Finally, Vibha Saxena in her article *'Globalization and Depeasantisation'* puts agrarian class structure in light of globalization. Transnational corporations are promoting use of land for cash crops in partnership of large farmers and also acquiring agricultural land. As a result subsistence farmers are further marginalized or depeasantised.

Trend in agrarian class structure has been summarized by P C Joshi as –

- I. Decline of feudalistic and traditional tenancy is replaced by a more exploitative and uncertain lease arrangement.
- II. Decline of feudal landlords and rise of commercial landlords.
- III. Proleterisation of peasant class

As NSSO data shows, even after land reforms upper minority agrarian class dominates more than 60% of land in rural areas. However, redistribution of land has also benefitted landless laborers who now have small lands.

According to P Sainath, growing divide between agrarian classes is a sign that Independent India's government has not rectified colonial blunders by not paying due attention to land reforms. According to Jan Breman in his '*Patronage and Exploitation, 1974*', changes in the social structure of agrarian economy has also adversely impacted the agricultural workers who witness a shift from '*patronage to exploitation*'. Changing social structure has provided more choices to the workers from the lower castes, but this has necessarily not resulted into lower hardships.

Industrial Class Structure

According to Bottomore, 'Social classes' are the characteristic features of industrial societies. Before the British rule, there was little surplus available and hence stratification in terms of class was non-existent. Hence, whole society was considered peasant society. Even when there was a marked class dimension; it was overshadowed by the caste component.

Max Weber in his book – '*Industrial Society*' makes distinction between various classes within industrial class. Various functions performed by various groups award them different industrial class identities. He spoke of as much as 8 classes in industrial class structure like – capitalist class, top level executive, skilled workers, administrative heads, junior managers, supervisory staff, semi-skilled and un-skilled workers.

Duncan and Blau argue that basis of class formation in modern society which have heterogeneous occupations is essentially income and status. Similar income and status professionals from diverse occupation form one class.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS STRUCTURE in INDIA

Industrialization refers to the process that lead to replacement of manpower by the in-animate source of power and setting up of plants and machines which lead to mass production and commoditization of labor. Industrial class refers to strata that form due to division of work in factories. Growth of industrial classes is linked with growth of colonialism and industrialization in India.

Though factories existed earlier also, they assumed shape of modern industries as un-animated forms of power began to be used. Initial industries were – Iron, Jute and Cotton. Impoverished/pauperized peasantry oppressed by land lords gradually moved to sporadic industries and led to further rise of working class. Working class was often localized, concentrated around ports. During British rule, working class was often exploited due to lack of

legislation and unwillingness on part of British rulers. Social structure of the working class mainly composed of unskilled poor workers mostly represented by the lower castes along with poor women representation. Capitalist class was also marked by representation of certain castes. Certain groups of Parsis, Marwaris, the Khojas, the Bhatias and Gujarati traders benefited from their collaboration with the European companies and pumped their resources into the manufacturing sector. Indian capitalist class grew, diversified to some extent and acquired important position by 1940s.

Industrial Class Structure in India has a different historical context than West where Industrial growth and hence growth of Industrial class growth was voluntaristic. According to A R Desai, British dumped their surplus factory produced goods in India and stifled growth of indigenous entrepreneurs on one hand and destroyed domestic handloom industry on the other. Thus, instead of industrial class, a merchant class arrived first as a result of colonial mercantilism.

Post Independence industrial class structure was initially largely governed by state driven socialist economy. According to Sharat Bhowmick rise of public sector gave birth to multiples classes, but they carried a distinct status of '*government employees*' and not of '*industrial employees*' in strict capitalistic sense. Further, at the top of hierarchy of these state run enterprises were political appointees cum administrators and not elite capitalists. At the same time, emergence of organized sector through these public undertakings and other industries a distinction between organized and unorganized sector emerged representing a structural divide between the two.

Government's policy of import substitution and quantitative controls on the other hand led to growth of capitalist class also. As industrialization gained pace, differentiation in industrial class structure also accompanied. With the growth of working class, their social spread also diversified leading to introduction of various cleavages in terms of caste, gender, age etc. Each of these sections had their own problems and posed a challenge in their mobilization.

Post liberalization saw another shift in Industrial class structure which was marked by informalisation of labor on one hand and swell of middle management on the other. Burdhan and Rudra claim that globalization and liberalization has grossly inflated the assets of capitalist class at the expense of working class. Occupational diversification has led to sub-classes in the previously tightly defined industrial class structure.

At a rudimentary level, industrial class structure can be visualized having strata like – the capitalist/owner, top management, middle level managers, skilled workers and manual workers. Middle management has swelled post liberalization and workers had benefits in form of improved social security schemes, new laws etc., but they also had to face new hardship in overcrowded and expensive cities. Diversification of industrial occupation and infinite division of labor has created a continuous hierarchy of industrial classes in India. Growth of service industry and knowledge economy has also contributed to the diversification of industrial class.

Middle Class in India

Middle Class as a conceptual stratum in urban strata of class structure emerged only after industrialization when the concept of class itself emerged in its current sense and it's placed in between the dichotomous property owning and working class. Thus, structurally they are placed in the middle and have characteristics of both upper and lower classes. Weber for the first time talked about middle class as a positive outcome of capitalism and a sign of reduction of poverty. His assertion was also confirmed by a multi-national study – '*Social Mobility in Industrial Society, 1959*' by Bendix and Lipset who after study of 8 industrial societies reached similar conclusions. Similarly, Goldthorpe and Lockwood talk of rise of 'Affluent Worker' in British industrial society. Middle class makes a living by way of selling mental and physical labor in the market. Unlike Working class it is not homogenous and is highly heterogeneous with no fixed boundaries. Different scholars have different views about middle class.

- I. Dahrendorf views middle class occupations as structurally differentiated from the erstwhile ruling class occupations and put forwards many views. In one view, he views the middle class as an extension of the capitalist class. In second view, middle class is seen as an extension of working class. A third position is that there is no such thing as the middle class but instead there are two different groupings with opposed interests, bureaucrats with ruling class authority and white collar workers with a proletarian class situation. Finally, according to the likes of Lockwood, there is a position where it is maintained that the middle class is in a 'structurally ambivalent situation'.
- II. In 'Theories of Surplus Value', Marx goes on to argue that as capitalism develops there is an expansion of the middle class. This happens because there is a rising surplus and middle class rises to consume that surplus. Growth of middle class is a roadblock for proletariat revolution according to Marx. Eric Wright also echoes similar views and he contends that middle class is a deliberate creation of upper class and it share surplus with upper class and hence justifies existence of upper class.
- III. Anthony Giddens identifies middle class as one of the social classes in his three-fold classification of advanced capitalist society. One is upper class based on the 'ownership of property in the means of production', a middle class based on the '*possession of educational and technical qualifications*' and a lower or working class based on the 'possession of manual labor power'. These classes, in Giddens's opinion, are distinguished by their differing relationships to the forces of production and by their particular strategies for obtaining economic reward in a capitalist economy.
- IV. Functionalists view middle class in terms of differential occupational rewards.

EMERGENCE of MIDDLE CLASS in INDIA

Estimates of its size vary from under 100 million to over 250 million persons and it is defined as a class that structurally lies between upper and lower class. There is no single criterion for defining the middle class. B B Mishra in his seminal work on Indian middle class – '*The Indian*

Middle Class – Their Growth in Modern Times, 1978' – attributes emergence of Middle Class to British rule and not to industrialization per se as some sort of industries and trade such as guilds, textile industry etc existed before also. Further, in traditional society, people remained divided into water tight strata on basis of caste and there was little scope for new class formation. Major characteristics of Indian middle class can be summed up as –

- I. The British rule resulted in the emergence of a class of intermediaries serving as a link between people and the new rulers. They mostly included traders and translators.
- II. They belonged to castes which were educationally forward traditionally, but they exhibited their caste identities to lesser degree. In fact, they were the pioneers of social reforms and donned a liberal and secular outlook. Thus, though, it had caste origins, but it was not hesitant to shake its roots for a liberal outlook.
- III. The members of the educated class such as government servants, lawyers, college teachers and doctors constituted the bulk of the Indian middle class.
- IV. While the European middle class was independent, the Indian middle class was under foreign rule. Initially, the middle class helped in the establishment of British power and promotion of European commerce and enterprise in India.
- V. During British period, middle class were mainly urban oriented.
- VI. Expansion of middle caste in post independence period is due to diversification of occupation, economic liberalization and expansion of educational and entrepreneurial opportunities.
- VII. Middle class today is not only urban centric, it is a phenomenon of rural areas also due to expansion of administrative machinery, market economy, Green Revolution, farm mechanization, transport, cooperative movement etc.
- VIII. Today, burgeoning middle class also symbolizes decrease in poverty and deprivation as well.

'Old Middle Class and New Middle Class' are two further conceptual classifications of middle class on a chronological basis according to D L Seth.

- I. Old middle class is the one that emerged during the rule of the British as a result of colonial mercantilism and flourished till independence. It largely had membership from upper castes which came forward to reap the early benefits of colonialism. Further, it was largely urban oriented.
- II. New Middle Class is the one that is of recent origins in post independent India. Rise in white color jobs, emerging public sector, rise in IT and Service industry gave rise to this new middle class.

Conceptualization of middle class in India is complex because of caste as hierarchy of caste and economic status doesn't necessarily coincide and there can be challenges in determining the status.

Scholars also differentiated between rural and urban middle class. Some thinkers like Yogendra Singh assert that both are similar at one ideological level, but antagonistic at another as they have different interests. For example – rural middle class has its interests in agriculture which has seen decline post Green Revolution and many farmers have witnessed downward mobility, while urban middle class is growing. Similarly, Ananda Kumar in his '*Indian Middle Class*' argues that '*while urban middle class is 'market' bound, rural middle class is 'power' bound*'.

Andre Beteille contends that idea of middle class is often highly romanticized as an outcome of liberal democracy, a vibrant capitalist economy and individual freedom, but middle in itself has sub-classes which fight for scarce resources in a country like India and this struggle can be unhealthy at times.

Another characteristic of the 21st century Indian middle class is its strong identification with consumerism. Acts of consumption are taken as critical indicators of a modern status by this emerging middle class in the post liberalization era.

According to T K Ooman, Indian middle class is a harbinger of silent revolution as it has through NGOs, PILs and Social Movements etc has raised the muted voice of the poor. Today it is successfully acting as a watchdog of functioning of democracy. According to Amartya Sen in his '*Argumentative Indian, 2006*', it scrutinizes public policy, leads public debates and discourses and also acts as a public think tank. Gurucharan Das in his '*India Unbound, 2002*' indicates that in post liberalization India there has been massive growth in middle class which is outgoing, risk taking and innovative and has the potential to transform socio-economic landscape of India.

Urban Class Structure

Contemporary urban class structure in India developed during British rule. The urban areas and occupations that exist today are creation of the colonial rulers. India was predominantly a rural agrarian economy before the arrival of the British. Creation of new administrative structure, growth of new industry, demand of new service providers like lawyers, teachers, doctors etc were the factor that led to creation of differentiated class structures in urban areas as well. Another big factor was introduction of money economy as a medium of exchange and a measurement of status of individual. Traditional reciprocity system gave way for the impersonal market relations for the first time in urban areas.

Due to infinite division of labor at workplace, there cannot be an all encompassing framework to express class structure in India. As in case of agrarian class structure, sociologists have attempted many classification of urban class structure which can be generalized in following manner –

- I. Capitalists or commercial and industrial class – Origin of Indian capitalist can be traced in the merchant traders that were there before the arrival of British rule. When industrialization started, they were the first to reap gains out of it. Today, in the age of IT and Technology, innovation and entrepreneurship is making 'overnight billionaires' possible and 'rags to riches' stories come true. So, this class has a much diverse social background today.
- II. Corporate sector – Indian corporate sector is substantially large and highly diversified. Top most management is still controlled by the business owners, but middle management is occupied by the

members of upwardly mobile middle class. Education is the prime medium which is making it possible.

- III. Professional classes – Bureaucrats, management executives, technocrats, doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists etc belong to this class.
- IV. Petty traders and shopkeepers – They are the one who have little capital and little skills. They are the local small time entrepreneurs and traders. They are a result of growth of new cities and urban centers.
- V. Working classes – Origin of the working class could be traced back to the British rule. This was the modern working class which was the direct result of modern industries, railways, and plantations established in India during the British period. This class grew in proportion as plantations, factories, mining, industry, transport, railways and other industrial sectors developed and expanded in India. It was formed predominantly out of the pauperized peasants and ruined artisans. Post independence industrialization further led to swelling of this class and more so after Industrial Policy Resolution of 1991. It has a diverse base including casual labor, industrial workers, domestic help, wage-labor and so on. They are also the most vulnerable of all as they don't have any organizational capabilities and have little job or income security.

SYSTEM of KINSHIP in INDIA

The kinship system refers to a set of persons recognized as relatives, either, by virtue of a blood relationship technically called consanguinity, or by virtue of a marriage relationship or affinity, or by adoption. Kinship system also has various relations in it which perform various functions as well. Such relations differ from society to society and are governed by various principles like – lineage, descent, marriage, division of labor, inheritance, residence, authority etc.

Lineage and Descent in India

Definitional aspects and functional aspects of lineage and descent have been mentioned earlier in previous paper.

Social structure of India is greatly defined by cultural principles propagated by social institutions like lineage and kinship.

Significance of lineage and descent in India is studied by scholars like – Coomarswamy, Ghurye etc and they used concepts like – *Kula*, *Gotra*/clan etc.

- I. According to Ghurye, cutting across the caste lines, gotra is universal in India. Gotra is a source of unification and division as well. Kula refers to the lineage where people identify their source of origin, worship a common ancestor.
- II. According to Coomarswamy rule of marriage are greatly determined by doctrine of *kula* and *gotra*. One is not supposed to marry 5 generation on mother side and 7 generation on father's side confirming principles of *sapinda* exogamy and caste endogamy. Thus, lineage and kinship define identity of an individual in India.
- III. T N Madan in his study of Kashmiri Pundits, '*Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir, 1965*' indicates that the entire community gets related to each other on basis of primary, secondary, tertiary kinship.
- IV. Feminist scholars like Uma Chakravorty on the other hand see lineage and descent as perpetuating unpaid labor and patriarchy in Indian society. It deprives women of inheritance rights and reproductive role is attached to women and productive to men.
- V. Lineage and descent also play a role in other fields. For example – according to Paul Brass, while caste is an important component of Indian politics, kinship is another important.

Types of Kinship Systems

As mentioned earlier, kinship system refers to a set of persons recognized as relatives, either, by virtue of a blood relationship technically called consanguinity, or by virtue of a marriage relationship or affinity. They are broadly two types – affinal kin and consanguinal kin i.e. kin based on marriage and kin based on blood relations. S C Dube also talks of fictive kin. Kinship is not only a concept related to link individuals in terms of social relationships, but it is also used as a principle of succession, inheritance of property, bifurcation and division. It can be a complex system which Malinowski has referred as '*Kinship Algebra*'.

Kinship systems are also classified on the basis of descent method used. When a descent criterion is restricted to males only, such kin are called '*agnatic*' or patrilineal kin. When descent is traced through females, such kin are known as '*uterine*' or matrilineal kin. Both of these are unilineal kinship groups. Kinship groups which include both male and females are called bilateral groups.

Indological accounts also differentiate kin groups on the basis of various cultural notions as well. Sapinda group, sarika group, kula, gotra and so on are some of the kinship systems.

Murdock mentions two types of kinship terms to explain kinship behavior and analyze kinship interrelations – '*terms of address*' and '*terms of reference*'. Term of address refers to the culturally patterned relationships among individuals. Terms of reference on the other hand indicate the linguistic symbols involved in the relationships. There can be a gap between the two due to application of a single classificatory term to a variety of different relatives. In south India, 'Anna' refers both an elder brother and an father. Similarly, 'Uncle' is used to refer a host of relations like – maternal uncle, paternal uncle – including *Taau* and *Chacha*, *Phoofa*, *Mausa* and so on.

They are also classified on the basis of the degree of kinship –

- I. Primary Kin – Some relatives are very close, direct and near. For example – father, son, sister-brother, husband-wife. They are called primary kin. According to S C Dubey, there 8 such primary kin.
- II. Secondary kin – They are primary kin of primary kin. According to Murdock, there are 33 secondary kin of a person.
- III. Tertiary Kin – They are secondary kin of our primary kin and primary kin of our secondary kin. They can be of 151 types according to Murdock.

Kinship groups are also seen in functional terms. They play a role in inheritance, authority structure, succession, group membership, marriage etc. They are also responsible for performance of various roles – jural, economic and ritual roles. Kinship groups are also responsible for production of certain good and services and it is specifically true for agrarian societies.

A comprehensive study of Kinship groups on the cultural basis was done by Irawati Karve in which she divided India into four zones.

Family and Marriage in India

FAMILY

Traditionally, family system in India has been understood in terms of joint family system. In various religious scriptures, family and marriage is considered essential for fulfillment of Dharma. It is considered as one of the stages of life – viz – *Grihastha Ashrama* – where procreation and sexual gratification are considered as essential functions. Indological view of the Hindu family is one of a property holding and *shraadh* performing unit.

Under the influence of various factors, conception of family in India has changed. Instances of traditional joint family are coming down and instead new forms of jointness are emerging.

Despite changes due to industrialization, urbanization and modern education, notions of joint family still remain alive though in a different form.

Before independence, Indological School presented a textually informed view of family confined to strict theoretical interpretation in terms of '*traditional joint family*'. However post independence and recent research has shown that family should be rather studied in terms of degree of jointness in terms of various factors which make it a joint family and not in terms of a strict joint-nuclear dichotomy.

Hence, joint family has been viewed differently by differently scholars. For example – M S Gore, Irawati Karve, Henry Maine etc have viewed it in terms of greater generational depth, common residence, common kitchen or eating together (commensality), joint property (coparcenary), authority of Karta etc.

Various key factors that affect 'jointness' are –

- I. **Commensality or common kitchen** – Most of the studies of joint family use commensality (eating together) as a defining criterion.
- II. **Common residence** – D P Mukharjee and Pauline Kolenda have stressed this dimension to define joint family.
- III. **Coparcenary or joint ownership of property** – Researchers, like F G Bailey and T N Madan, have advocated the limitation of the term joint family to a group of relatives who form a property owning group, the coparcenary family.
- IV. **Relative strengths of conjugal and affinal bonds** – According to M S Gore, emphasis on conjugal ties (i.e. between husband and wife) is supposed to weaken the stability of the joint family. The father-son relationship (filial relationship) and the relationship between brothers (fraternal relationship) are more crucial for the joint family system than the husband-wife or conjugal relationship
- V. **Cooperation and sentiment** – Scholars like I P Desai and K M Kapadia point out that jointness should be looked in functional terms. A functionally joint family lays stress on fulfillment of obligations towards kin.
- VI. **Ritual bonds** – The ritual bonds of a joint family are considered to be an important component of jointness. '*Shraadh*' for dead ancestors, common deity worship
- VII. **Kin relations between members** – It is almost unanimously agreed that joint family has two or more than two married couples. Pauline Kolenda in her analysis has defined 6 types of joint families on the basis of the relatives who are its members.
- VIII. **Generational depth** – Some scholars like I P Desai, T N Madan have defined joint family in terms of generation depth. A joint family is commonly defined as a three generational family.

A M Shah in his '*Household Dimension of Family in India, 1973*' remarks that in post-independent India the joint family has steadily increased. The contributing factor is the increasing life expectancy in India and orientation of members. He also attaches four meanings to the term family in Indian context –

- I. Family as a household i.e. a group of people living in the same dwelling unit
- II. Family as a social group i.e. consisting of parents and children whether living together or not
- III. Family as a kinship unit i.e. all those which are closely related by blood or marriage
- IV. Family in terms of common lineage and it gives family an extended meaning

According to him, while census number of households might have increased, but it doesn't mean that instances of nuclear family have also increased as jointness has to be judged from orientation towards kinship and not by co-residence. According to him, instances of joint family have, in fact, increased when joint family is seen from perspective of orientation towards kinship.

K M Kapadia in his study '*Rural Family Patterns, 1956*' defines joint family in terms of generational depth, common kitchen, and authority of Karta etc. It is important to note that property was an important factor behind the jointness. Kapadia also found that though most families are nuclear, they are actually 'joint' in operation.

I P Desai on Jointness of Family – I P Desai in his study of Mahua, a small town in Gujarat, titled '*Some Aspects of Family in Mahua: A Sociological Study of the Jointness in a Small Town, 1964*' sees jointness in terms of 'degree', 'intensity' and 'orientation' with regard to functions and obligations which people perform for each other despite living separately and not in strict dichotomous nuclear and joint terms. He found five degree of jointness –

- I. Households with zero degree of jointness i.e. totally nuclear
- II. Households with low degree of jointness i.e. joint only by way of mutual fulfillment of obligations
- III. Households with high degree of jointness i.e. by way of common ownership of property
- IV. Households with higher degree of jointness i.e. marginally joint family
- V. Households with the highest degree of jointness i.e. equivalent to traditional joint family

According to him only 10% families felt highest degree of jointness and 60% felt no jointness at all and rest felt other degrees of jointness.

He also examines the question of jointness in terms of religion, occupational relations, property, education, urbanization, kinship obligations and household composition. It is also viewed as a process as a part of household cycle – nuclearization as some members leave and then again becoming a joint one after new members are added. He laid more stress on understanding of structure based on generation and lineage. He attributed decline in jointness to the growth of capitalist economy. I P Desai has seen jointness in terms of '*orientation of action*' and when action is oriented towards the husband, wife and children, the family can be categorized as a nuclear unit; and when the action is oriented towards a wider group, it is defined as a joint family. I P Desai calls such a family as '*Integrated Joint Family*' which is structurally nuclear, but functionally joint. He concludes '*A residential nuclear group in India is in social, cultural and other non-social environment which are not same as in West. Joint household may be disappearing, joint families stay*'.

Similarly, Gail Omvedt classifies jointness in family as – always joint, occasionally joint and minimal joint.

Further, another school also sees joint family in India as a process of fission and fusion.

In his study of a village in South India titled '*Kinship and Distance in Rural India, 1965*', Ishwaran found that 43.76% nuclear (elementary) families and 56.24% were extended (joint) families. The villagers attach a wealth of meaning to the term 'jointness' and in their opinion one either belongs to the joint family or depends upon the extended kin. In fact, the isolated independent elementary family does not exist for them, and indeed its actual existence is largely superficial due to heavy reliance upon the extended kin group. The extended family is the ideal family, reinforced by religious, social, economic and other ideological forces.

Various contemporary factors that affect joint family in India are –

- I. **Economic Factors** – Since Independence, opportunities for and diversification of occupations have increased. Production is not confined to home and land alone.
- II. **Legal Factors** – Inheritance rights, rule of law and equal status of woman has generated an independent thinking and have also generated awareness among the rights of the members. Legislations regarding employment, education, marriage, and property, have affected the family system in many ways.
- III. **New forms of families** – New trends like live-in, single parent families, divorce and separations etc have also affected joint family.
- IV. **Educational Factors** – English and rational education system has prompted children and the young ones to question the orthodoxies of traditional ideas like child marriage, denial of rights of education to women, property rights of women and ill-treatment of widows. It has also led to increase in age of marriage as well.
- V. **Cultural factors and Westernization** – Young couples emulate the Western model which provides more freedom to the couple in terms of privacy, financial independence and mobility.
- VI. **Urbanization and Industrialization** – The process of urbanization has also affected the pattern of family life in India. It denotes the movement of people from rural to urban areas and a shift from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations.
- VII. **Land reforms** – In rural areas, land reforms also prompted the family heads to transfer the lands to their adult children to escape ceiling. But this had an unforeseen consequence in form of nuclearization as children who got financial independence chose to live separately. According to Lakshminarayana, the theoretical partition hastens formal partition, and sows the seeds for separate living.
- VIII. **Lack of facilities in rural areas** – Many young couples shift to cities for a better future of their children.
- IX. **Individualism** – New values in society promote individual achievement and individuals are detaching themselves from the family to assert their individual identity.

There are also studies that show that instances of joint family are not affected by these developments, and in fact joint family has been strengthened by these developments. However, it is not so that factors of change were always disintegrative of joint family and members do retain their kinship orientation despite physically not being part of joint family.

Pauline Kolenda in her '*Regional Differences in Family Structure in India, 1987*' looks into household perspective and gives multiple types of family/households beyond the joint nuclear debate in a much comprehensive way –

- I. Collateral Joint Family comprises two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond.
- II. Lineal Joint Family consists of two couples, between whom there is a lineal link, like between a parent and her married sons or between a parent and his married daughter.
- III. Supplemented Collateral Joint Family is a collateral joint family along with unmarried, divorced and widowed relatives.
- IV. Supplemented Lineal Joint Family is a lineal joint family together with unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives, who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families.
- V. Lineal Collateral Joint Family consists of three or more couples linked lineally and collaterally. For example, a family consisting of the parents and their two or more married sons together with unmarried children of the couples.
- VI. Supplemented Lineal – Collateral Joint Family consists of the members of a lineal collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to none of the nuclear families (lineally and collaterally linked), for example, the father's widowed sister or brother or an unmarried nephew of the father.
- VII. Nuclear family refers to a couple with or without children.
- VIII. Supplemented nuclear family indicates a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents, other than their unmarried children.
- IX. Subnuclear family is identified as a fragment of a former nuclear family for instance a widow/widower with her/his unmarried children or siblings (unmarried or widowed or separated or divorced) living together.
- X. Single person household
- XI. Supplemented subnuclear family refers to a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family along with some other unmarried, divorced or widowed relative who was not a member of the nuclear family. For instance, a widow and her unmarried children may be living together with her widowed mother-in-law.

S C Dude considers jointness can be emotional, economic and political. So, there is disintegration of joint household, but not of joint family. Pauline Kolenda in her '*Regional Differences in Family Structure in India, 1987*' observed that Industrialization has strengthened the joint family as economic base has been provided. Similarly, Richard Lambert in his study of factory workers of Poona concluded that average size among factory workers was 5.2 while size of family among other residents of Poona was 4.5. M N Srinivas in his study of Entrepreneurs of Okha and Milton Singer in his study of industrialists of Madras in his '*The Indian Joint Family in Modern Industry, 1968*' concluded that joint family has modified itself with demands of industrialization and modernization. According to Srinivas '*joint family has adapted itself to suit the modern business enterprise*'. As both husband and wife engage in gainful employment, they require more help from their parents and kin. Parents often live with young IT professionals who have erratic work hours to look after the children. Joint family is, thus, not only functionally adaptive to agrarian economy, but to industrial economy as well.

Modern sociologists like S C Dube, Yogendra Singh and Andre Beteille consider that economic base is not the sole factor causing the changes in joint family, but there are multiple processes of modernity that include education for men and women, quick means of transport, growth of caste free occupation, migration, respect for individualism etc.

Eugene Litwak claims that nuclear and joint family are two theoretical ideals and in between there exists '*Modified Extended Families*' in which children marry out or migrate from the parental household upon marriage, but engage in common activities with parents and other kin on a regular basis.

Joint family is also seen in terms of desirability and undesirability. It is viewed as desirable as it provides economic security, provides economic placement, provides social security, helps in upbringing of children, sharing of burden, provides emotional support, provides status to individual in a traditional society, acts as a unit of economic activity and consumption, performs socialization function, performs religious rites and rituals and so on. However, it is also accused of killing individual's initiative, promoting patriarchy, making members docile, hinders mobility and so on.

Disintegration of joint family in India is associated with the following changes –

- I. Change in authority structure – Once the family splits into several units, new authority centers emerge there, with the respective eldest male member as the head of each nuclear unit.
- II. More liberty to women – After the split in a joint family, women, who earlier had no say in the family affairs, also emerge as mistresses of the nuclear households
- III. Impact on weaker members of the family – With the breakdown of the joint family system, the aged, widow, widower and other dependents in the family face severe problems.

MARRIAGE

Ancient Hindu texts point out three main aims of marriage. These are *dharma* (duty), *praja* (progeny) and *rati* (sensual pleasure). Islam looks upon marriage as '*sunna*' (an obligation) which must be fulfilled by every Muslim. So, even from religious point of view, marriage is a universal social institution in India. The report of the '*Committee on the Status of Women in India, 1971*' indicated that only .5% of women never marry in India.

According to Mendelbaum, marriage is much more than a sexual union in India as '*a marriage mobilizes the family's social resources and through marriage, members renew kin ties or establish new bonds of kinship*'.

Among Hindus, marriage is a sacrament and a duty. According to Kapadia, in his '*Marriage and Family in India, 1964*', rites like – *homa* or offering to fire, *panigrahna* or taking the hand of bride and *saptapadi* or taking seven steps together by bride and groom etc give marriage sacred meaning. As a result, it is also considered as indissoluble among Hindus. It is bound by rules of endogamy and exogamy. Endogamy is generally exercised on basis of religion and caste and

exogamy on the basis of gotra or clan, village etc. In Southern India, such rules are not followed strictly where preferential marriage is also there. Even Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 doesn't allow marriage within five generations on father's side and three on mother's side. Among Hindus, polygamy is now prohibited by the same law. Many rituals are also accompanied by the marriage ceremony.

Among Muslims, marriage is still governed by religious factors and unlike Hindus, there is no legal code. It is not a sacrament, but more like a contract and marriage is generally solemnized through a document called '*Nikahnama*'. Polygamy is still allowed as per law and a male can have up to four wives. Endogamy is another distinguishing feature. Both cross and parallel cousin marriages are allowed and only the elementary family is exogamous unit. In Muslims, concept of '*purity of blood*' seems to be mainly responsible for marriage preferences. Another significant feature of the Muslim marriages is '*Mehr*', which is guaranteeing of some security in name of bride.

There are many other peculiar features which are unique to India. In some regions of North and Central India, levirate and sororate is also practiced. Under levirate, a man marries his deceased brother's wife even if he is already married. It is also known as *Nata* or *Nantra* locally. Levirate is a taboo among higher castes in North India. However, sororate is practiced by upper caste as well as it involves a widower and not a widow.

Marriage as an institution among other communities and tribes has its own distinctive features.

Traditionally, marriage was also guided by various rules as well. According to Kapadia, mate selection is primarily based on three rules – field of selection, party of selection and criteria of selection which are limited by rules like – preferential code, prohibitive restrictions, endogamy, exogamy and so on. Special Marriage Act, 1954 has tried to do away with many of these rules, but some overbearing factors like caste still remain a part of Indian marriages. According to Kapadia, '*smaskara*' also play a big role in marriages. They have put a high premium on virginity of girls and this promoted child marriages in past. In Muslims also, Shia and Sunnis practice endogamy and they don't marry with among each other.

Marriage has also undergone several changes –

- I. One of the most significant early changes was 'widow remarriage' facilitated by social reformers like Raja Ram Mohun Roy.
- II. Raising of marriageable age through Sarda Act of 1929 was another major step in this direction which aimed at curbing the menace of 'child marriage'.
- III. Post-independence period also saw enactment of Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 and Special Marriage Act, 1954 to rationalize the institution of marriage and rid it of certain social evils. Polygamy has been banned for Hindus. Divorce and widow re-marriage are no longer social stigma.
- IV. Concerns for career and spread of higher education are also leading to rise in age of marriage.

- V. In India also, marriage as an institution is undergoing several changes and stresses. New experiments like live-in, single parent families and same-sex marriages are now gaining more traction as law takes a liberal interpretation of individual liberties.
- VI. Manner of mate selection are also changing and love marriages are more common. Even in conservative hubs like Haryana and Western UP, youths flout traditional norms like – Khap and Gotra endogamy rules to choose their mates in a freer manner. Inter-caste marriage are also becoming a norm. Some hybrid form of mate selections like ‘arranged-love-marriage’ are also emerging.
- VII. With greater intrusion of technology and science, it was expected that a secular-scientific outlook would emerge and, consequently, the non-essential rituals and customs will be done away with leading to reduction in wasteful expenditures as well.
- VIII. Emergence of matrimonial websites has on one hand made marriage as a more liberal process as young couples meet online, date and get married. On the other hand they are also strengthening the traditional form as many caste and community specific matrimony sites have also come up.

Family and marriage have undergone changes due to various factors. Industrialization and occupational differentiation has led to geographical mobility. Many traditional family occupations are shunned for new avenues and nuclearization of family happens. Similarly, in case of India, land reforms and land ceiling requirements had led to demands of separate households. Legal factors also played their role as individual was empowered and government policies promoted the idea of small family as the source of happiness. Divorce and separation laws were made women friendly. Education also promoted liberal thinking and docile character was shed by many individuals. Urbanization also leads to migration, but high costs of living deter shifting of whole family.

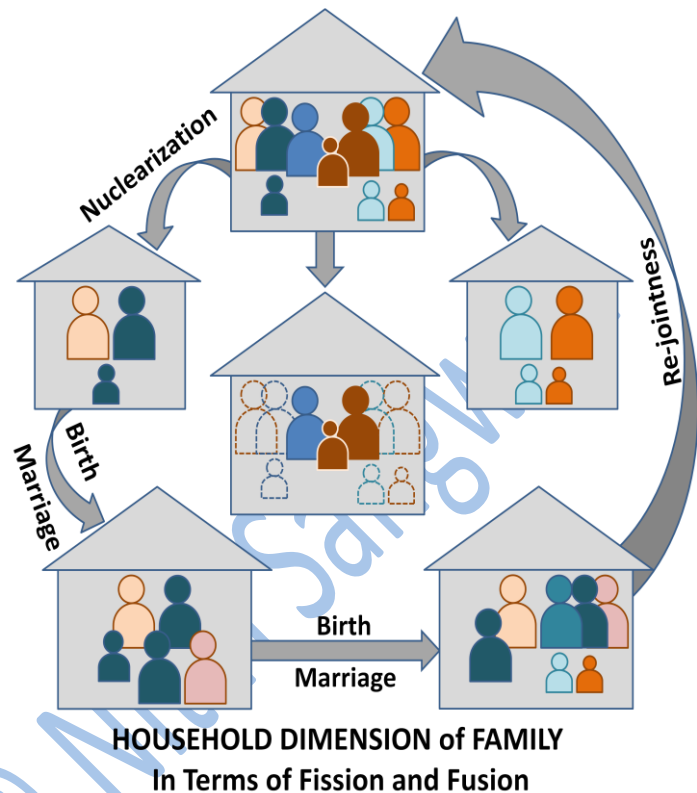
Household Dimension of Family

Household is a dwelling unit and is often termed as the ‘residential unit of the family’ or *ghar*. A household may be a family household, a non-family household, an institutional household like a hostel or dormitory and so on. Similarly, a family may exist without a household. Household is an important dimension of family because it is considered an important criterion in terms of ‘common residence’ in defining a family as either a joint family or nuclear family. While a family may still remain joint in terms of its orientation, but it may already be a nuclear family. The members of a household have a set of relational ties amongst them linked with the statuses held and the role members of the family are expected to perform. All the members of a family may not live in the same household all the time. Geographically distanced homes may be occupied by a few of the members of a given family.

Household dimension of family can be understood at three levels –

- I. Nuclearization of family in wake of globalization, migration, urbanization, modernization etc – This is a classical view given by likes of Tonnies, Louis Wirth etc. which however has been found only partially correct in Indian context.

- II. Fusion and Fission – Sociologists like A M Shah, Kapadia, Kolenda and Gore and others observe a cyclical change from nuclear to joint to nuclear family within a period of time. According to A M Shah in his famous '*Household Dimension of Family, 1973*' studied villages of Gujarat and remarked '*A household in itself is neither joint nor nuclear, but becomes either of these by virtue of its being under progression and regression in a developmental process*'. A household may experience progression and/or regression or both on the basis of birth, adoption and in-marriage and out-marriage, and death, divorce and separation of members over a period of time. For example, a married son's moving out of his father's house in patrilineal society makes the son's house a simple/nuclear one, or rather a separate one. This act may or may not simultaneously make his father's household a nuclear one. Shah concluded that family should be looked beyond joint-nucleus debate and instead household dimension should be taken into account to get a true picture of rural social setup. According to him, '*while basis of family is kinship relations, basis of a household is residence*'. For this reason, Shah uses terms simple and complex households rather than nuclear or joint households as the term household is used for the residential grouping and family for the group related through kinship, emotional, ritual and legal dimensions. By using this conceptual distinction between family and household, Shah has shown that the proportion of joint families has remained the same if not increased over the past several decades as jointness is actually in terms of orientation and not in terms of residence. Kinship dimension of the household pattern is important to make meaningful analysis of quantitative data which only shows a rise in number of households.



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- I P Desai in his study '*Some Aspects of Family in Mathura: A Sociological Study of the Jointness in a Small Town, 1964*' effectively proves that the cyclical pattern of patrilocal–neolocal–patrilocal residence i.e. joint residence to nuclear and back again to joint residence may continue to exist in any city, village or town and there is no conclusive evidence to prove change in any one direction. He further states that at times joint households may disappear, but joint families stay.
- III. Relationship between household and family in terms of degree and jointness.

Pauline Kolenda has also worked towards clarifying the conceptual issues about family and household. She has proposed a comprehensive scheme in her comparative study of the Indian joint family based on many ethnographic studies and household censuses held after 1949. She looks beyond the joint-nuclear or extended-elementary types of family households through her twelve broad classifications like – Nuclear Family, Supplemented nuclear family, Subnuclear family, Single person household, Supplemented subnuclear family, Collateral joint family, Supplemented collateral joint family, Lineal joint family, Supplemented lineal joint family, Lineal collateral joint family, Supplemented lineal collateral joint family.

According to A M Shah, process of development of household is affected by various factors and there are three major factors –

- I. The first is the demographic factor, which not only includes the phenomena of birth, adulthood and death but also the sex and number of members. While these phenomena are demographic in origin, they are social in operation.
- II. The second factor is the series of explicitly stated norms regarding the residence of various relatives in a household.
- III. The third is the pattern of interpersonal relations in a household governed by the norms or codes of proper conduct attached to kinship relationships in the household.

Rapoport in his study of industrial families across the regions found that organizational characteristics of household is largely influenced by factors like – class, ethnicity, life course and particular context. For example – for middle class household is a nucleated household, for upper class it is usually a joint household. Similarly South Asians predominantly prefer joint household.

Due to factors like divorce, separations, occupational compulsions/mobility, desertion etc, household dimension of family is also changing. So, today a family may or may not have a single household or even a household at all and household may exist without a family. While family is a product of marriage, household today also come into existence due to live-in relationships, single member household, sexual promiscuity, occupational mobility and migration and so on. Similarly, communes in certain socialist countries are another example of household replacing family.

So, today, household dimension is becoming an overshadowing dimension of family as a unit of demographic analysis and even sociological studies.

Patriarchy, Entitlements and Sexual Division of Labor

Patriarchal system in India operates at multiple levels. In West, position of women is often expressed in economic terms through indicators like employment, decision making on financial matters, ownership rights, economic status and so on. In India, many other dimensions like – rituals, kinship, social roles, cultural values etc also determine patriarchal structures and hence entitlements associated with it and division of labor based on it. Further, there is also remarkable variation in entitlements and division of labor across various castes, ethnic groups, regions, age groups, religions and classes.

Position of women in Indian society is often associated with virtues like commitment to family, loyalty to husband, humility, forbearance and so on to disguise the iniquitous nature of entitlements and sexual

division of labor. Even Mahatma Gandhi viewed that women has infinite capacity for sufferings because she is the mother of man. Such cultural notions are challenged by feminists today as constitution guarantees equality to all.

Uma Chakravorty on patriarchy: Uma Chakravarti argues that the establishment of private property and the need to have caste purity required subordination of women and strict control over their mobility and sexuality. Female sexuality was channeled into legitimate motherhood within a controlled structure of reproduction to ensure patrilineal succession. Her analysis of Brahminical patriarchal relations is especially noteworthy. According to her the mechanism of control operated through three different levels –

- I. Ideological Indoctrination – The first device was when patriarchy was established as an ideology and women had internalized through *stridharma* or *pativartadharma* to live up to the ideal notion of womanhood constructed by the ideologues of the society.
- II. Brahminical Customs And Notions – The second device was laws, customs and rituals prescribed by the Brahminical social code which reinforced the ideological control over women through the idealization of chastity and wife fidelity as highest duty of women. The relationship between women purity and caste purity was important and central to Brahminical patriarchy and women were carefully guarded and lower caste men were prevented from having sexual access to women of higher caste. While Anuloma marriages were allowed, Pratiloma were not.
- III. State Sponsored Patriarchy – The third was the state itself which supported the patriarchal control over women and thus patriarchy could be established firmly not as an ideology but as an actuality.

She believes that patriarchy has been a system of benevolent paternalism in which obedient women were accorded certain rights and privileges and security and this paternalism made the insubordination invisible and led to their complicity in it. Therefore gender relations are organized within the structural frame work of family, religion, class, caste, community, tribe and state.

Karuna Ahmad explored four characteristics of women's employment in India in her article '*Studies of Educated Working Women in India: trends and Issues, 1979*' which also reflect the larger sexual division of work in Indian society –

- I. Clustering of women in a few occupations – Occupations are stereotyped as feminine and masculine. In India, the word 'nurse' evoke only a female figure unlike West where it can be both male and female
- II. Clustering either in low status occupation or in the lower rungs of the prestigious profession – Women are predominantly there in low key jobs. They are there due to sheer compulsions at times as incomes of males are too inadequate to run the households. In India, more than three-fourth of the female workforce is employed in the primary sector whereas only half of males work in that sector. Men get opportunities in both secondary and service sectors.
- III. Women receive lower salaries than men – There is discrimination in wages as well. Female laborers are given even below the minimum wages. Further, women are also reluctant to take up those promotional opportunities which are likely to locate them away from the place of their husband or family.
- IV. High proportion of highly educated and professionally trained unemployed women – In India, women workers account for one-third of the rural workforce whereas in urban areas, they are just one-fifth of the workforce. It is common to find that where men are able to earn high incomes, families discourage female members from taking up jobs.

Employers also discriminate against women. There is a well recognized phenomenon of an invisible 'glass ceiling' present in professions which prevent the women from reaching the top jobs. T S Papola in his study of Lucknow women in employment shows that women were discriminated against at the time of promotions and tended to be crowded into lower status clerical and primary school jobs.

At home also, similar division of work takes place. House chores are attributed as feminine, while males take work outside the house. Ritually, women only are entitled to do fasts. When women are employed in outside work, their domestic responsibilities still remain with them and they do a double shift of work. It is generally said that women generally suffer from dual stratification – of gender and of work, but in India certain sections of women like Dalit women suffer from triple stratification – gender, class or work and of caste. Even within a family, first priority is given to the employment of the husband and employment of women is given a low second priority and is linked with the employment of the husband. Even when they are employed, according to Leela Gulati in her extensive survey of Kerala villages, employment did not improve the women's self-estimation or status in the social hierarchy.

Regional Variations in Kinship in India

Kinship in India is instrumental in not only providing identity, but also governs various aspects of social life. In India, there is a variation in kinship patterns across the country. Kinship relations are significantly different from North to South, Tribes to Castes and so on. Due to variation in castes and religions, there are also variations in hierarchies and social relations as well.

Irawati Karve – a student of Ghurye – in her '*Kinship Organization in India, 1952*' divided India into four cultural kinship zones based on many factors like – kinship terms, language, descent and inheritance, patterns of marriage and family, and other cultural values. She has taken an historical, evolutionary, comparative approach and she started with genealogy of the characters of Mahabharata of India. She also used many Sanskrit texts as well. The kinship patterns follow roughly the linguistic lines, but they don't go hand in hand always. For example, Maharashtra exhibits influence of both Dravidian and Northern Sanskrit influences. She highlighted various similarities and dissimilarities in marriage patterns, based on certain criteria as –

- I. **Rule of Marriage** – In North India, the kinship system is characterized by negative rules of marriage. The South Indian kinship system, on the other hand, is characterized by positive rules of marriage.
- II. **Endogamy and Exogamy Rules** – In North India, a marriage alliance links one family with an entirely new family and in fact one village with another village. Village exogamy is almost universally practiced in North. In South India, most marriage alliances occur within a small kin group and the emphasis is laid on relationships on both the father's and mother's sides. Further, there is almost no territorial exogamy in South India. This results in co-activity among the affines. In North India co-activity takes place among only the lineage members. One's affines generally live in other villages and do not participate in one's day-to-day affairs.
- III. **Matrilocal and Patrilocal** – In some of the south Indian castes like Nayyars, there is a tradition of matrilocal. Similarly, among Khasi tribals of Meghalaya matrilineal and matrifocal kinship is popular.

- IV. **Kinship Terminology** – Following the composition of kinship groups the kinship terminology in North India reflects the separation of kin related by blood from those related by marriage. While in South India, the kinship terminology emphasizes the symmetry of relationships between the affines.
- V. **Preferential Marriage** – Marriage alliances in North India follow the principle of hypergamy. This means that the bride-givers are distinctly inferior to the bride-takers. In South India, preferable marriage is with one's matrilineal and sometimes patrilineal cross-cousin and sometimes intergeneration. This situation makes it difficult to brand the bride-takers as superior to the bride-givers. Dumont terms such marriages as 'isogamy'.
- VI. **Status of Woman** – The differences between the two systems in terms of status of women. In North India, a girl enters the family of total strangers when she gets married and leaves her natal home. Her behavior in her father's house is quite different from how she is expected to behave in her father-in-law's house. In South India, from the woman's point of view, there is little difference between her family of birth and the family of marriage. She is not a stranger in her husband's house.
- VII. In North India clan names mostly come from name of rishis, in South India clan names come are attached to gold, silver, snake, trees etc also. In central India, it comes from both.
- VIII. Another basic similarity is unilineality of the two kinship systems. In both North and South India, we find the application of one principle of descent either matrilineal or patrilineal.
- IX. Further, due to heterogeneity in India, Kinship relations also vary according to religious affiliations.
- X. In North-East, Khasi and Garo follow matrilineal inheritance, Gonds practice youth dormitories, in certain tribes of central India Parent-in-laws can marry children-in-laws.

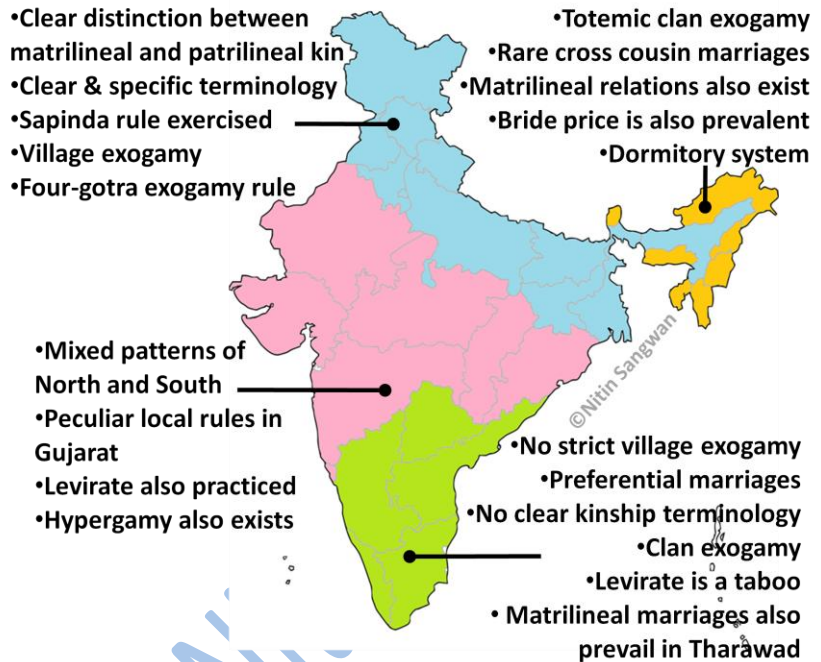
Since, bride in North is a total stranger, her proximity and closeness to her husband often breed suspicion among the other members of family and she is also often blamed for the breakdown of joint family system. The distinction between 'daughters' and 'brides' is very sharply emphasized in this system. A conspicuous symbol is veiling of bride. In brief, the northern zone is universally patrilineal, though patrilineal systems are also found among different communities in the southern or Dravidian zone, along with a variety of residence patterns.

Some distinctive features of kinship in North are –

- I. In North India, there is a clear distinction between matrilineal and patrilineal kins.
- II. Persons belonging to a given generation and sex are addressed by a particular terminology and hence kin-terms are very specific and non-repetitive. There are also primary terms for three generations and terms of one generation are not exchangeable with the other generation.
- III. Sapinda rule is extended to 5 generations on the mother side and 7 on father side.
- IV. Mother and father village exogamy is also followed.
- V. Definition of incest taboo is wider as there is no concept of preferential marriage in North and marriage with primary kin is not allowed.
- VI. Generally, a four-gotra rule is followed in marriage in which four gotras are avoided – mother's, self, grandmother's and maternal grandmother's.

Some distinctive features of kinship in Central India are –

- I. In certain castes like Kunbis, Kathis etc cross cousin marriages are present.
- II. As languages in this region are of Sanskritic origin, kinship relations also have a marked northern influence.
- III. Marathas and Rajputs don't strictly follow the principle of village exogamy as followed in North.
- IV. In general, there are no uniform patterns in central zone regarding kinship relations. For example, in Rajasthan Jats practice two gotra exogamy, but Banias practice four gotra exogamy and Rajputs have hypergamous clan.
- V. In Kathiawad and Gujarat, many peculiar local rules are followed. Some of the castes in these areas allow marriages only during particular years – say once a year, every four years etc.
- VI. Practice of levirate is also practiced in many central Indian areas and it goes by name of Nantra in many places.
- VII. In Maharashtra, both Sanskritic and Dravidian traditions are followed. Marathas are divided into small clans and inter-clan marriage is greatly practiced i.e. clan exogamy is there. Hypergamy also exists in central Maharashtra.



IRAWATI KARVE'S Classification of REGIONAL KINSHIP VARIATIONS

Some distinctive features of kinship in Southern India are –

- I. Patrilineal and Patrilocal system dominate, but there are matrilineal and matrilocal traditions are also there among the Nayars, the Tiyans, some Moplahs in Malabar region which is collectively known as Tharawad. Tharawad consists of a women, her brother and sisters, her own and her sister's sons and daughters. No affinal relatives live in Tharawad and there are no husband-wife and father children relationship in Tharawad.
- II. Village exogamy is not a fixed rule in south and different clans within a village marry each other.
- III. Like North, castes are divided into exogamous clans in South as well.
- IV. Preferential marriages are followed in South. Marriages with elder sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter, and mother's brother's daughter are preferred. However, there are taboo on

marrying with younger sister's daughter and mother's sister's daughter. So, a cousin can also become a wife.

- V. Levirate is also a taboo in South, while it is practiced in some areas in both North and Central India.
- VI. There is no distinction between family of birth and family of marriage.
- VII. Kinship terminology overlap. For example – Ai is used for elder sister as well as for mother, Anna is used for both an elder brother and father. As a result, there is also no clear cut classification of kin on the basis of generation. Instead, kinship terms denote age relations instead and the respect thereof.

Some distinctive features of kinship in Eastern India are –

- I. Northeastern regions are neither geographically contiguous, nor are they linguistically homogenous.
- II. There are a lot of variations in the kinship relations. Cross cousin marriage is allowed among Ho, but with some pre-conditions like – such marriages cannot happen as long as father's sister or mother's brother is alive. It makes cross-cousin marriage a rare phenomenon.
- III. Some tribes like Khasis have matrilineal families. However, unlike Nayars of Malabar in which the husband is only an occasional visitor, in Khasis the young couple lives together separately and property and lineage goes through the youngest daughter or mother if no female relatives are there. Position of a man is same as a Hindu bride.
- IV. Dormitory system is also prevalent in some tribes under which young male and females are kept and they even indulge in pre-marital sex and it may or may not lead to marriage.
- V. Tribes are often divided into exogamous totemic clans.
- VI. In some tribes, money is also given to father of bride for procurement of brides, in some other tribes marriage takes place by way of kidnapping

RELIGION and SOCIETY

Religious Communities in India

India is home to some of the world's oldest religions like – Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism etc and also to hundreds of new sects and cults. Christianity came to India in first century itself when Saint Thomas came to India. He was one of the original 12 apostles of the Christ. Islam came to India in around 650 AD. Similarly Zoroastrians or Parsis came to India when Persia was invaded by the Muslims. While Muslims and Christians swelled in their numbers due to their open outlook, Parsis and Jews remained a closed community and remained limited in numbers.

As per census 2011, Hindus constitute the largest religious community in India with more than 80% population followed by Muslims with 13% population. Other communities are – Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, Jains, Christians, Jews etc. Christians are mainly concentrated in North Eastern and Southern states. Buddhists which were once influential throughout Northern India, are now confined to Laddakh, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Darjeeling and Maharashtra.

Different religious communities in India have different cultures and features. Some of them are also declared as minority groups and government takes active steps to ameliorate their position. Some like Parsis are considered enterprising and have significant representation in industrial sector. Parsis also suffer from certain problems of their own like – dwindling number. Similarly, Muslims also have their own problems which were highlighted by Sachhar Committee as well. Material well being of different communities also differs greatly. Minority religions, except Muslims, are generally educationally more forward. According to Yogendra Singh, Great Tradition of Islam is founded on the world view which is non-hierarchical and monotheistic. Unlike Hinduism, Islam is proselytizing. It also has elements of egalitarianism and fraternity as well as there are no castes or creed and all Muslims are treated as equal. It saw a great decline during British rule and Muslims in India still suffer from historic inequalities and conservative biases of their own.

Over the years, continuous co-existence has also led to cultural exchanges. Islam is highly influenced by Sikhism, Bhakti Movement of Hinduism. Islam impacted Indian culture in a big way and Sufi tradition, Hindustani music and architecture styles are lasting contributions of Islam. Similarly, Hinduism has also evolved into various sects. Lingayat sect is highly influenced by Christian beliefs.

Diversity of religious communities sometimes also poses a threat to national integration in form of communalism. India is still a very traditional society and secular nationalism is still to emerge stronger over cultural identities rooted in religion.

Problems of Religious Minorities

India has numerous ethnic and religious groups of various sizes. Constitution of India also makes a distinction between majority and minority groups, but doesn't define them. Minorities are of two types – linguistic and religious minorities. Religious minorities are five – Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsis. A religious community is declared minority not on basis of their absolute numbers, but other factors like their threat perception, cultural development etc.

Recognition and protection of minority rights under a legal framework has two objectives – firstly to prevent state from being oppressive against the minorities as in a democratic setup government is run by majority, secondly to provide the minority a protective zone whereby they can preserve their separate identity while contributing in national development and progress.

Many problems of the minorities stem from the fact that in a democratic system, where leaders are elected on the basis of majority vote, they are left politically vulnerable as they become dependent on majority which comes to power.

Problems of minority can be classified as their common problems and their specific problems. Some of the common economic and cultural problems are –

- I. Despite the notification, the social relationships between the majority and minority have not changed and as a result suspicion still prevails, relations are still less harmonious and minorities feel a threat of their identity.
- II. Their representation in public jobs, armed forces etc still remain low.
- III. The threat perceptions after a series of riots in past few decades have lead to physical insecurity also.
- IV. Due to historic factors and despite enactment of suitable laws, psychological insecurity is still there and it often proves as detrimental to actual insecurity. This was also identified by our founding father, Nehru said, *'Test of Indian secularism lay not in what majority thought, but how minority feels'*.
- V. Indian Education Commission of 1960s has also highlighted language related problem that minorities face. Many minority institutions like Madrasas are still not modernized and their degrees are not accepted as essential qualifications.

There are certain specific problems as well –

- I. Muslims have lagged behind a great deal in human development parameters. Their representation in public employment is poor and in armed forces abysmal. Sachhar Committee of 2006 has highlighted that Muslims in India suffer from three fold problems – problem of identity, security and equity. It found that Muslims have highest incidences of stunted children and 25% of children have never been to school. Though Muslims are 13% in population, their representation in postgraduate courses is only 2%. Share of Muslims in armed forces is 4% and only 27% of Muslims in urban areas are in regular employment.
- II. Christian missionaries are often alleged of forced conversions and subjected to attacks. Brutal murder of Christian missionary Graham Stein by a fanatic Dara Singh is such an example.
- III. Reservation provisions are also non-uniformly applied across the religious groups. For example, Scheduled Caste reservation for the converted Buddhists and Sikhs is there, but not for Dalit Christians.
- IV. Sex ratio among Sikhs is poor despite relatively high affluence of the community. Their relations also became strained with the majority in wake of events related to Khalistan movement, Operation Bluestar, consequent assassination of Indira Gandhi and communal violences.

- V. Parsis have their own peculiar problems. They are the most affluent community in India, but their numbers are dwindling. They are a highly inward looking group with no conversion and no permissions for exogamy.

Ignoring minority problems can have dangerous consequences. An apt example was witnessed in our own neighborhood when Bangladesh was formed in 1971 as the then Pakistan neglected the problems of its eastern brethren. Brutal violence in Sri-Lanka a few years back is another example. Frustrated youths of minority groups can also turn to other nefarious activities like terrorism as well.

Constitution of India uses the term 'Minorities' at two places under Article 29 and 30 and provides them right to promote and preserve their culture and set up their educational institutions. Five Year Plans have special provisions for their welfare. To give a specific focus on their developmental needs, 90 minority concentration districts have also been identified.

PART C – SOCIAL CHANGE in INDIA

VISION of SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

India is a multicultural country and has a complex society. It is a victim of foreign colonial rule as well as internal evils like caste system, inequality, poverty and gender discrimination as well. Indian society had many fault lines, many of which exist even today. Social change was visualized to bring difference into lives of the depressed, women and other weaker sections including children. Special attention was paid for making everyone **equal politically**. Villages were also given considerable attention to improve their economic as well as social condition. Vision of social change also included **integration** of India **emotionally** and **politically** warding off evils of communalism, caste and regionalism.

Vision of social change is reflected in our **constitution** and **policies** of government. Insertion of the word **'socialist'** in our constitution underlined our commitment to social change. Mention of lofty ideals like – **fraternity, equality, liberty in the preamble defines our vision**. Special legislations were brought to realize the **high** ideals of **social** change. Special safeguards were provided for SCs, STs and women.

Social change in rural areas was given great attention, as Indian society was predominantly a rural one at the time of independence. This is the reason that **land reforms** were given high priority post independence to bring social change in rural areas. In the same way, changes in the technological organization of agriculture also have a large and immediate impact on rural society. Green revolution and resulting social upheaval is a case in point.

Idea of Development, Planning and Mixed Economy

David Hall in his book – '*Planned Social Change*' indicates that planning **offers a guideline to** the state to define **how to allocate scarce resources for maximum collective wellbeing**. It makes a balancing act between individual **aspiration of people and collective goals of state**. It also provides for welfare of those who are at the receiving end in society. Thus, planning is not only a nation building exercise, but also a welfare exercise.

Development in Indian context didn't mean just economic development, but also social and cultural development as well. **Development meant not only growth, but growth with justice to those who had undergone colonial oppression and had also suffered from evil practices – like caste, untouchability, bondage, discrimination, patriarchy and so on – that were prevalent in India**. Our constitution itself laid down **philosophical framework** for development that was to be undertaken. It declared India a **socialist** country and directive principles called for **minimization of inequality**. Article 15 calls for positive discrimination for weaker sections. Thus, philosophical basis of developmental planning in India has deep welfare roots.

Planning as a process was seen as an **imperative for the newly independent country** for several reasons. First, **we had scarce resources** and needed to ensure that they were used in most **efficient** way. Secondly, **poverty alleviation and minimization of inequality** was also paramount and a planned approach to fight these was necessary. Thirdly, India had witnessed the **evils of a capitalist economic system** and **socialist ideology** had deeply impacted **leaders** like Nehru who had already witnessed impact

of planned development in socialist countries like the USSR. Fourthly, planning was also visualized as a **tool of rapid economic growth** which was necessary for generation of resources, **providing employment**, making investments in social schemes and so on. With these in mind, developmental planning was started in 1950s with dual **focus on agriculture and heavy industry**. During the 1950s and 1960s, development policy makers sought to increase productivity and per capita incomes through advances in the **manufacturing** sector. Its pivot was Nehru Mahalanobis model of growth. Agricultural development was important as 80% population was engaged in agriculture and condition of peasantry was not very good. Heavy industry development was necessary as India wanted to **have self-sufficiency** in critical areas so that foreign dependency can be curtailed which was also necessary for preserving the **sovereignty** of the newly independent nation.

To give the ideas of development and planning a practical shape, India went for a mixed economy model. A mixed economy is the one in which both private and public sectors participate. India adopted this model for various reasons. First of all, **Indian state didn't have so much resources** that it could undertake all the economic and social activities and hence, limited private participation was seen as desirable. Secondly, India had a huge population which was suffering from poverty and deprivation and hence, had a towering agenda of social reforms as well. Private sector is **driven by profit motive and cannot be expected to look after the welfare of such sections**. Thirdly, private sector was also not very well developed and lacked requisite capital, **resources and expertise** to set up certain critical heavy industries which had long gestation periods. Fourthly, India was **also wary of a capitalistic system** with the evils associate with it in form of greed, inequality etc. India wanted not just development, but **development with equity**. For these reasons, it adopted a middle ground in form of a mixed economy.

Development planning under a mixed economy also assumed a **redistributive role** to minimize inequalities in society. As a result, in early phase of developmental planning key industries, banks and services were nationalized. Government actively promoted agriculture, subsidy for poor and special schemes for the development of the poorest of poor. This is also the reason that even **12th** plan document of India calls for not only **'faster growth' growth, but also 'more inclusive' growth**.

Though there have been shortcomings in development planning, achievements are no less significant. As compared to 80% poverty during colonial times, today we have **37%** poor (Tendulkar Committee). Educational standards have shown great improvement with **75%** people literate now. India is self-sufficient in terms of food security.

Constitution, Law and Social Change

Law and constitution play an important role in social change in a diverse and traditional society like India which suffers from multiple inequalities like – caste, class, gender, regions, ethnicity and religion. Law can be a great tool in the hand of **every common man with which he can fight all the irrationalities, dogmas, biases and stereotypes, hegemony and dominance in a liberal democracy**. Law attacks old **dysfunctional social institutions in both rural and urban areas**.

Constitution of India guarantees **equality of status irrespective** of caste, gender and race in India. Directive principles call for minimization of inequality and **positive discrimination**. Values enshrined in preamble and directive principles acts as a **guiding light for public policy and parliamentary legislations**

for social change. As a result, numerous schemes, legislations have been launched to address specific needs of various sections.

In India, importance of law and constitution regarding social change is more pertinent vis-à-vis situation of four groups – Dalits and other depressed sections, women, the poor and the tribals. Constitution bans untouchability in Article 17 and Untouchability Offences Act 1955 was important legislation in this direction. There is also provision of positive discrimination in the constitution itself.

There are now laws to address basic needs like – MNREGS, Law against Domestic Violence etc.; there are many progressive legislations also like Right to Education, Right to Information etc that aim at improving quality of life as well. Similarly there are laws for sections with special needs like – legislation for National Commission for Minorities, Tribes and Other Forest Dweller's Right Act etc.

According to Yogendra Singh, law plays an important role in bringing or preventing social change. Social change as a neutral concept can be viewed in following manners –

- I. Law as legitimizing social change – After the rise of anti-untouchability movement, law banned it by making constitutional provisions.
- II. Law may initiate social change – Recent amendment regarding Right to education can be seen as an harbinger of social change in direction of providing free universal education to all
- III. It may hasten a social change – Law often provides momentum to social change. For example in case of Marriageable Age, law led to rapid decrease in Child Marriages which was already seeing a decline due to modernizing influence of new ideas
- IV. It may prevent a negative social change – Several laws prevent social change in negative direction. For example – Anti Narcotics Laws aim at preventing increasing anomie in society. Another legislation is PCPNDT Act which prevents skewed sex ratio.

Marxists on the other hand see law as a part of larger ideological framework of state and working on behest of the dominant groups in society.

Further, 'a law is as good as its users'. To make laws effective their implementation as well as awareness is also necessary. Willpower of people is another factor. Failure of Dowry law is a classic example. A lack of strong political will is another debilitating factor.

However, Upendra Bakshi and Govind Mishra indicate that majority of people in India don't have access to justice delivery system and thus it compromises law as an effective instrument of social change. Similarly, according to Andre Beteille, while constitution may define the direction in which government should move, it is the people who through their actions and ideology determine efficacy of that law.

Education and Social Change

Education today is considered as one of the main sources of building human capital. Education builds such human capital which has greater skills, more productivity, and better analytical power and so on. It inculcates a rational outlook and makes one aware about choices in life.

India has a long tradition of education in form of gurukuls, guru-shishya parampara etc. Some of the earliest universities of the world were established in India in form of Nalanda, Vikramshila and Takshila.

When India came under British rule, traditional systems gave way for the modern ones. In 1835, Macaulay laid the foundation of modern English based education. But British system was focused on producing clerks for its administration and little focus was on universalizing aspect of education or promotion of education in mother language. Some indigenous efforts were made by leaders like Lokmanya Tilak, Pt Madan Mohan Malviya, Rabindra Nath Thakur, Swami Shradhanand, Mahatma Gandhi and so on.

At the time of independence, there was just 18% literacy in India. India had more than 50% of its population below poverty line at that time and makers of our constitution have realized that education can play an important role in ameliorating socio-economic situation in India. Universal education was therefore added as one of the directives to state in directive principles which was later also given shape of a fundamental right when Right to Education was made a reality in 2009. In our society where social change is inhibited by multiple factors like – caste, gender, economic status and so on, a secular tool like education offers great hopes for social change. Education provides for equality of platform and opens avenues of social mobility.

According to Dr. Radha Krishnan *'Education is an agent for social change what in simple societies was done by the family, the religions, social and political institutions has to be done by the educational institutions today'*. Modern societies stress upon equality of opportunity and equality of status. Education assumes great significance in such social set-up as it becomes a universal avenue for social change which is open to one and all irrespective of their caste, creed, gender, ethnicity and status. Dube made an empirical survey of various professions like lawyers, engineers, teachers etc in Gorakhpur in 1967 found out that most of them had rural backgrounds. He concluded that education provides an avenue of inter-generational mobility in a traditional developing society like India as well.

In the traditional sense, the essence of education lay in realizing one's potential and developing it as an integrated aspect of growing up. According to Coomaraswamy, a meaningful educational system pursues the following ideals –

- I. Universal philosophical attitude
- II. Recognition of sacredness of all things, which is the antithesis of the Western division of life into the sacred and the profane
- III. Religious toleration based on the awareness that all dogmas are formulae imposed upon the Infinite by limitations of the finite human intellect
- IV. Etiquette – civilization conceived as the product of civil people
- V. Relationship between teacher and pupil implied by the terms guru and shishya/chela, respectively
- VI. Learning as a privilege never to be used merely as a means to economic prosperity
- VII. Altruism and recognition of the unity of all life
- VIII. Control not merely of action but also of thought.

Thus, meaning of education in India has been more profound. Traditionally, education in *Gurukuls* had an all-round focus and apart from formal education, moral education and physical education was also imparted. Thinking on these lines, Gandhiji had advocated a system of education better known as basic education or '*nai talim*'. He advocated a kind of education that would develop among children self-reliance, commitment to non-violence, awareness about others' and their own rights, responsibilities, and obligations in society. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of basic education also included appreciation of human labor. His ideas on education seem relevant as an alternative way of a total development of the body, mind, and soul through self-restraint, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, self-fulfillment, and community participation.

Education is not just formal education in schools, it is much broader concept. When printing press arrived, books on scriptures were easily available to even lower castes that were earlier denied access to the holy texts. When we talk of sex-education, we refer to more than classroom lectures. Similarly, gender equality, caste inequality and inequality in status cannot be addressed merely through textbooks. Awareness and sensitization is very much part of education which is simultaneously imparted in society through informal platforms as well. Success of social legislations which aim to hit at orthodoxies in society depends much on such informal aspects of education. Legislations like Sati Abolition Act and Child Marriage Act could bring significant social change because of education and awareness of masses. This is also the reason that despite enormous stress on gender equality in formal curriculum, actual situation has still remained worrisome as it has not been accompanied by informal education and mass awareness.

However, education as a tool of empowerment is not uniformly used in India. The per capita education expenditure differs considerably across states from as high as Rs 3,440 in Lakshadweep to as low as Rs 386 in Bihar. This leads to differences in educational opportunities and attainments across states. States like Kerala and Tamil Nadu has performed on multiple parameters of human development because of education. Literacy rates in these states are high. Kerala is a leading state in terms of better sex-ratio, almost universal institutional deliveries, e-governance, political participation, health coverage and so on.

Further, orientation of our educational system also needs change. Formal education in India is not employment oriented and promotes rote learning. It doesn't promote innovativeness and inquisitiveness. It is also marked by many stark contradictions. The level of unemployment among educated youth is the highest. As per NSSO data, in the year 2000, the rate of unemployment among youth with education up to secondary level and above was 7.1 per cent whereas the rate of unemployment for youth with education up to primary level was only 1.2 per cent. The Indian education pyramid is steep, indicating lesser and lesser number of people reaching the higher education level.

Education in India also suffers from various other weaknesses. Issues of holistic personality development, inculcation of nationalist and humanistic values, respecting of dignity of labor have been generally ignored. Education has also become a profit centric exercise. Functioning of government schools is a matter of great concern as their standards are falling day by day. Incidents of caste discrimination are still reported from schools and there have also been reports of segregation of children while eating Mid Day Meal. Caste associations and religious associations are also running educational institutions and it is a roadblock in building an egalitarian society.

Despite the fact that education is a strong mechanism for social change, it is not the only factor in ushering social change. Malvika Karlekar indicates that in states like West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh etc, literacy among Muslim women is high, but still their economic participation is poor. Thus, guaranteed education doesn't guarantee gender equality. Similarly, in case of North East, Xaxa points out that tribal youth get educated in hope of gainful employment, but in wake of lack of opportunities, the disillusioned youth indulge in nefarious activities.

Further, many structural and infrastructural hurdles are still there. According to Jean Dereze, three major factors still mar education in schools – poor infrastructure, irrelevant curriculum and poor quality of teachers. Though we have universal enrollment at primary levels, dropouts are still very high. Cost of education is another barrier in a developing society like ours. Education may not be the panacea that it is claimed to be. Still, no society is totally open and provides for true mobility for all. Education needs to be accompanied by removal of other structural barriers also to be an effective instrument of social change.

RURAL and AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION in INDIA

Rural and agrarian transformation agenda was taken with the planned development process. India was a predominantly agrarian and so, attention to rural areas was all but natural. Rural and agrarian transformation projects included improvement of standard of life in rural areas, improving education and health, land etc. Earlier approaches which were mainly top-down and were later modified. In the realm of agricultural production, growth in output during the **first two decades after independence was achieved mainly by increasing the area under cultivation, land reforms, scientific intervention supported by expansion in public investment in supporting infrastructure**. It was soon realized, however, that the gains from these methods reached, to a large extent, to only a small minority – mainly those who were already better off and privileged and this further accentuated inequality in rural areas. By the 1970s it became clear that there were serious problems in the way the issues and problems of agrarian development were being tackled. Similar fallouts were associated with Green **Revolution** as well.

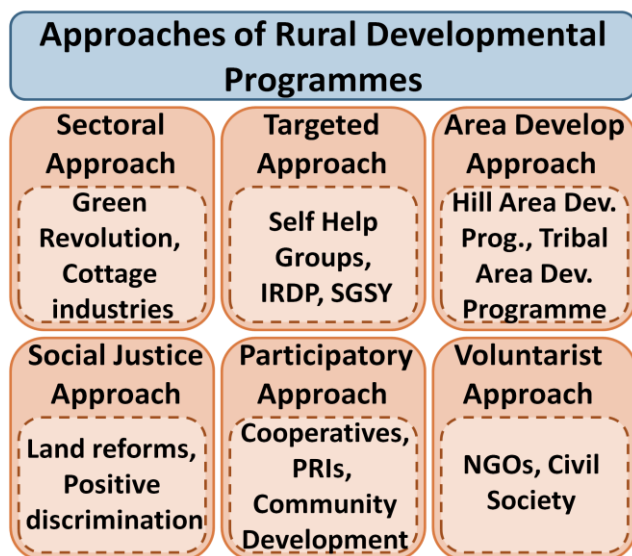
Following can be summed up as major **target areas** for rural transformation in India –

- I. To improve the **living standards** by providing food, shelter, clothing, employment and education
- II. To involve people in planning and development through their **participation** in decision making and through **decentralization** of administration
- III. To **increase productivity** in rural areas and reduce poverty
- IV. To ensure **distributive justice** and equalization of opportunities in the society
- V. To overcome the barriers of caste, class, gender **imbalance** etc to achieve above goals

Programmes of Rural Development

Rural development was one of the topmost agenda of the government of India as most of the population lived in rural areas. Rural development was also important for securing food security for our huge population and achieving the ideal of socio-economic equality as enshrined in our constitution. Further, rural development was necessary to minimize urban-rural **equalities**, check **migration** and provide decent standard of living to those living in rural areas. In recent times also, rural development is a big planning concern as it became clear that the earlier strategies adopted remained largely ineffective in alleviating poverty and inequalities in rural areas. Top down approaches proved futile and now rural development programs seek greater participation of the people.

Broad objectives of rural development include – enhancement of agricultural productivity, building of basic infrastructure, bringing down inequality, developing rural leadership, reduce burden from cities and check rural urban migration, to improve rural ecology and environment, addressing issue of unemployment, promote community



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participation, woman and depressed class empowerment, to ensure distributive justice and equalization of opportunities in the society and improve standard of living.

Rural development programmes involve a number of projects each, which are aligned to one another so that they influence the various facets of rural economic and social life. Therefore, rural development programmes attempt to bring about changes in a wider area impacting a greater number of people. Rural development programmes are also more difficult to implement than individual projects because of the problem of scale. They require an integrated multi-pronged approach.

Various rural development programs that were launched post independence can be categorized as –

- I. **Community Development** – The Community Development Programme (CDP) initiated in the 1950s intended to involve popular participation in rural development. It laid emphasis on the building of infrastructure in rural areas with the participation of rural communities.
- II. **National Extension Services** – It aimed at providing various agricultural extension services to rural areas and thus increasing production and rural incomes.
- III. **Cooperative Movement** – Cooperative movement was also started to bring people together and developing synergy from their own efforts.
- IV. **Panchayati Raj Institutions** – They were envisaged as institutions of local self governance for developing local leadership and bringing in political transformation.
- V. **Green Revolution** – It was the program to ensure food security for the nation and improving agricultural output and incomes in rural areas.
- VI. **Integrated Rural Development** – The concept of ‘integrated rural development’ came into vogue with the need for a multipurpose thrust to rural planning. It stresses that various facets of rural development, which have an impact on rural life, are interrelated and cannot be looked at in isolation.

Apart from these broad programs many specific projects, schemes and programs were also launched from time to time like – National Literacy Mission, Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan for sanitation, Drought Prone Areas Programme for dry areas, (DPAP) Integrated Watershed Development Program for watershed management, Swarnjayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojna and MNREGA for rural employment, Minimum Support Price to make agriculture viable, Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna for rural connectivity, Backward Region Grant Fund for development of underdeveloped areas and so on.

Community Development Programme

It was a multi project programme launched in 1950s with the aim of an overall development of rural India. This programme consisted of agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, cooperation, public health, education, social education, communication, village industries etc. There were officials for each activity at district level to plan, execute and evaluate the programme up to the village level.

Its main idea was to use local leadership, human resources and physical resources to bring about changes in agrarian economy so that government resources can be employed in capital formation in industry etc. It was coupled along with National Extension Scheme which was influenced by American Extension Scheme.

Community Development Programme was the first major effort for rural development. It was conceived as a method through which the Five Year Plans would initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the village. The emphasis of the programme was not only on material prosperity but on non-material aspects of community life as well.

Its main objectives were –

- I. Increase in employment
- II. Increase in agricultural production through application of scientific methods of agriculture
- III. Establishment of subsidiary and cottage industries
- IV. Promotion of self help and self-reliance and
- V. Extension of the principle of cooperation
- VI. To develop local leadership
- VII. To build community assets
- VIII. To improve healthcare
- IX. To provide education for children and adults

Community Development Programme came to be viewed as a social movement with active involvement of the people and aimed at all-round development of the countryside. Operationally, this programme was based on the assumption that the described change could be ushered into the countryside by providing the necessary infrastructural facilities in the villages. It did succeed in creating some assets and progress like minor irrigation, education etc but was marred by many limitations.

Causes of the failure of the community development programme are as follows –

- I. **Uneven distribution of the benefits of the programme** – Influential people garnered benefits of credit etc.
- II. **Excessive government hold** – Marred by excessive bureaucratization and most of the decision making power was concentrated in block development officers and district collectors. It didn't ensure people's participation which was later recommended by **Balwant Rai Mehta Committee** and to do that establishment of Panchayati Raj institutions was recommended by it.
- III. Absence of clearly defined **priorities** in the programme.
- IV. A **divided rural society** based on caste-based land relations and hierarchical social organization.
- V. **Failure to evoke popular response** – Local leadership that was envisaged, couldn't be developed.
- VI. **Unqualified personnel** and lack of appropriate training and skill development mechanisms.
- VII. **Lack of functional responsibility** – People didn't own up the program in general.
- VIII. **Ritualism** – A spirit of ritualism permeated the block programmes and inauguration, opening or foundation stone lying became the be all and end all at all block activities.

One positive outcome of this program was that it **eventually paved way for establishment of institutes** of **local self governance which led to strengthening of grass root democracy**. It also provided important lessons for the future programs of rural development.

Cooperatives

Cooperative is a **voluntary** group of people on equal basis with similar interests and activity who leverage their resources for collective as well as individual gains. In Indian rural context, role of cooperatives was envisaged to extricate rural peasant from the grip of moneylenders, provide technical knowhow, promote economies of scale and uplift the standard of living. Intermediaries in production chain are cut and its benefits accrue directly to the farmers, poor and rural community.

Phenomenon of cooperatives came into formal existence even before independence. Leaders like Gandhiji, Nehru and other socialist forces viewed them as essential for rural development. **First cooperative credit society was registered in 1905 in Bombay. With the enactment of the 'Cooperative Societies Act 1919', cooperatives became a state subject. J C Kumarappa led agrarian committee in 1940s recommended cooperative farming. Cooperative Planning Commission was constituted in 1946. After independence, first Five Year Plan called farmers to join cooperative movement. 'Vaikunth Mehta Committee' suggested that emphasis should be laid on service and consumer cooperatives and re-organization of rural credit.**

Principles of cooperatives –

- I. **Voluntary and open membership** without any restrictions/discrimination on the basis of gender or social, political or religious affiliations
- II. **Democratic member control** with equal voting rights
- III. **Autonomy and independence with** 'self-help' as guiding principle
- IV. Education, training and information for members
- V. Wider community concerns and work for the work for the sustainable development of community

Cooperative institutions were set up in the villages, as supportive institutions of Community Development Programme and Panchayati Raj. The aim of the cooperative institutions was –

- I. To provide essential agricultural **inputs** and **credit** to farmers
- II. To ensure adequate **return** to the farmers for their produce
- III. To ensure supply of **essential** commodities to villagers at reasonable rates
- IV. To promote **harmonious relations** and a sense of participation among rural people

Credit societies, service cooperatives, producers' cooperatives and labor cooperatives came into existence, as the cooperative movement grew. The dairy cooperatives specially became a big movement, which resulted in what is popularly known as the 'White Revolution' in India. Cooperatives became particularly successful in states of **Maharashtra (sugarcane cooperatives) and Gujarat (milk cooperative).**

P R **Dubhasi** considers cooperative as not an **institution, but as a movement because needs of peasant class keeps on changing and so movement also evolves.** For example when cooperative movement started in India it was for credit needs, but today cooperatives are there in almost every field.

A R **Desai** observed that effort towards establishment of cooperatives can **help to overcome the debacle of agrarian social order caused by colonial rule. Cooperatives** as institutions can complement land reforms in changing picture of agrarian social structure.

According to Chaturvedi, though the cooperative societies increased in number through the decades, the movement has been only a **partial success.** It has no doubt provided infrastructural facilities credit

and essential agricultural inputs to the large and middle farmers, but the landless and poorer people have not benefitted by this scheme.

According to B S Baviskar, **power conflict is one of the factors that have marred growth of cooperatives.** Political neutrality and people's active role was envisaged as spirit of cooperatives, however opposite happened. A new breed of politics – **'Cooperative Politics'** emerged as a result.

Similarly, **Daniel Thorner indicated that cooperatives are hijacked by the richer sections and have become agencies serving their interests.** Further, they function on the basis of '*caste economics*' of village. In his study he found that, many cooperatives were dominated by single families in villages of Gujarat. Membership of big farmers to cooperatives is itself against the very philosophy of cooperatives.

There were other hosts of problems associated like – **over-bureaucratization, lack of professional management, non-repayment of credits, poor participation, elite capture, poor technological support** and so on. The laws framed by the government, however, were restrictive and in certain cases contrary to the principles of cooperation. There were also **regional imbalances** and it was highly restricted in many states like the North-East, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. The movement did not develop wherever the government equity was more, but it went well where the government control was minimal. For example, in the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra, where the governments did not have any stake in the equity of cooperatives

Despite the perception that the cooperative movement has failed, there have been significant achievements especially in Maharashtra Sugar Cooperatives and Gujarat Milk Cooperatives. The share of **cooperatives in rural credit disbursement amounted to 49.3% during** the year 2001-2002, fertilizer distribution was 36.0%, sugar production 59.0%, branded oil marketing 50% and so on. Their achievement was their reach which is now coverage of more than 80% of villages by 2010, their failure was their effectiveness. Many steps have been taken to reform these cooperatives. With the passing of the reform Act, i.e. the **'Multi State Cooperative Societies Act, 2002'** and the enactment of parallel Acts in respective states, an attempt has been made to cut red-tapism in the cooperatives. In Acknowledging their significance, government has even **passed 111th Amendment to constitution in 2011 inserting Article 43B, making cooperative formation as a right to every citizen of India.**

Poverty Alleviation Schemes

Poverty which stood at around **55% at** the time of independence is now at the level of **37%** as per Tendulkar Committee report which is widely accepted by government now. **Amartya Sen defines poverty as – 'Lack of what one needs to live in society – Not only to survive, but also for contribution and participation in society'.** He redefines poverty not only in terms of economic status, but in terms of **capability as well and hence connects it to the empowerment.**

Government has adopted multiple approaches towards fighting poverty over the years which include –

- I. **Phase-1, Trickle Down Approach** – Initially government adopted the 'Trickle down approach'. Assuming that overall development will slowly percolate to the poor ultimately. Poverty alleviation programs were used as supplementary mechanisms.

- II. **Phase-2, Focused Schemes** – Finding the assumption of ‘Trickle Down Effect’ not working, government launched specific poverty alleviation schemes from 3rd Plan. Many schemes like ‘Million Wells Schemes’, ‘Food for Work’, ‘Pradhan Mantri Rojgar Yojna’ etc were launched. 4th plan called for ‘Garibi Hatao’ and 5th plan saw focused attention on poverty alleviation.
- III. **Phase-3, Integrated All Round Approach** – Poverty is looked as a multidimensional phenomenon and along with employment guarantee schemes like MNREGS, other schemes like Self Help Group Scheme, National Rural Livelihood Mission, National Skill Development Mission, Public Distribution System, Integrated Child Development Scheme, Midday Meal Scheme etc are also launched as a part of multipronged strategy. Apart from these schemes, social spending has been increased significantly. One can trace this approach from the Fifth Five Year Plan. Developmental schemes like – Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana, Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana, Ambedkar Awas Yojana are also attempts in the same direction. Human Development is also taken as priority and linked with poverty. With RTE, primary education has been made fundamental right. NRHM is an effort to uplift health care in villages. Right to Food aims at eradicating hunger.

So, current poverty alleviation schemes aim at not only for providing food for hungry stomachs, but to address the larger issue of human development and build sustainable assets for community.

Green Revolution and Social Change

Land reforms were institutional reforms which determined the distributional aspect of the land, Green Revolution on the other hand aimed at improving productivity for food security and incomes of farmers. Land reforms had only a limited impact on rural society and the agrarian structure in most of the regions. In contrast, the Green Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s brought about significant changes in the areas where it took place.

The term Green Revolution was given by Dr William Gaud and the Green Revolution strategy was driven by use of High Yield Variety (HYV) seeds, fertilizers, irrigation and mechanized farming. It was supported by strengthening of credit facility, electrification, infrastructure etc. It was introduced in 1960s only in those areas that had assured irrigation, because sufficient water was necessary for the new seeds and methods of cultivation. It was also targeted mainly at the wheat and rice-growing areas. As a result, only certain regions such as the Punjab, Haryana, western UP, coastal Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Tamil Nadu, received the benefits of the first wave of the Green Revolution package.

Consequences of Green Revolution were economical and social. It transformed the traditional ritual based agriculture to modern, secular and profitable activity. Increased production led to self sufficiency and food security. It led to rural affluence in many rural areas and also led to industrial growth and self reliance in terms of agricultural equipment manufacture. Productivity of wheat and rice almost doubled. E.g. in case of wheat it increased from 850 kg/hectare to 2500 kg/hectare. It also infused scientific temper into Indian agriculture. Other consequences of green revolution were –

- I. **Unequal Benefits to Farmers** – In most of the Green Revolution areas, it was primarily the medium and large farmers who were able to benefit from the new technology as it was costly. It were the farmers who were able to produce a surplus for the market who were able to reap the

most benefits from the Green Revolution and from the commercialization of agriculture that followed. Peasants failed to reap benefits as they could produce just enough to meet their own ends. Thus, in the first phase of the Green Revolution, in the 1960s and 1970s, the introduction of new technology led to increasing inequalities in rural society.

- II. **Displacement of Tenant Cultivators and Rise in Agricultural Laborers** – In many cases, it led to the displacement of tenant-cultivators. Landowners began to take back land from their tenants and cultivate it directly because cultivation was becoming more profitable. This made the rich farmers better off, and worsened the condition of the landless and marginal holders who at time sold their lands and became laborers. Many small land owners of non-Green Revolution areas also moved into Green Revolution areas as laborers as wages were high.
- III. **Migration** – Migration led to increase demographic pressure in cities and demographic distortions in rural areas. As often only male laborers migrated, sex ratios skewed and often women and children of laborers were forced into grinding work back at their homes.
- IV. **Green Revolution, Caste & Breakdown of Traditional Economic Structure** – In addition, the introduction of machinery such as tillers, tractors, threshers, and harvesters (in areas such as Punjab and parts of Madhya Pradesh) led to the displacement of the service caste groups who used to carry out these agriculture-related activities. Thus, organic linkages of Jajmani system broke down. It also contributed to agrarian unrests. Dominant Castes also emerged.
- V. **Green Revolution and Class** – It led to development of notions of class interests and peasant associations were formed and they demanded free electricity, water, MSP etc.
- VI. **Rise of New Classes and Interest Groups** – Paul Brass also links increasing participation of affluent farmer's class to the success of Green Revolution. Today, farmers group of North India are acting as powerful lobby. According to Satya Dev, seed corporations in Haryana are completely hijacked by dominant farmers.
- VII. **Change in Cropping & Agricultural Patterns** – In these areas there has been a significant shift from dry to wet (irrigated) cultivation, along with changes in the cropping pattern and type of crops grown. Increasing commercialization and dependence on the market in these areas (for instance, where cotton cultivation has been promoted) has increased rather than reduced livelihood insecurity, as farmers who once grew food for consumption now depend on the market for the incomes. In most of the Green Revolution areas, farmers have switched from a multi-crop system, which allowed them to spread risks, to a mono-crop regime, which means that there is nothing to fall back on in case of crop failure.
- VIII. **Regional Inequalities** – Another negative outcome of the Green Revolution strategy was the worsening of regional inequalities. Only areas of a few crops were benefitted and only those areas with assured irrigation benefitted. This further deepened the divide between dry areas and wet areas. Further, as supply increased prices dropped and it hit farmers of dry areas harder.
- IX. **Conflicts and Agrarian Unrest** – Improper implementation of land reforms was coupled with unequal benefits of Green Revolution. Farmers became more assertive.
- X. **Loss of Traditional Knowledge** – Indian farmers have been cultivating the land for centuries, much before the advent of the Green Revolution and have developed great indigenous knowledge about agriculture. Much of this traditional knowledge, like the many traditional

varieties of seeds that were developed over the centuries by farmers, is being lost as hybrid, high-yielding, and genetically modified varieties of seeds are being promoted as more productive and 'scientific'.

- XI. **Gender Imbalance** – According to Ashish Bose, preference for male child in green revolution belt has increased due to increased attachment with the land as its value goes up. Similarly, Nivedita Menon finds out that Green Revolution has given way to feminization of poverty and intensification of patriarchy and widening of demographic divide.
- XII. **Change in Mode of Production of Indian Agriculture** – It is also said to have introduced capitalist orientation in Indian agriculture.
- XIII. **Ecological Impact** – Excessive ground water use and excessive use of fertilizers contaminated ground water. Water logging and salinity were other problems. Use of pesticides led to loss of many endemic varieties of farm friendly insects and birds.
- XIV. The ultimate outcome of the Green Revolution was a process of 'differentiation', in which the rich grew richer and many of the poor stagnated or grew poorer. It should be noted that employment and wages for agricultural workers did increase in many areas, because the demand for labor increased. Moreover, rising prices and a shift in the mode of payment of agricultural workers from payment in kind (grain) to cash, actually worsened the economic condition of most rural workers.

However, as Hanumantha Rao and World Bank reports show, there has been improvement in food security of the nation and it has also led to development of around 5-10 million additional direct or indirect employment. It also promoted rural-rural migration, thus reducing burden on already overburdened cities. It reduced dependency of India on foreign programs like PL-480 of USA which were highly suffocating in nature and had even tried to force compromise on sovereignty of India.

Changing Mode of Production in Indian Agriculture (Feudal vs Capitalist Mode of Production Debate)

Indian agriculture continued to have a traditional mode of production which was shaped by a peasant society, Jajmani system and caste in a semi feudal setup till the arrival of the British. British rule heralded a new mode of production under which land as well as agricultural produce came to market.

First, agriculture lost its earlier significance and became only a marginal sector of the economy. In developing countries like India while manpower engagement is still high, contribution to economy is declining.

The second important change that has been experienced in the agrarian sector is in its internal social organization. The earlier modes of social organization, such as 'feudalism' and 'peasant societies' (as discussed above) have disintegrated, giving way to more differentiated social structures. It is largely attributed to – scientific inventions, mechanization of agriculture, capital investment, integration in the broader market economy and change in labor relations. It has also in turn transformed the social relations of production, leading to the development of capitalist relations in the agrarian sector.

The attitude of the peasants towards their occupation also undergoes a change. Earlier, they produced only for their own consumption, now they begin to look at agriculture as an enterprise. They work on

their farms with modern machines and produce cash crops that are sold in the market. Their primary concern becomes earning profits from cultivation. Thus the peasants are transformed into enterprising 'farmers'. Farmers, unlike the homogenous peasantry are a differentiated lot and they are divided into different categories or classes.

Transformations in rural society after independence can be summed up as –

- I. Mechanization and capital investment in agriculture
- II. A shift from payment in kind (grain) to payment in cash as wages
- III. An increase in the use of agricultural labor as cultivation became more intensive
- IV. A loosening of traditional bonds or hereditary relationships between farmers or landowners and agricultural workers and the rise of a class of 'free' wage laborers
- V. A shift from 'production for consumption' to 'production for market' and cultivation became more commercialized
- VI. Rural areas were become more integrated into the wider economy

Other changes also supported the change in structure in rural areas. The spread of higher education, especially private professional colleges, in rural and semi-urban areas, penetration of transportation and communication, agricultural extension services, cooperativization of milk production and so on also affected the mode of production in rural areas.

According to P C Joshi, agriculture during British rule was in feudal mode of production. While British introduced reforms in many areas, agriculture remained untouched in terms of technological interventions and ownership reforms. Further, linkages between land and caste were very strong.

According to A R Desai, feudal mode of production during colonial times was imposed from above by colonizers as it was not present earlier and hence was qualitatively different from the feudalism present in Europe.

Concurrent claims over Indian mode of production as a feudal mode of production are rejected by Daniel Thorner and others. According to an empirical study conducted by him in 250 villages over 10 years indicated that after the implementation of land reforms, participation in government jobs etc. rural agriculturists, entrepreneurs and government employees are now using modern means of production and are making investments in agriculture and land. This is leading to growth of capitalist mode of production in Indian agriculture. Rudolph and Rudolph term such agriculturist capitalists as 'Bullock Capitalists' in their 'In Pursuit of Lakshmi, 1987'.

However, capitalization of agriculture is not uniform and according to Utsa Patnaik, it largely depends upon factors like – size of land holding, intensity of use of hired labor, net production from land and profitability etc. Similarly Kathleen Gough in her study of Kumbapetti, Tamil Nadu found that there is simultaneous existence of big bourgeoisie rich farmers, petty bourgeoisie farmers, semi proletarian and pure proletarian famers. Hence, capitalist mode of production in India has not fully developed.

Gail Omvedt considers that in case of India, there are present 'multiple mode of production' – there is apparently capitalist mode of production in Punjab, Maharashtra, Haryana and Western UP, it is semi-

capitalist in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan and semi-feudal in case of Orissa, West Bengal and almost feudal in case of Bihar.

The change in the nature of the relationship between landlords (who usually belonged to the dominant castes) and agricultural workers (usually low caste), was described by the sociologist Jan Breman as a shift from '*patronage to exploitation*'. Wealthy farmers often prefer to employ migrant workers for harvesting and other such intensive operations, rather than the local working class, because migrants are more easily exploited and can be paid lower wages. Such changes took place in many areas where agriculture was becoming more commercialized, that is, where crops were being grown primarily for sale in the market. This transformation in labor relations is regarded by some scholars as indicative of a transition to capitalist agriculture as the capitalist mode of production is based on the separation of the workers from the means of production (in this case, land), and the use of 'free' wage labor, much like Marxian idea of labor as commodity.

Further, with Green Revolution and marketisation, 'profit' is becoming central to farm activities and aim is not just fulfilling needs of family. According to Rutten, in several agriculturally rich regions, such as coastal Andhra Pradesh, western Uttar Pradesh, and central Gujarat, well-to-do farmers belonging to the dominant castes began to invest their profits from agriculture in other types of business ventures. This process of diversification gave rise to new entrepreneurial groups that moved out of rural areas and into the growing towns, giving rise to new regional elites that became economically as well as politically dominant.

Thus, in areas of rapid agricultural development there has been a consolidation of the old landed or cultivating groups, who have transformed themselves into a dynamic entrepreneurial, rural-urban dominant class. But in other regions such as eastern U P and Bihar, the lack of effective land reforms, political mobilization, and redistributive measures has meant that there have been relatively few changes in the agrarian structure and hence in the life conditions of most of the people.

Further, at macro level too, 57% of Indian population still depends on agriculture, with widespread use of subsistence practices, traditional agricultural practices and traditional social relations. Hence, it will not be fair to say that India agriculture has totally transformed from traditional to modern mode of production.

Problems of Rural Labor – Including Bondage and Migration

Historically, rural labor belonged to the landless class in Indian society and it worked under the economic system known as – Jajmani system. In wake of little financial and material security, this labor always led a life of want and misery. With introduction of private property during colonial rule, problems of the rural labor only exacerbated. New classes emerged and rural labor became a subject of exploitation at the hands of Zamindars, dominant castes, British officials (they were often taken as *begar*) and so on. Rural labor often suffered at the hand of the nature also at that time in form of famines, draughts, floods etc. Often their marginal lands were alienated in situation of non-payment of the land revenue and rents. Many of the non-agricultural skilled laborers during British period also suffered as a result of ruining of handicraft and handlooms and they failed to find a place in

industrialization process as well. As a result, there was tremendous swell in rural labor and marginal peasants. Thus, rural labor during British period became victim of double burden of caste and class.

Rural labor has different features than urban labor. While urban labor works in a market or money economy, rural labor may not be. Rural labor also doesn't have regular supply of work as rural economy offers limited scopes for labor work which is mostly seasonal in nature. Rural labor is also affected by seasonality, indebtedness, bondage, *begar*, poor social security, migration, poor education and health for family and children, poor social security, exploitation, caste system and so on. According to Jan Breman, in his '*Patronage and Exploitation; Changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat 1985*', shows that landless workers do not have many rights, for instance, they are usually not paid the minimum wage.

BONDED LABOR

Bonded Labor can be termed as modern day slavery. National Commission on Labor defines bonded labor as '*labor which remains in bondage for the debt incurred*'. Thus, it is a relation between a creditor and debtor in highly unequal terms. This form of labor is a product of debt bondage where the dependence and control of labor is through indebtedness. The bonded labor system is created when redemption of any advance in cash or kind at usurious rate of interest makes the debtor undertake a work at nominal or no wages till the time the debt is paid. The debt tends to increase rather than diminish and the person in debt and, sometimes his family are bound for life. Reasons for indebtedness are often social. Over expenditure in marriage, death of family bread earners etc lead to indebtedness. It is known by different names in different places – *Sagri* system in Rajasthan, *Vetti* system and *Bhaghela* in Andhra, *Bandhua* mazdoori in North India, *Saurkiya*, *Kamia*, *Ramasia* and *Janaouri* in Bihar, *Hali* and *Halpati* systems in Gujarat, *Feetha* in Karnataka, *Vet* and *Begar* in Maharashtra, *Jetha* in Madhya Pradesh and so on.

The agreement between landlord and debtor once entered lasts for quite some time and the debtor continues to render services for years together or sometimes for generations. The ignorance of the bonded laborers and their vulnerable position without any alternative available, makes them subjugated to the money-lenders.

The reasons for which the landless agricultural laborers including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are forced to enter into labor agreements are listed below –

- I. The caste system, wherein the lower castes worked as bonded laborers in the arrangements of the high castes
- II. Expenditure incurred on account of social and religious customs associated with births, marriages and deaths
- III. Mortgage of land by needy tenant farmers
- IV. Poverty of the rural masses who are forced to become indebted even to subsist

Pledging of children is most prevalent and worst form of bonded labor. The system implies the infringement of the basic human rights and destruction of the dignity of human labor. Due to its

dehumanizing nature and violation of multiple human rights, it is also termed as 'modern slavery'. Historically it became intense with spread of Zamindari system and rural distress.

Degree of bondage varies and Burdhan and Rudra has classified them as '*Extremely Attached*' and '*Partially Attached*'. Extremely attached are those who are in total bondage.

Article 23 prohibits bonded labor as constitutions guarantees us right against exploitation, 'Bonded Labor System Abolition Act' was passed in 1976. NHRC also takes suo-motu action in cases of bonded labor. S C Judgment in Swami Agnivesh led Bandhua Mukti Morcha Case has also called for affirmative action against bonded labor. Many schemes are also there for their rehabilitation. For example – Indira Awas Yojna provides for free housing for them. Many non-governmental organizations like Bachpan Bachao Aandolan led by Dr Satyarthi, who also won Nobel Prize for Peace in 2014, have also done significant progress in this direction.

MIGRATION of RURAL LABOR

Migration of rural labor force into other well off areas is a hallmark of the developing and the underdeveloped agrarian economies as rural areas are often left behind in developmental race. Distressed rural labor often resorts to migration to urban areas for better pastures often ending up in low key jobs. Migration of labor has demographic and social consequences. It leads to creation of slums in urban areas. It also leads to skewed sex ratios as often male population generally resorts to migration. Women, children and old parents of migrated workers face their own problems in the village. For instance, in poor areas where male family members spend much of the year working outside of their villages, cultivation has become primarily a female task. Women are also emerging as the main source of agricultural labor, leading to the '*feminization of agricultural labor force*'. The insecurity of women is greater because they earn lower wages than men for similar work. Migration also brings new challenges to workers themselves who at time face hostile environment and are prone to multiple vulnerabilities. Home and sanitation are the biggest issues. Further, migrated workers also fail to get social security benefits due to lack of local identity.

Green Revolution and other regional disparities promoted rural to rural migration in a big way. These migrant workers have been termed '*footloose labour*' by Jan Breman, but this does not imply freedom. Labor from backward regions like Bihar, eastern UP, Bengal etc migrates to prosperous regions like Haryana, Punjab etc. Wealthy farmers also often prefer to employ migrant workers for harvesting and other such intensive operations, rather than the local working class, because migrants are more easily exploited and can be paid lower wages. Migrant labors also have to face multiple deprivation as there is no housing and hence no physical security. Often they lack bank accounts and their hard earned money is prone to be stolen. Migrant labor also faces linguistic and cultural problems. In wealthy state like Punjab and Haryana, they are also stereotyped as '*Biharis*', '*Purvaiyas*' etc and are also subjected to verbal abuses. They also face multiple discriminations including discrimination in access to public services. In Haryana, there have been instances when they were not given seats in state transport buses or were treated rudely. They have to adjust their food habits also according to the alien culture. Due to migratory nature, education of their children also suffers greatly and

they are also drawn into casual labor workforce due to poor education. Migrants are also deprived of family support as they often migrate alone due to issues like high cost of living in other regions where they migrate.

Currently, there is little protection that government offers to such migrant labors. No social security scheme is there which covers migrant labors and in fact, due to lack of local proofs, they are even excluded from some of the existing social security schemes like – PDS system, MNREGS as well. Government has launched an ambitious unique identification program – *Aadhar* – which aims to provide such benefits to migrants at any place in India.

Government has launched many schemes and programs to ameliorate the condition of rural labor. During land reforms, many landless laborers were given land as a part of redistribution process. Many rural anti-poverty programmes such as the NREP, JRY and TRYSM etc were launched in past. Currently MNREGS and National Rural Livelihood Mission address their problems. Food Security Act and other schemes like Antyodaya Anna Yojna aim at addressing the issue of food and nutrition. Right to Education ensures the education of their children. Rural labor are now also covered under insurance schemes like Aam Aadmi Bima Yojna and Janshreee Bima Yojna. Problem of housing is addressed by schemes like Rajiv Awas Yojna. Rural labor is also covered under Minimum Wages Act 1948. However, many of these provisions are not effectively implemented on the ground and there are large variations. In states like Kerala, they are delivering good results, but in other states like Bihar, UP etc, the condition of rural labor is similar to feudal labors.

INDUSTRIALIZATION and URBANIZATION IN INDIA

Industrialization and urbanization are often linked with each other. Urban areas act as ready markets as well as supplier of skilled manpower. Industrialization marks a transition from agrarian economy. In India, though urban settlements existed earlier also, but their nature was different from modern urban centers which evolved after arrival of colonial powers. New urban centers developed to suit colonial needs. Industrialization which first started in Britain came to India also during British rule. Industrialization and urbanization opened new avenues and posed new challenges.

Evolution of Modern Industry in India

Many of the great works of sociology were written at a time when industrialization was new and machinery was assuming great importance. Thinkers like Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim associated a number of social features with industry, such as – Urbanization, the loss of face-to-face relationships, a detailed division of labor and work being repetitive and exhausting.

Alternatively, industrialization leads to greater equality, at least in some spheres. For example, caste distinctions do not matter anymore on trains, buses or in cyber cafes. On the other hand, older forms of discrimination may persist even in new factory or workplace settings.

While the early sociologists saw industrialization as both positive and negative, by the mid 20th century, under the influence of modernization theory, industrialization came to be seen as inevitable and positive. Modernization theory argues that societies are at different stages on the road to modernization, but they are all heading in the same direction.

According to Louis Wirth, industrialization and urbanization implies not just changes in production systems, technological innovations, density of settlements but also 'a way of life'.

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIA

Industries were present in India earlier also, but post 19th century industrialization was fundamentally different as it used inanimate power and production was mass production.

- I. It started in India with cotton and jute industries and its first phase lasted from 1850-1890. This phase was also accompanied by the exploitation of Indian labor class as well. There were horrible working conditions in factories and wages were abysmally low with no safeguard in case of causality. Workers had little organizational ability and their voice was almost unheard. Traditional handloom also declined during this period and the new industrialization rose on the grave of the domestic industries. Manufacture of these industries was either exported or the surplus obtained from the produce used be drained out of the nation. Thus, industrialization during colonial period heralded misery of Indian – opposite to Britain, where it led to prosperity, rise in incomes and economic growth.
- II. In second phase of 1890-1915, heavy industries like cement, iron and steel were setup and they were geographically more diverse in location as many of them were located near source. This period also saw setting up of industries by the Indian entrepreneurs

during the Swadeshi Movement. Economic drain by early industrialization was already exposed by this time and some spirited Indians like – P C Ray, Tatas etc – started indigenous factories. **Working class movement** was in formative stage and was slowly gaining momentum. Industrial class witnessed tremendous expansion as new industries came up.

- III. Third phase lasted from **1915-47** when two wars provided **stimulus** as well as brought hardship. **Indigenization of industries** was promoted, consumer goods industries were established, **capitalist class** gained a firm footing along with them **trade union** movement also gained further momentum as ILO was also established in **1919**. In this phase, some of the **labor laws were also enacted** and some of the demands of labor were also conceded. This phase also witnessed **impact of communist movement** on trade union movement as well.
- IV. Fourth phase lasted from **1947-1991** which saw **state sponsored heavy** industry led growth guided by **ideology of self-reliance and import substitution**. This period also witnessed **license raj and state control over** production. Self-reliance was achieved in many sectors by 1970s, telecom gave much needed technological edge during 1980s.
- V. Last phase includes **post liberalization period**. It led to a **structural change** with arrival of liberalization, privatization and globalization (**LPG**). On the one hand inefficiency of economies were dealt with, on the other hand private sector became stronger. **Consumer goods industry saw** tremendous expansion, multi-national companies flooded India. It had a mixed impact in past twenty five years. Labor policies have been liberalized and power of trade unions has been curtailed.

Industrialization in India gave birth to many **opportunities** on one hand and gave birth to many **contradictions** on other.

Unlike Britain, where the impact of industrialization led to more people moving into urban areas, in India the initial impact of the same British industrialization led to more people moving into agriculture. The Census of India Report shows this clearly. It **led to overcrowding of the agriculture and impoverishment of peasantry**.

In developed countries, the majority is formally employed, but in India more **than 93% of labor** is in informal sector. Even big companies like Maruti have **predominant workforce as contract workers – with low job security, harsher working terms**. Strife at Manesar plant of Maruti and ensuing conflict between management and workers is an example of changing employer-employee terms.

Industrialization in India has also not led to decline in employment in agriculture and instead service sector employment has increased. This is an **un-natural trajectory of the industrial growth as manufacturing phase was skipped in India**. Due to this, manufacturing sector couldn't provide many opportunities to the people employed in agricultural and **agriculture remained over-crowded**.

There are also some other emerging trends. As a result of long working hours and flexible time work culture, in places like Bangalore, Hyderabad and Gurgaon, where many IT firms or call

centers are located, shops and restaurants have also changed their opening hours, and are open late. If both husband and wife work, then children have to be put in crèches. The joint family, which was supposed to have disappeared with industrialization, seems to have re-emerged, as grandparents are roped in to help with children.

MARKET ECONOMY and SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Though markets existed earlier also, they were not extensive. They were highly localized, limited and had low impact on economic life. Virtual absence of cash-economy hampered free exchange. There were little urban-rural linkages.

Market economy in India was introduced by the British and it had a lot of negative consequences as it linked rural economy to the wider world in a highly subservient and exploitative manner. More area was brought under cash crops and control went into hands of Zamindars and colonial government. On one hand it led to impoverishment of the peasantry, on the other it led to the food security issues as well.

It was only after independence that skewed market system was put straight to some extent. Following were the consequences of the market economy –

- I. Nature of production changed as surplus was now for market and not consumption.
- II. It led to change in cropping patterns. Areas like Punjab and Haryana also started to grow more lucrative crops like rice.
- III. It affected economic relations in rural areas also. Jajmani system became extinct as money-economy arrived. It also led to worsening of the condition of landless laborers. Organic bonding between the two classes was broken and class polarization increased. Employee-employer relations are now contract based.
- IV. Rural to urban migration increased in search of new jobs on one hand and skewed development on the other.
- V. Marketisation also led to modernizing influence on agriculture and introduced scientific temperament in Indian agriculture.
- VI. It also promoted consumerism in rural and urban areas. Consumption of items became a status symbol.
- VII. It led to high division of labor. It also broke the caste boundaries and opened up more avenues of social mobility.
- VIII. Other social institutions like family and kinship were also affected. Family no longer plays the function of economic placement. Similarly, role of kinship is also weakened in economic matters.
- IX. Growth in communication and transportation as a result of marketisation has also facilitated economic integration of economy.
- X. Market forces also lead to high aspirations among the individuals and it is leading to higher instances of anomie.
- XI. Market economy has also exposed society of imperfections associated with the market economy. Market failures lead to great social stresses.

GLOBALIZATION, LIBERALIZATION AND CHANGES in INDIAN INDUSTRY

Human Development report of South Asia 2001 defines globalization as *'The free movement of goods, services, people and information across national boundaries in an integrated economy which influences economic and social relations within and across the countries'*.

One of the first implications is **globalization of markets**. Global products are finding markets in India now. They are giving stiff competition to Indian products. For example – Coca-cola when entered India, it bought Parle-drinks and also led to **decline of consumption of many traditional drinks**.

Multinationals have eclipsed smaller firms and have used aggressive tactics on the basis of their **money-muscle power to monopolize markets** in developing countries like India.

Further, in a mad frenzy to cut costs, **'outsourcing of everything'** is the new dimension of globalization. More and more companies are reducing the number of permanent employees and **outsourcing their work to smaller companies** or even to homes. For multinational companies, this outsourcing is done across the globe, with developing countries like India providing cheap labor. **Because small companies have to compete for orders from the big companies, they keep wages low**, and working conditions are often poor. It is more **difficult for trade unions** to organize in smaller firms. Almost all companies, even government ones, now practice some form of outsourcing and contracting. But the trend is especially visible in the private sector.

Globalization is promoting a **consumer culture** at a break neck speed. Due to globalization, the industries which are re-located are the ones which produce consumer goods and not the strategic or heavy industries. So, the apparent motive of globalization is only profit seeking and not spread of development. **Technology transfer happens at painfully slow paces with** many strings attached. Funding from IMF and World Bank are given on conditional basis and as a result many developing countries are now exposed to the vagaries of markets and greed of the capitalists.

At the same time as **secure employment** in large industry is declining, the government is embarking on a policy of land acquisition for industry. These industries do not necessarily provide employment to the people of the surrounding areas, but they cause **major pollution**. Many farmers, especially **Adivasis**, who constitute **approximately 40% of those displaced**, are protesting at the low rates of compensation and the fact that they will be forced to become casual labor living and working on the footpaths of India's big cities.

Critics also say that globalization and policies of IMF and World Bank have ruined many countries and have only brought about the **globalization of poverty**. Liberalization and privatization worldwide also appear to be associated with rising income inequality.

Growth of Urban Settlements in India

In simple words, the process of 'urbanization' denotes population growth of the cities and towns. Sociologically, it also denotes **the spread of urban way of life to the country-side**. Urbanization implies a **cultural and social psychological process whereby people acquire the material and non-material culture**,

including behavioral patterns, forms of organization, and ideas that originated in, or are distinctive of the city. Thus, the process of urbanization has demographic as well as social dimensions.

Louis Wirth's formulation of '*urbanism as a way of life*' argues that the city affects area wider than city itself. Urbanism as a way of life is not peculiar to city-dwellers alone as the influences of the city (i.e., impact of urbanization) stretches far behind its administrative boundaries.

Urban settlements in India were there since long and Harappan relics are a testimony to it. Many urban centers in India during medieval India were of global repute as centers of trade. Many rulers including Chola, Sultans, Mughals also promoted many urban areas with establishment of new capital cities and trade centers.

Present urban settlements are a result of impact of colonial rule and their trade practices. Modern urban centers in the world emerged as a result of industrialization and for the first time in history, mega-cities emerged. In India too, it happened during and after colonial rule.

Urbanization in the colonial period saw the decline of some earlier urban centers and the emergence of new colonial cities. Kolkata was one of the first of such port cities apart from Madras and Bombay. Many urban hill stations were also developed. Just as manufacturing boomed in Britain, traditional exports of cotton and silk manufactures from India declined in the face of Manchester competition. This period also saw the further decline of cities such as Surat and Masulipatnam while Bombay and Madras grew.

The census of India defines some criteria for an urban area. These are:

- Population is more than 5000
- The density is over 400 persons per sq. km
- 75% of the male population engages in non-agricultural occupations.

Cities are urban areas with population more than one lakh.

Over the years there has been a steady increase in the urban population in India from 17.29% in 1951 to around 31% in 2011 census. Globally, urban population surpassed rural population in 2007. However, the growth of urban centers in India have been uneven, even today, more than 2/3rd of the urban population lives in large urban agglomerates with population over 10 lakh. It implies that India has simultaneously witnessed both under urbanization – as majority population still lives in rural areas – and over-urbanization – as cities are over-crowded and suffer from all maladies which are typical of over-urbanized inhabitations. In 2011 census, for the first time absolute increase in urban population was more than rural population.

Robert Redfield and Milton Singer describe the city as a centre of cultural innovation, diffusion and progress and have classified the process of urbanization into two categories –

- I. Primary urbanization – It helps in spreading of values of Great tradition
- II. Secondary urbanization – It leads to overshadowing of values of Little tradition and hence is also disintegrative

Urban social structure is also different from rural social structure in many ways. In rural areas, caste dimension is overwhelming and communal bonds are very strong. Kinships are extended kinships and notions of fraternity are attached to all inhabitants of same village. Religion plays a dominant role in the lives of people. In contrast, urban social structure has following characteristics –

- I. Formality and impersonality of human relationships

- II. Rationality
- III. Secularism
- IV. Increased specialization and division of labor
- V. Decline in the functions of family

Urbanization has led to social and economic transformation of societies. It has many positive impacts like rationalization of society and orthodoxies, liberation of women, promotion of democratic ideals and so on. It also has negative fallout in form of rising crimes, poor social bonding, pollution, over-crowding, slums and insanitation, anomie and so on. Some of visible impacts of urbanization are –

- I. Urbanization has its bearing on social relationships in community living. The relationships of community-living tend to become impersonal, formal, goal oriented, contractual and transitory.
- II. With urbanization, transformation of economic activities from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector takes place, and the proportion of population engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors of activities increases with division of labor and specialization of work.
- III. Further, the process of urbanization also leads to breakdown in the functioning of traditional institutions and patterns of behavior and of social control.
- IV. It leads to a situation of continuity and change in the sense that the traditional forms often continue to persist, but their functions undergo major re-adaptations in the face of urbanization.
- V. It is generally held that caste is a rural phenomenon whereas class is urban. However, such distinctions in reality don't exist. In fact, caste has organized itself differently in urban settings. According to Pauline Kolenda – a noticeable change today is the fusion of sub-castes and fusion of castes. Democratic politics, inter-caste marriages and love marriages etc fuel this fusion process. Though caste panchayats are very weak in cities, there exists a dichotomy between workplace and domestic situation and both caste and class situations co-exist.
- VI. Urbanization and rural life – Migration, diffusion of culture etc are resultant of urbanization. Srinivas outlined the general impact of both industrialization and urbanization on villages. He pointed out that emigration in South India has had a caste component as it was the Brahmins who first left their villages for towns and took advantage of western education and modern professions.
- VII. Urbanization and status of women – Women on one hand have set themselves free from orthodox rural patriarchy and are gaining more rights in urban setting. On the other hand, according to Gore and Kapoor, the personally and socially enlightened woman is forced to perform the dual roles – the social and the professional roles in urban settings.
- VIII. Effect of urbanization on family and kinship has been felt in terms of nuclearization of family as costs of living in urban areas are high and people from meager incomes fail to support their families with such incomes. Kinship bonds also become fragile as wider rural kin groups are left behind in village. Due to migration of male members in urban areas, often older members, females and children are left which have to face more hardships and challenges.
- IX. Economic impact of urbanization is seen in terms of rising informal labor force, increasing division of labor and job opportunities.

Many of the above impacts and characteristics have not been found true in Indian context. When we observe the household dimension of family in urban India, the studies by K M Kapadia and A M Shah indicate that there is no correlation between urbanization and 'separate' nuclear households. Assumption that Indian urbanites live in nuclear households and that urbanization leads to breaking up of joint families cannot be sustained. Some studies show that not only kinship is an important principle of social organization in cities but also that there is structural congruity between joint family on one hand and requirements of industrial and urban life on the other as shown by studies by Milton Singer, Srinivas etc. Studies by Ghurye, Gore and Rao indicate that caste is also very much alive in urban areas. Harold Gould's study of the rickshawallas of Lucknow '*Lucknow Rickshawallas: The Social Organization of an Occupational Category, 1974*' shows that, as far as their occupation is concerned, they follow secular rules but when it comes to personal, family matters, such as marriage, the caste identities are all important. Caste seems to have also become a basis for organizing trade union like associations. These trade unions are nothing but interest groups which protect the rights and interest of its caste members, such as the, Gujarat Bania Sabha, the Kshatriya Mahasabha (Gujarat), Jatava Mahasabha of Agra (UP) etc. According to M S A Rao, in his '*Urban Sociology in India, 1974*', 'the breakdown hypothesis' is a Western concept which views transformation of social institutions in a linear manner. In case of India, there has been a 'traditional urbanization' in which institutions of caste, joint family and religion have not faded away in favor of class, nuclear family and secularization respectively. R K Mukharjee on the other hand discards a strict dichotomy between rural and urban. According to him, 'degree of urbanization' is a more suitable concept in understanding the rural-urban relations.



Urban areas are termed as centers of cultural innovation by some thinkers, but they also have their own set of socio-economic problems as well. These problems are partly a result of unorganized growth of urban areas, and partly a result of human factors. Some of these problems are –

- I. **Over-urbanization** – Over-urbanization in one sense implies excessive urbanization in relation to employment growth. It also means that the urban population has grown to such a large size that the cities fail to ensure a decent way of life to the urban dwellers on account of excessive population pressure on civic amenities, housing, etc. In the Indian context, the idea of over-urbanization has been advanced on the grounds that: (a) there is an imbalance between the levels of industrialization and urbanization in India, (b) the process of urbanization takes away a lion's share of resources and, thus, impinges upon the rate of economic growth of society, (c) the availability of civic amenities and facilities is so poor that these have now reached a point of break-down and become almost incapable of bearing further growing urban pressures. However, there is another view that argues that since India has still predominant rural population and urban population is still below world average, India has still not witnessed over-urbanization. Further, over-urbanization in India is also attributed to a faulty urban policy and not to urbanization per se.
- II. **Pollution and Environmental Decay** – According to Murray Bookchin in his '*The Modern Crisis, 1986*', modern cities are sprawling, environmentally damaging monsters that devour energy and

generate waste at an unsustainable rate. Solid waste management has emerged as one of the biggest challenges of urban areas.

III. Economic Challenges

- a. Inadequate Housing and Slums – It is estimated that nearly 70 per cent of population in big cities live in sub-standard houses, which they call their homes. Similarly, there are hundreds of such people who are living in cities as pavement-dwellers, without any kind of shelter at all. Slums are another big challenge.
- b. Inefficient and inadequate transport
- c. Informalisation of workforce as immigrants fail to find place in formal economy
- d. Unsafe and insufficient water supply – Nearly 30 per cent of the urban population in India is deprived of safe drinking water facility.

IV. Social Consequences –

- a. Crime – The white-collar crimes, which are committed largely by violating the rules and regulations of trade, business or profession during the conduct of these activities also become widespread, especially in cities which are the victims of rapid urbanization.
- b. Inequalities – Economic inequalities in urban areas are more pronounced than in rural areas. Situation in ghettos and slums is in stark contrast to the situation in high rise skyscrapers.
- c. Isolation – With the rise of urbanization, a city-dweller, while living amidst a sea of fellow city-dwellers, is detached from them socially. Older people, the migrants who are still strangers in the city, people who are unable to get along with others, socially rejected persons and persons who do not find people of their liking often feel acute isolation even amidst thousands of the urban-dwellers. The heterogeneity of population, especially in matters of social status, caste, class, religion, income, occupation, etc., creates partial isolation under which, as K Dais says, integrity of particular groups is reinforced by maintaining social distance (avoidance) toward other groups. Residential segregation is one of the manifestations of partial isolation in cities.
- d. Maladjustment – As the process of urbanization accelerates, the city life tends to be rapidly characterized by cultural diversities, socioeconomic inequalities, competition, conflict and several other manifestations of complexities of social reality. The fact of social mobility also affects the life of the city-dwellers. In such a competitive environment, several among those, who are the losers, fail to suitably adjust to the reality, and become victims of frustration, inferiority complex and loss of a meaningful integration with the totality of city-life. All such failures give rise to the problem of maladjustment. Similarly, even among the successful ones, many fail to conform to the new situations, and become maladjusted. The problem of maladjustment becomes all the more acute in the case of those city-dwellers, who are relatively recent migrants. They, in fact, present cases of 'marginal man' – a concept developed by Robert E Park. The marginal-man, in simple words, is said to be one who is in the process of changing from one culture to another. A marginal man suffers from the problems of maladjustment precisely because he feels lost amidst the pressures of two cultures, as he cannot completely change from one cultural system to another.

- e. Rural-urban divide – As skilled population move to cities, villages are often left with no leadership. Government focus also shifts from rural to urban areas as more population crowd cities and they become unmanageable and highly strained.

Apart from these adverse consequences of urbanization, it is also found that various forms of social disorganization are associated with the rapid growth of cities. These forms of social disorganization are reflected through the disruption of mutually expected roles and obligations in the wake of unequal rates of social change in different aspects of city-life. In the case of the family, the increasing rate of divorce and break down of jointness in the joint-family are indicative of dissociative and break down of jointness in the joint-family are indicative of dissociative implications of urbanization. The withering away of kinship obligations provides similar examples. In similar manner, the enormous expansion of the city area and the increasing pressure of its heterogeneous population also raise several problems like city riots, urban unrest etc.

New trends in urbanization are now witnessed in form of growth of sub-urban areas, satellite cities, mega cities, decay of inner cities, urban renewal and gentrification drives

To tackle with emerging issues of urbanization, several policy and legislative initiatives have been taken. They include Rent Control Act, Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, Rajiv Awas Yojna, Property Rights to Slum Dwellers Act 2011, JnNURM, and so on.

Working Class in India – Structure, Growth and Mobilization

M Holmstrom, defines working class as *'a group which share similar economic situation which distinguishes it from others like property owners, managers and employers. It thus refers to industrial workers and sometimes other wage earners and petty self-employed'*.

Workers mobilization means organization of worker for their welfare and upliftment. It refers to their rising participation in society and in workplace to address their common issues by overcoming the barriers that hinder their growth. Trade Union and workers' mobilization can be seen in terms of their problems which are of two types – Internal and External. Internal relate to issues relating to wages, pension, provident fund etc. External are social security, schooling and education of their children and dependents, entertainment, health, post retirement social safety etc. Further their problems also have temporal and spatial dimensions. Problem of workers at start of industrialization were different than problems of today's workers and problems of workers in IT companies are different from manufacturing and problem of workers are different in India from those in USA.

Trade unions are like workers interest groups which pressurize, coordinate and communicate with factory owners and governments for workers welfare. Trade unions were late to emerge in India, partly because of late industrialization, fragmented industry, discouragement by foreign rule and lack of enabling legislations.

The modern working class came into being with the rise of capitalist mode of production. In other words, rise of factory system of production and working class happened simultaneously. Conversely, without a factory industry there can be no working class but only working people. In India till the middle of the 19th century, there were working people but not the working class engaged in handicrafts,

agriculture and so on. It was a modern working class in the sense of relatively modern organization of labor and a relatively free market for labor. Plantations and railways were the initial enterprises to herald the era of colonial capitalism in Indian subcontinent. However, labor was not free in these enterprises contrary to ideology of capitalism. Trade with British ruined Indian handloom and handicraft, and sporadic establishment of modern industry sowed seeds of 'working class' on ruins of traditional Indian economic structure.

Its growth can be traced in following broad phases –

- I. **Formative phase** – In early formative phase of working class in India, the forced intrusion of British capital in India devastated the old economy but did not transplant it by forces of modern capital economy. The millions of ruined artisans and craftsmen, spinners, weavers, potters, smelters and smiths from the town and the village alike, had no alternative but to crowd into agriculture, leading to deadly pressure on the land. Subsequently, with the introduction of railways and sporadic growth of some industries, a section of these very people at the lowest rung of Indian society who had been plodding through immense sufferings and impoverishment in village life entered the modern industries as workers. The first generation of factory workers, it appears, came from this distressed and dispossessed section the village people. In the words of Buchanan '*the factory working group surely comes from the hungry half of the agricultural population*'. The factory commission of 1890 reports that most of the factory workers in jute, cotton, bone and paper mills, sugar works, gun and shell factories belonged to the lower castes like Bagdi, Teli, Mochi, Kaibarta, Bairagi and Sankara. In mines mostly tribes were employed. The First Phase is marked by self mobilization. Although the plantations and mines contained a large number of workers who were heavily exploited, their conditions did not attract much attention in the initial period because they were far from the urban areas, away from the notice of early social reformers, journalists and public activists. Some activity was witnessed in jute and cotton factories with some philanthropic support and textile workers made sporadic strikes in Bombay and Nagpur.
- II. **Working class emergence** – It happened due to its concentration and migration around areas where factories were located. Differences in growth of working class in India and Europe –
 - a. Though in Europe also the artisans and craftsmen were dispossessed of their profession, they were not forced out of towns to crowd the village economy, in India only a small portion of them could become part of emerging working class.
 - b. The gap between destruction of traditional cottage industry and its partial replacement by modern industries was about two to three generations. The dispossessed artisans and craftsmen lost their age-old technical skill and when they entered the modern industries, they did so without any initial skills.
 - c. Indian working class while pursuing modern economic work, still maintained traditional and orthodox outlook in private life. Caste and superstition still remained with them.

During its early years, working class mobilization was highly localized, sporadic and spontaneous. As there were no trade unions in early plantations, jute and cotton mills etc, there was almost negligible organization. Workers activities were still guided by philanthropic

organizations only. This phase is also known as **'voluntaristic' phase**. By the 1890s, the strikes became so frequent that the authorities spoke about a *'strike mania'* among the workers. The partition of Bengal in the year 1905 aroused bitter public indignation and gave rise to mass national upsurge. Workers were now drawn by national leaders into freedom struggle movement as well. This political development worked as a favorable condition for the Indian working class too for moving ahead with its economic struggles and raising them to a higher pitch. On the eve of the First World War, the capitalist development in India got accelerated. **Though the war time led to general exploitation, new industrial opportunities were thrown to industrial class with a large market for country** made goods inside and outside the country, war contracts, lower real wages and higher prices of manufactured goods. But for the working class it was a tough time. This was because the soaring up of prices reduced the living standards of working class.

Even before war started, many nationalists had started forming nascent worker's organizations. Shashipad Banarjee started activities in Bengal, N M Lokhande in Bombay formed 'Bombay Millshand Association', Brahmo Samaj formed 'Working Men's Mission' and 'Working Men's Institution' in Bengal, Tilak formed 'Bombay Mills Hand Defense Association' in 1908. First true trade union was formed in Madras by B P Wadia – who was also a member of Theosophical Society – in 1918.

- III. **Consolidation of working class and beginning of trade union movement** – The **October socialist** revolution of **1917**, **formation of ILO in 1919** and subsequent sweeping mass and working class struggles formed the background under which the first pan Indian organization of the Indian working class called **All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)** was born in **1920**. Gandhiji in Ahmadabad formed **'Textile Labor Association'** in the same year. In 1920, there were more than 13 lakh workers in big factories. Establishment of organized trade unions gave a new direction to the worker's mobilization. By end of 1920s more than 125 trade unions were formed. The AITUC received a lot of support from the Indian National Congress. There were about 107 unions which were affiliated or sympathetic to the AITUC. The years 1926-29 constitute an eventful phase of the working class struggle. During this phase the Indian communist movement stood on a firm foundation poised for advance. Communist influence on the working class movement was felt to be very strong. **'Indian Trade Union Act, 1926'** was also passed for stable trade unions. The world **economic crisis of 1931-36** was the most profound and destructive of all economic crises capitalism has ever known. The plight of the peasantry was beyond all imagination, their purchasing power came down to an all time low. In all industries there was mass **retrenchment** and wages were slashed. In other words, workers of all categories were hit and there **was great unrest and despair among the workers**.

- IV. **Post World War II Phase** – The defeat of fascism and end of the World War II saw the **emergence of the Indian working class as a highly organized, class conscious and uncompromising force against the colonialism**. In the post-independence period, the state became the sole arbitrator in the relationships between the industry and the working class. During this period the main concern of government was to achieve growth, industrial peace, and proper management of the conflict between workers and the management. In order to achieve

these goals the state passed laws like the Industrial Dispute Act, 1947, and introduced the Labor Relations Bill and Trade Unions Bills in 1949. After independence, many more trade unions formed and most of the political parties have their affiliated trade unions like Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, Bhartiya Kamgaar Sena etc.

With Independence, a new political dynamics was ushered in and imperialists were replaced by landlords and capitalist and goals of struggle were also shifted. In post war period, industrial activity was boosted and wages were liberally paid. For sometimes atmosphere prevailed that class struggle will lose relevance. However, downturn of world economy during 1960-70s led to poor standard of living of workers and retrenchments. Large scale retrenchments were made on excuse of reducing costs. Permanent employment was curbed and casual labor increased. Women workers increased as they were better suited for part time and low paid jobs.

In 1970s, there was a general feeling against the rigid politics and politically affiliated trade unions, frustration of post-independence expectations etc and it led to birth of apolitical leadership. Most significant among these included – Datta Samant, A K Roy and Shankar Guha Niyogy, Ela Bhatt; Working Women's Forum (Chennai), Self Employed Women's Association (Gujarat) etc. They were more independent in terms of not being affiliated to any party directly or indirectly and were also less hierarchical and bureaucratic, but they were not a substitute for the trade unions.

The strikes of the workers in the textile industry and railways during 1970s and 1980s are considered to be the most significant developments in the history of the working class movement in the post-independence period. In 1974 the railway workers affiliated to the main trade unions, except the Congress affiliated INTUC organized a nation-wide strike. The rail operations came to a halt during the strike. In 1982-83 the textile workers of Bombay were mobilized into strike which was considered to have 'few parallels' in the working class movement in the country.

With liberalization of economy, trade unions and worker's mobilization was seen as a threat to investment and industrial climate and active steps were taken by the government in moderating the incidences of strikes of workers.

The working class movement in India is constrained by several factors. Rudolph and Rudolph argue that the organized working class forms a very small section of the working population in India. Therefore, there is no class politics in the country. Instead Indian politics is a centrist politics. Rise of identity politics based on caste, language, religion, tribe, regions, etc., especially from the last two decades of the twentieth century pose serious challenges to unite the working class on their issues. The encouragement to the market with the decline role of the state as part of the globalization agenda has further relegated the issues of working classes to the background.

The Second National Commission on Labor 2002 under Arjun Sengupta has made the following observations about the industrial relations scenario in India –

- I. It is increasingly noticed that trade unions do not normally give a call for strike because they are afraid that a strike may lead to the closure of the unit.

- II. Service sector workers feel they have become outsiders and are becoming increasingly **disinterested in trade union activities.**
- III. There is a trend to **resolve major disputes** through **negotiations** at bipartite level.
- IV. The nature of **disputes or demands is changing.** Instead of demanding higher wages, allowances or facilities, trade unions now demand **job security** and some are even willing to accept wage cuts or wage freezes in return for **job protection.**

At the same time, Government of India has taken multiple steps to ameliorate the condition of workers in industries. Constitution provides **equal fundamental rights** and directive principles call for enhanced **workers participation in management.** Various legislations have also been enacted including – Workmen Compensation Act, **Factories Act**, Industrial **Dispute Act**, Minimum **Wages Act** and so on. For females separate legislations have also been enacted like – **Maternity Benefit Act**, Equal Remuneration Act, etc. Children are also **prohibited now from working in** factories. Separate provisions are there for workers in different sectors. A number of social welfare programs have also been launched from time to time including **insurance, housing and social security.** There are also schemes of **skill development and micro-financing.** A national commission for unorganized sector has also been established. NGOs also work towards welfare of workers by acting as facilitators as well as service providers. They also act as their voice in front of policy makers.

Informal Sector

Informal sector is that part of economy which is not covered by formal regulations, statues and rules. Here, employer and employee are **not bound by a formal contract,** but on mutually agreed terms. Informal sector is sometimes also referred as unorganized sector and it includes casual labor and contract labor. Such labor also includes labor based on kinship or personal relations. In fact, In India, the term informal sector has not been used in the official statistics or in the **National Accounts Statistics (NAS).** The terms used in the Indian NAS are 'organized' and 'unorganized' sectors. It may include both skilled and unskilled labor. Stress for better working conditions and more rights has on one hand led to **increasing focus on work conditions,** increasing focus on liberalization, global competition and a race to bottom for production of cheap goods has led to **casualization of workforce** on the other hand. In 1972, 23% of workforce was in casual labor and in 2000 the figure stood at 32%. In India, over 92% of the work, whether it is in agriculture, industry or services is in the unorganized or informal sector.

Legally, **Factories Act** defines an establishment to be covered under laws as the one in the public sector or that in private sector which employ 10 hired workers or more as formal sector establishments and those who work in such establishments are formal sector workers. All other enterprises and workers working in those enterprises form the informal sector. Thus, informal sector includes millions of farmers, agricultural laborers, owners of small enterprises and people working in those enterprises as also the self-employed who do not have any hired workers. It also includes all non-farm casual wage laborers who work for more than one employer such as construction workers and headload workers.

Problems of unorganized sector workers are both **internal i.e. work related as well as external i.e. related to their lives.** They suffer from **low wages, exploitations, fewer social security measures, poor security of tenure, no maternity benefits, poor working conditions, and poor access to health and**

insurance and so on. Recent clashes between workers and Management at Maruti Suzuki Plant in Gurgaon in 2012 was a result of the demand by workers to address the issue of gross disparity in the pay of contract workers and regular workers. Further, many of their problems are not even identified properly as there is a large number of workers who are employed in what is called 'home based work'. Children assisting their parents in their work is also another form of invisible labor.

Significance of informal sector in Indian context is huge as a major chunk of population earns its livelihood from this type of economic activity. The contribution of the unorganized sector to the GDP has been over 60%. Informal sector also involves low capital investment and hence, it is highly labor intensive and spreads quickly. In a developing country like India, government cannot take all steps to improve the condition of workers of this sector as more benefits to them adversely affect production costs and affect much needed industrial and agricultural growth. Besides, it requires huge infrastructural and institutional arrangements involving financial implications beyond the capacity of the Government. In such a situation, the Government has to play a role of facilitator and promoter so that the workers employed in the informal sector are able to get requisite level of protection and security to have decent work environment enabling them to express their skills fully and according to their capabilities.

Implications for workers in informal sector are –

- I. First, personal relationships determine many aspects of work. If the employer likes a worker, he or she may get a salary raise, and if he or she had a fight with him or her, he or she may lose the job. This is different from a large organization with well-defined rules, where recruitment is more transparent and there are mechanisms for complaints and redressal if one disagrees with one's immediate superior.
- II. Second, very few Indians have access to secure jobs with benefits. Of those who do, two-thirds work for the government. The rest are forced to depend on their children in their old age.
- III. Third, since very few people are members of trade unions, a feature of the organized sector, they do not have the benefit of collectively fighting for proper wages and safe working conditions.
- IV. As such workers are not registered as 'workers' under any law, they are automatically excluded from several benefits provided under legislations like – Maternity Benefit Act, Workman's Compensation Act and so on.

The government has laws to monitor conditions in the unorganized sector, but in practice they are left to the whims and fancies of the employer or contractor.

Unorganized Sector Workers' Social Security Act has also been passed in 2008. Recently, 'National Social Security Board' has been setup for unorganized sector which shall recommend schemes for unorganized sector. 'National Social Security Fund' has also been established for organized sector in 2011. 'New Pension Scheme' is also now open to workers in informal sector. There are other schemes as well. 'Janshree Bima Yojana Yojana' is a group insurance scheme, Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme is a social security scheme for the old. Several public institutions and agencies are also imparting various kinds of social security benefits to the selected groups of workers. Among these Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has made significant achievement in promoting social security through the formation of cooperatives.

Child Labor

Children are building block of any civilized society. New 'National Policy on Children Child 2013' reiterates the statement of the policy of 1974 that children are **supremely important assets of a nation**. Child labor is defined as any work done by a person who is under the age specified by law. The word, 'work' means full time commercial work to sustain self or add to the family income. ILO defines child labor as '*child labor includes children permanently leading an adult's lives. Working long hours with low wages under conditions which are detrimental to the physical and mental health, sometimes separated from family*'. Child labor is both an exploitative social practice as well as a deep rooted social evil. Worst forms of child labor, according to ILO, include – bonded labor, mining, child prostitution, drug-trafficking

Its social **causes** and related factors are –

- I. Bondage – Children are **pledged due to poverty**
- II. Gender discrimination – **Girls are more prone** to be forced into child labor
- III. Poverty – Poor parents find it difficult to take care of children due to **lack of resources** and child labor is used as a **survival strategy** by poorer households
- IV. Family size and population – **Large family size** leads to depletion of meager incomes of earning hands and children are pushed into labor
- V. Vulnerability of children is also a cause as **they rarely protest** and are even considered as suitable for certain works like carpet weaving, bangle industry and so on
- VI. Poor welfare and social security measures taken by the state
- VII. **Poor wages of adult parents**
- VIII. Low **levels of female literacy**
- IX. Small uneconomic land holdings of the parents
- X. Poor **legal framework**
- XI. High proportion of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population areas

These causes are also coupled by **systemic failure of government** to provide **minimum social security** net to parents of children who are forced to put their children into child labor. Administrative and civil society apathy and corruption is to blame equally. Non-**implementation of universal education** agenda has forced millions of children into work. Lack of **education and empowerment** put the children into a vicious circle of illiteracy and poverty.

Child labor is also prevalent in rich and industrialized countries, although less compared to poor nations. In India **14.4 % children between 10 and 14 years** of age are employed in child labor as per a Human Rights Watch report. 2/3rd of them work in **agriculture** as per ILO and are not considered as in formal employment, but just **helping family thus making them invisible for policy** makers.

Neera Burra in her '*Born to Work: Child Labor in India, 1995*' argues **that middle class actively promotes child labor in search of cheap domestic help**. Similarly, Niti Mishra in her '*Gender Criteria to Child Labor in India*' argues that **girls are given more preference as child labor due to their adaptability to household chores and suitability to various industries**. For example – *Bidi* industry in Tamil Nadu has predominantly girl child laborers. Mayron Weiner considers lack of **education** as the biggest cause behind child labor as

work is seen as more rewarding than education. Utsa Patnaik on other hand put economies of child labor as the biggest factor for its existence.

There are two opinions on the question of continuance or banning of child labor in India. One group of people think that child labor should be banned since it is detrimental to physical and mental health of the child and is against the Directive Principles of the Constitution of India. The other group considers abolition of poverty as a pre-condition for abolition of child labor. Immediate blanket ban on child labor may not even be possible in a developing country like India where it cannot be backed by adequate resources. It may lead to undesirable consequences like – child prostitution, malnourishment etc. So, rehabilitative measures like – provisioning of proper educational and nutritional facilities along with banning it – are necessary. A part of responsibility also lies with corporate sector which produce such goods which are made by employing child labor and partly with us consumers who consume those goods.

The Government of India has also adopted a new National Policy on Children in 2013 and a National Labor Policy in 1987 in accordance with the constitutional mandate and the prevailing legislation on child labor. In 1992 India has ratified the 'UN Convention on the Rights of the Child' which implies that India will ensure wide awareness on the issues of the children among the various governmental and the non-governmental agencies. Article 24 prohibits Child Labor. SC also in 'Sivakasi PIL Case' issued detailed guidelines. Child Labor has been banned since 1986 by a parliamentary Act on recommendation of Gurupadswamy Committee. SC ordered a blanket ban in 2006. National Commission on Protection of Child Rights has also been formed to take care of child rights and strengthen the legislative and executive framework.

Slums and Deprivation in Urban Areas

The Government of India, for purposes of the implementation of various schemes relating to urban development, has defined a slum area as follows - 'A slum area means any area where such dwellings predominate, which by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of buildings, narrowness and faulty arrangement of street, lack of ventilation, lack of sanitation facilities, inadequacy of open spaces and community facilities or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morale'.

Historically, Lewis Mumford and Fredrich Engels attribute the birth of slums to the rise of industrial cities and factory system. Wages in new industries were poor and the migrated people couldn't afford living in high cost houses. Two World Wars, during which building activities were sharply curtailed, also added to the slum problem. As urban space spreads, land and housing becomes even more expensive and it helps in expansion of slums.

'The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development'

The National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, has recorded that the emergence of slums is essentially the product of three forces –

- I. Demographic dynamism of a city attracting more people from the rural areas offering greater potential for employment
- II. Its incapacity to meet the rising demand for housing
- III. The existing urban land policies, which prohibit the access of the poor to the urban land market

appointed by the Planning Commission of India, estimated **nearly 23 per cent** or over 3 crore 60 lakh persons as **the urban slum dwellers**. Maharashtra has the highest number **of slum dwellers**.

Some of the common characteristics of slums are –

- I. **Dilapidated and poor houses** in slums are made of poor design and scrap materials. These are often raised on **unauthorized land**.
- II. **High density of population** and housing leads to over-crowding and congestion; one room is often used for all practical purposes of domesticating living. According to William Whyte in his Street Corner Society study of Boston city, overcrowding is one of the key characteristic of slums.
- III. **Lack of public utilities and facilities**, such as, drainage, sanitation, water taps, electric light, health centers, common latrines and public parks, etc.
- IV. Slums have a culture of their own, which Marshall Clinard in his '*Sociology of Deviant Behavior, 1974*' has termed as 'a way of life'. It is said to be largely a synthesis of the culture of the lower class and of that which Lewis has referred to as the '**culture of poverty**'.
- V. The slum-dwellers are **functionally integrated** with the mainstream of the city life, yet the high **incidence of deviant behavior** such as crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug use, beggary, illegitimacy, illicit distilling of liquor, gambling and other social evils are associated with slum areas.
- VI. Though the slum-dwellers are functionally integrated to the city life, **apathy and social isolation** characterize a slum. It means that largely slums are subject to **neglect and apathy** of the larger community. These areas are **looked down upon** and considered inferior.

A R Desai and Devadas Pillai, in their work '*Slums and urbanization, 1990*' attribute rise in slum population as a failure of welfare state. According to them, though constitution guarantees various rights, it has failed to provide adequate housing source of livelihood. They suggest a radical solution in form **of nationalization of urban land resources**.

According to Gita Dewan Verma in her '*Slumming India, 2000*', slums are not only material issue, but they are **also a moral issue**. They reflect the **apathy of larger society** and the governments. Urban land is used for **non-essential glamorous uses** like golf courses, leisure parks and farm houses with tacit government support. She also suggests generation of community feeling among those who live in slums so that problems can have long term and sustainable solutions through self-help.

Sometimes a slum is the **consequence of blight in the old parts of the** city. At times, a slum is inherited in the form of an old village or a haphazardly growing locality within the extended territorial limits of a town.

Rise of slums is also viewed in functional terms as they provide many low-cost services to the rich and the middle class. Slums also provide low **costs dwelling place in cities to the migrants who** have no other places to live.

One of the greatest obstacles in effective implementation of the slum-clearance programme has been lack of adequate funds. Vote bank politics also promote their existence and no effective mechanisms are deployed to check their spread.

Slums are not a phenomenon of less developed countries, but are equally present in developed countries. Michael Harington says that in the face of rapid industrial-urban growth in the technologically advanced and capitalistic country like the United States of America also there are such slums, which at times are referred to as the '*other America*'.

Because of the absence of 'settled' property rights of the kind seen elsewhere, slums are the natural breeding ground for '*dadas*' and strongmen who impose their authority on the people who live there. Control over slum territory becomes the natural stepping stone to other kinds of extra-legal activities, including criminal and real estate-related gangs.

Various approaches to deal with slums problems have been suggested in past like – slum clearance, economic development of slums, slum improvement and so on. They suffer from the limitations of their own. Slum clearance infringes on the right to life and is fraught with other problems like displacement of thousands of inhabitants. Similarly, the subsidized housing project will make cities more attractive and the number of poor rural people arriving in cities will become difficult to handle. More development of slums and cities also means that urban-rural divide is further increased. So, upliftment of rural areas so that migration is stopped and decentralization of urban areas so that burden on economic resources can be lowered and cost of living is reduced, can be the possible solutions.

Response of state in recent years has been – Rent Control Act 1948, Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) 1976, Rajiv Awas Yojna, 2009, Property Rights to Slum Dwellers Act 2011 and so on. There have also been many rehabilitation schemes from time to time including regularization of the slums in form of organized colonies. NGOs are also working in various areas like – education of slum children, awareness about female hygiene etc. Recently 'Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan' has also been launched to focus on sanitation of slums. But results of these efforts have been far from satisfactory.

POLITICS and SOCIETY

Nation, Democracy, Citizenship, Political Parties and Pressure Groups

Refer Paper – 1

Social and Political Elite

Elite are those who excel. Elite is not synonymous with power and wealth per se, rather, these are found in possession of elites due to their personal qualities, positions and affiliations.

Social elites are those who are so due to their '*status*' in society. Status may be by virtue of birth, caste, lineage, knowledge, behavior, wealth and so on. **Political elites** derive their position due to the '*power to influence*' they possess. Political elites usually have their unique position due to their numerical strength, their lineage, party affiliation, social linkages, and position in government and so on. In traditional India, political elite belonged to certain social groups namely Kshatriyas, royal nobility, kings, priestly class etc. It was mainly authoritarian and feudal. Change in elite structure takes place as the rulers change and ideology change. For example, priestly class played little role during the time of Akbar, but during Sultanate period, their role was immense. When democracy was adopted post independence, the nobility also lost its relevance after consolidation of princely states. Composition of social elite is further altered as society moves towards a rational organization based on egalitarian and achievement based structure.

In a society like India where kinship ties are still very strong, casteism still plays as an electoral card. As democratic system gave power to numbers, representatives of dominant castes assumed powerful roles. Emergence of new political leadership after decline of Congress in 1960s marked a change in composition of political elite as old guard made way for new one. Despite significant changes, political elite in India is still characterized by nepotism, dynastic rule, personality cults, regionalism and casteism.

Social and political elite have different composition in rural and urban areas. In rural areas, the elite consist of well do peasantry, ritually superior community, dominant castes and trading class. Politics have become competitive where all sections of society vie for a share. Most of the people participating in politics in a village are from dominant caste. Kinship and caste play an important role in rural politics. Education has also assumed an important role in rural leadership as more and more youth from rural background are exposed to the new ideas and beliefs. Rural elite leadership today doesn't come from ritually higher placed castes alone, it is becoming more secular. Elites in rural areas now come from all socio-economic backgrounds. For example, in Northern states of Haryana and Western UP, Jats and some other landed OBCs are new rural elite.

In urban areas, social elite now consists of mainly professional service class. Achieved status is the primary factor in determining the status in urban areas where opportunities are linked with personal effort. Industrialization has changed the composition of social elite in urban areas. Another contributing factor is changing consumption habits. Business and trade leaders are gaining prominent position. Urban areas also have advantage of education and those who make mark in different fields of education emerge as new leaders.

Regionalism and Decentralization of Power

REGIONALISM

Regionalism is defined as a phenomenon in which people's political loyalties become region centric. Regionalism is an ideology which is based upon a number of factors like – language, race, religion, geography and so on and is usually a result of 'diversity' and 'disparity'. Interregional conflict is usually shaped around insider-outsider complex — a complex that nurtures nativism and son-of-the-soil ideology.

Regional movement is an Identity Movement seeking special privileges, protection, and concessions from the state. It is a movement for regional self-governance. In other words, it is a movement and ideology which aims to culminate itself into formation of a state — i.e. a movement seeking pluralisation and federalization of existing polity and political process.

Region-state conflict usually takes place in the institutional structure of state system, wherein a region questions the distributive policy of the state as discriminatory, exploitative and unfavorable to the overall well-being of the concerned regional community. It is from this perceived sense of deprivation, neglect and 'internal colonialism' that the people of a particular region organize themselves into a movement. Its objectives may be *accommodative, protectionist, welfarist, autonomist, separatist and secessionist*. While regionalism is decentralizing, nationalism is centralizing. This is also a possible source of opposition between the two.

According to Harihar Bhattacharyya in his '*Federalism and Regionalism in India, 2005*' regionalism in India is rooted in India's diversity of languages, cultures, tribes, and religions. It is also encouraged by the geographical concentration of these identity markers in particular regions, and fuelled by a sense of regional deprivation.

Regionalism is not new, it is a pre-independence phenomenon. Politics of regionalism started with implementation of constitutional reforms of 1909, 1919 and 1935. Establishment of Justice Party and Akali Dal were a few early signs of this trend.

Establishment of a democratic government also fuelled higher expectation and their non-fulfillment led to feeling of relative deprivation. Vested interests of former princes and rulers also articulated through ideology of regionalism. Reorganization of states on linguistic lines further stoked the fire of regionalism. Many more movements with various explanations came up ranging from Dravida movement, agitations by Shiv Sena and so on. Language was perhaps the most often used pillar for expression of regionalism. Religion, economic and administrative, political reasons have also been formed as basis of regionalism.

Sociologist Harrison considers that regionalism is a precursor to nationalism. What starts as a regional aspiration will grow into nationalistic aspiration. In India, growth of Tamilian movement and Khalistan movement can be seen in this light. Gandhiji also saw regionalism as a potential challenge to nationalism and according to him such sentiments are harmful for a nation.

According to Paul Brass, in India, regionalism is a result of social setup where masses drive larger gratification from caste, community and region and not from a pan-Indian identity.

However, contemporary view of regionalism is that it should be studied in a particular context as in past 67 years context has changed. Though it might be a challenge in 1950, it need not be today. According to Rajni Kothari it has made federalism more deep rooted in India with rise of true multi-party politics. Regionalism can act as a healthy competitive force and hence fuel progress.

Similarly, according to Dipankar Gupta, regionalism may not be necessarily anti-people and anti-nation. Regionalism becomes problematic when it borders on chauvinism and interests of a region are branded as diametrically opposite to interests of other regions. Often scarce resources like water, employment act as catalyst. Examples of anti-North Indians drive by Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS) in recent times and bitter water disputes among Southern states are manifestation of such malignant regionalism.

So, regionalism can have two aspects –

- I. **Functional** – It aims to strengthen roots of federal system and is a device to promote and preserve local cultures, languages etc.
- II. **Dysfunctional** – It has fissioning tendency and can lead to disintegration of the political system and can provoke people against each other. It promotes parochialism.

Iqbal Narain has identified three major types of regionalism (or regional movements) in India –

- I. **Supra-State Regionalism** – Supra-state regionalism is built around the issues of common interest in which group of states form a common political alliance, directed against either the similar alliance of other states or the Union. Supra state regionalism is issue specific. Dravidian movement by southern states is an example.
- II. **Inter-State Regionalism** – Interstate regionalism is coterminous with state boundaries and involves juxtaposing of one or more state identities against another on specific issues, which threaten their interest. River water in general and boarder dispute in particular are its manifestations. This is very much evident from recent conflict between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu over sharing of Cauvery water, or boarder dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka.
- III. **Intra-State Regionalism** – In this, a regional community is against the state in which they are situated. Intra-state regionalism is aimed at assuring oneself of self-identity and self-development. Khalistan movement is one such example.

State's response to regional movements has been varying. We do not find any consistent policy in this regard. However, certain patterns and principles can be discerned in this regard. They are: secessionist demand could not be conceded, rather, secessionism would be suppressed by all necessary means; central government would not concede those regional demands based exclusively upon religious differences; and the demands for the creation of separate linguistic would not be conceded unless such a demand is socially wide and economically viable.

Regionalism in its parochial meaning can be dangerous to the hard earned national unity of our multi-cultural society. However, if regionalism is ingrained with positive meaning of regional pride and spirit healthy competition, it can also lead to more diversity, growth and development also.

DECENTRALISATION of POWER – Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)

Local governance is well known in India since time immemorial. Panchayats in India are historical institutions and were known by different names during different periods. Even during independence struggle, they were envisaged by Gandhiji as the true realization of Swaraj. After independence, they were demanded as institutions of local empowerment in a backward nation and many states like Rajasthan took active steps to promote them.

PRIs were given a new identity with the enactment of 73rd constitutional amendment in 1992. Urban bodies were also given constitutional status with 74th constitutional amendment. Constitutional status provided these bodies some degree of independence and also provided for regular elections as well. Further, 33% reservation is provided for the women candidates and reservation is also provided for the backward sections like SCs and STs. Thus, PRIs in their new role are also seen as instrument of social change and women empowerment also.

Panchayats have to now prepare plans and schemes for economic development, to promote schemes that will enhance social justice, help in the devolution of governmental responsibilities especially that of finances to local authorities, implement various government schemes like ICDS, MNREGS and so on.

However, many provisions regarding empowerment of these local bodies are optional in nature and are contingent upon states. As a result, while some states like Kerala have taken active steps in strengthening these bodies, others have refrained from devolving the power on PRIs.

While PRIs in theory have emerged as a tool of democratic decentralization, true empowerment has to still to come by. Democratization is not easy in a society that has had a long history of inequality based on caste, community and gender. In states like Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, voting in Panchayat election is still guided by factors like – caste, kinship and family affinity. In many cases, especially in Northern India, castes or gotra panchayats often subvert the working of these institutions. For example, in 2004, in Jhajjar district in Haryana *Rathi Khap* panchayat ordered annulment of marriage of a girl named Sonia and boy named Rampal because they had same gotra. Situation in other areas is not very different. Dominant castes still have a sway over Panchayat bodies. Women contestants are proxy candidates of their husbands on reserved seats. PRIs are marred by administrative and political compulsions as well. Devolution of functions has been poor and self-financing is abysmal.

T K Ooman compared the PRI system of Northern and Southern region of India. In South India, concept of Gram Sabha was historically present, so, PRIs in southern states have been more effective in implementation of system of local governance. Further, Hindi belt of North is still ridden by caste conflicts.

According to Gail Omvedt, Dalits have been perpetually considered as vote-bank of dominant rural elite and their rise in power through compulsory reservation is seen as un-acceptable to traditional dominant groups. According to Fernandes, in Tamil Nadu, from 1998 to 2005, 65 cases of atrocities on Dalits have been reported and often tactics like – obstruction of Dalits from using franchise, prohibition of them from contesting of elections, putting their houses on fire etc. are used. Similarly, in Bihar, a Dalit woman *sarpanch* lost her life because she tried to hoist flag on Independence Day.

PRIs are the only tier of administrative-political hierarchy where direct democracy can be exercised. They are the institutions which offer scope of empowerment of the poorest of the poor, women and other weaker sections. Hence decentralization of power is in fact a road map to rural development and social change in India.

Secularization

Describing the process of secularization, Bryan R Wilson writes that in secularization process '*the various social institutions gradually become distinct from one another and increasingly free of the matrix of religious assumptions that had earlier informed, inspired and dominated their operation*'. Similar views are expressed by M N Srinivas in '*Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, 1952*'.

Ours is not a settled society like France or Germany etc, we are in a transitional stage and therefore, the meaning of or what kind of secularism we shall get will also be dictated by the specific features of this stage. India

Srinivas on secularization: M. N. Srinivas had famously defined secularization as follows – '*the term 'secularization' implies that what was previously regarded as religious is ceasing to be such, and it also implies a process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of society, economic, political, legal and moral, becoming increasingly discrete in relation to each other*'. However, according to him, differentiation does not mean disconnection.

Thus his definition has two aspects –

- I. Notion of religion itself
- II. Differentiation of Institutions

He further says, secularization as a process has been subsumed in Westernization which is a much broader term.

has a multi religious society and even definition of religion is not fixed. Indian secularism according to Rajiv Bhargava is not strict separation of religion and politics, but explained in terms of '*principled distance between religion and politics*'. Indian society had been historically tolerant towards religious affairs and secularism in modern sense arrived only during 19th century as a part of cultural and religious reform movements. Nationalism, freedom struggle, growth of western education etc helped its rise. There is also a plurality of view over its definitional and emergence aspects. A liberal plural view was taken by modern nationalists before independence. It called for separation of religion and other institutions and advocated religious pluralism. An 'orthodox plural view' was led by like of Gandhiji, Dayanand Saraswati, Ramakrishna Mission etc who saw Indian society as secular from beginning due to its marked tolerance. There was Marxist view also which interpreted secularism as disappearance of religion altogether. Our constitutional and parliamentary democratic framework adopts liberal plural view. According to Nehru '*It does not mean a society where religion is discouraged, it means freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion*'.

Our secularism is primarily directed against two evils – first, the religious strife between different religious communities and its extreme forms like communal violence and riots; and, secondly, the danger of religious communities overwhelming the state, each with its own view of ‘good life’ as valid for others too. Both arose as a problem in the second half of the 19th century. *The conceptual construct of secularism is adopted in India by way of a solution to the problems, posed by fundamentalism and communalism.* Thus, Indian secularism is not a result of tussle between the Church and the State as in case of Europe, but conceptualized as an anti-dote to twin evils of communalism and fundamentalism. It is more on lines of ‘*sarva dharma sambhava*’, rather than on strict ‘*dharm nirpekshata*’. Articles of constitution like – Article 25-28 and also stress on freedom of faith and religion, rather than banishing it.

There are other alternate views of the everyday meaning of the word secularism in India. The most common use of secular in everyday language is as the ‘*opposite of communal*’. So, a secular person or state is one that does not favor any particular religion over others. Secularism in this sense is the opposite of religious chauvinism and it need not necessarily imply hostility to religion as such. In terms of the state-religion relationship, this sense of secularism implies equal respect for all religions, rather than separation or distancing. For example, the secular Indian state declares public holidays to mark the festivals of all religions.

Indian version of secularism also poses certain challenges. Supporters of Western notion of secularism accuse state of indulging into religious sphere as state supports many activities like Haj Pilgrim, manage shrines like Tirupati, Viashnodevi and so on.

Another set of complications is created by the tension between the Indian state’s simultaneous commitment to secularism as well as the protection of minorities. The protection of minorities requires that they be given special consideration in a context where the normal working of the political system places them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the majority community. But providing such protection immediately invites the accusation of favoritism or ‘appeasement’ of minorities.

Andre Beteille comments that people of India are ‘*bound more by culture than constitution*’. Religion in India is not just practiced, but it is a part of dress, food and mannerism of people. In words of T N Madan, ‘*religion and secular cannot be separated, in other words, religion cannot be in any meaningful sense privatized*’. Thus, there is a difference in de-jure secularism as envisaged in constitution and de-facto secularism as practiced by society.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS in MODERN INDIA

Social movements in modern India have a multi-dimensional face. They grew as consciousness and communication media grew. Education, political awareness about rights and new means of mobilization provided conducive environment for their rise. During British period, they made their real beginning and they become more strident post-independence. Demands and goals varied from time to time as context changed.

M S A Rao on social movements: M S A Rao has identified following aspects of a social movement – definition and classification, genesis, ideology, organization, leadership etc.

According to him, unlike other forms of collective actions, social movements are characterized by three important features – collective mobilization, ideology and orientation of change. Further, according to him, out of various theories on evolution of social movements, relative deprivation theory is the most appropriate one to explain their genesis as it is the one which is oriented towards change and not towards restoring equilibrium. It also provides a basis for uniting people around certain issues.

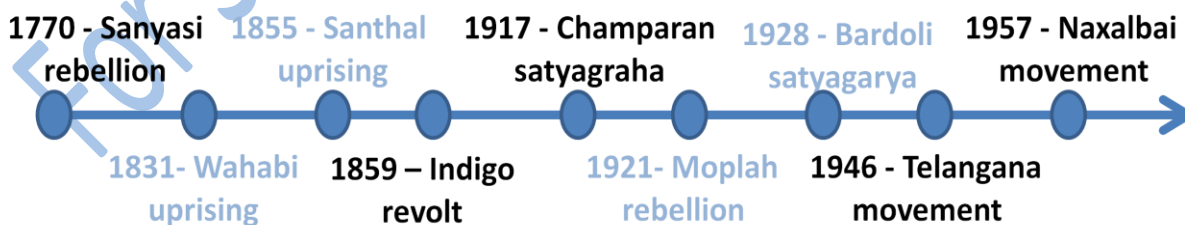
A movement ceases to remain a social movement when it develops a high degree of formal organization of rewards and punishments.

According to M S A Rao, there can be numerous classifications of the social movements. While classifying, it is necessary that ideology and nature of consequences be considered as central elements.

Rao also views a social movement in term of different levels of structural change – reform, transformation and revolution. Bhakti movement is an example of reform movement. SNDP and Mahar movements are examples of transformative movements which also aim at some considerable level of structural change.

Peasants and Farmers Movements

Peasants are conceptually different from farmers who in a strict typology grow farm produce for commercial purpose and have considerable larger landholdings. Peasants on the other hand have smaller land holdings which are mostly of subsistence nature. Peasants may sometimes do part time labor also during leaner season. For this difference, the problems faced by the peasants are different from problems faced by farmers.



CHRONOLOGY of PEASANT MOVEMENTS in INDIA

The term 'peasant' in India has also multiple meanings. It is seen as an 'underclass' by Anand Chakravorti, it is seen as sharing caste features as per regional variation according to Javed Alam. Further, peasantry in different regions have different socio-economic condition due to different mode of

production in different regions – feudal, semi feudal or capitalist. So, peasants in India are not a uniform class as in case of China or Russia. Hence, often their problems are also different. Peasant movements as a result of address the problems of actual cultivators, agricultural laborers and other artisans.

According to A R Desai, movements prior to independence were predominantly peasant movements and post independence they were farmers' movement. While peasant movements aim at basic minimum livelihood, farmers' movements demand more. Shift from peasant movements to farmers' movements also marks shift to capitalist mode of production.

Loss of traditional rights and introduction of marketization of land were the changes that led to deterioration of peasantry during British times.

In general, evolution of peasant movements in India can be explained in following stages –

- I. **Pre-Kisan Sabha Movements (till 1920s)** – Zamindari exploitation, beggar or forced cultivation, food scarcity etc led to many movements like 24 Pargana revolt in Bengal, Pabna revolt, Deccan revolt etc. These movements were led by local leaders and were driven by interest ideology and were often fizzled when goals were met or were suppressed by British.
- II. **Post Kisan Sabha (1920s-1947)** – Now the question of peasants was linked to national cause as well and peasants movements acquired a national character. The first organization to be founded was the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha in 1929 and in 1936 the All India Kisan Sabha was founded as an umbrella organization.

Leadership was from within as well as provided by national leaders like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, N G Ranga etc. They addressed general issues like poverty, indebtedness, high taxes and specific issues as well. One more feature was that they were properly organized and they even represented interests of farmers and even small landlords as well. Kisan Sabha proved to be an umbrella structure and also

boosted peasant's participation in national struggle. Apart from these, certain other movements also arose due to various reasons. Champaran movement led by Gandhiji on issue of plight of indigo farmers in Bihar, Bardoli movement led by Sardar Patel on issue of tax relief for peasants of Gujarat, Tebhaga movement led by peasants of Bengal on issue of reducing share were major movements. Communists also tried to club peasant movements with workers movements as in case of Telangana struggle.

- III. **Post independence, but pre Green Revolution** – Much of vigor was forsaken with optimism of welfare state promises. Towering agenda of land reforms also overshadowed such movements.

Gail Omvedt classifies peasant movements as –

- I. **Restorative Movements** – They included movements like Sanyasi rebellion, Pagalpanthi movement etc which aimed at restoring the old glory apart from addressing the issues related to hardship of peasants.
- II. **Ethnic Movements** – They included movements like Santhal Rebellion, Khond Rebellion etc which largely targeted colonial taxation policies, but mobilization was on ethnic lines.
- III. **Social Banditry** – They included movements like Tebhaga, Eka Movement etc. They were militant and had leaders like – Madari Pasi, Sahjanand Saraswati etc who wanted radical change in the system.
- IV. **Kisan Sabha Movement** – These movements also raised peasants and farmers issue at national issue and also helped in mobilization of peasants in mainstream national struggle.

Only meaningful movements during this period were Bhoodan movement and Gramdaan movements. They aimed at supplementing government effort in bringing about social change in rural areas by using the strategy of moral persuasion. There were other localized movements also like – Land grab movement during the 1960s launched by CPI cadre in Basti district of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Concerned individuals, civil society organizations, voluntary organizations and NGOs are playing significant roles in such movements.

- I. **Post Green Revolution Movements** – Faulty land reforms and unequal benefits of Green Revolution created discontent. Euphoria of independence and optimism with welfare state has also died down. Earliest expression as in form of Naxal movement. People's War Group in Andhra was another similar movement. Leadership was provided by middle class intelligentsia, CPI cadre, as well as from within. Their methods often turned violent and they went for guerilla attacks, parallel courts, burning of records. Reactive measures in form of schemes like TRYSEM, IRDP etc were launched by government. These violent movements were not successful per se, but they were instrumental in giving government efforts a rethinking. Apart from these peasant movements, there were also many farmers' movements which fall under category of '*new farmer's movements*'. They were driven by interest ideology and they wanted to extract maximum benefit out of that. There was also another stream of movement led by middle class intelligentsia and spirited social workers. Narmada Bachao Andolan led by Medha Patkar is one of the most important examples of such movements.

Peasant movements according to Partho Chatterji were not class movement as they were more guided by regional, ethnic, caste considerations. Peasant movements are also marked by their elasticity and often multiple issues like – caste, poverty and linguistic issues are clubbed together. Poor peasants often face dual problems of economic deprivations and social discrimination.

Post-Independence, farmers' movements have attracted significant attention. According to Harrington, they are harmonious combination of environmental and peasant's right movements.

In globalised and capital mode of production, interest of farmers and peasants are often at crossroad as often capitalist farmers have peasants and laborers in sub-ordinate and exploitative relationship. Further, rising income divide among two has also created larger class divide.

FARMERS' MOVEMENT

Farmers' movements are conceptually different from Peasants movements in terms of their organization, purpose and ideology. They are largely a post Green Revolution phenomenon and emerged in prosperous regions of country and are also called '*new farmer's movements*'.

They are also viewed differently by different scholars. Dhanagare considers them as class movements and essentially a capitalist movement. Paul Brass on the other hand put them into category of 'New Social Movements' and these are charged against state and address a lot of other issues including gender and environmental issues. Gail Omvedt on the other hand sees them as a reaction to the state-market collusion exploitations and it includes all types of farmers and not just affluent farmers.

Success of Green revolution made agriculture a commercial profitable activity for a section of rich farmers. They had their own agendas to retain agriculture as a profitable activity so they had specific demands and want concessions from state. They were mainly from dominant castes and had their own self interest like – rise in MSP, free electricity, water, subsidized fertilizers and so on.

Earlier, farmers' movements were led by communist leadership. But now, they formed organizations like Bhartiya Kisan Union led by Mahendra Singh Tikait in Northern India, Shetkari Sanghathan led by Sharad Joshi group in Maharashtra etc. Leadership was provided from within and often membership was from the dominant castes like Jats of Haryana and Jats and Yadavs of western UP. Apart from physical mobilization, these organizations and associations are now acting as pressure groups also. Pan India farm loan waiver when United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government came into power is an example of their clout.

One of the accusations that farmers make is that they are treated as secondary to urban population and government in its bid to keep food supply cheaper to urban areas has deliberately lowered the prices.

In post independence period they mobilized in wake of –

- I. Lack of implementation of the land reforms
- II. Green Revolution and rising disparities
- III. Non-access to institutional credit and usurious money lending from private lenders
- IV. Demand for MSP, free water and electricity
- V. Draught, dependency on rain and non-access to irrigation facilities
- VI. Lack of social security
- VII. Poor awareness about modern techniques
- VIII. Local Issues – Peasants issues are compounded by local issues. For example – Caste wars in Bihar in which invariable victims are poor peasants

They were different from peasant movements as –

- I. They have wider resource base
- II. They address the issue of 'relative deprivation'
- III. Interest ideology was used apart from ideology of a particular association
- IV. They were generally organized, but used to become unorganized in course of events
- V. They use new means like *Rasta Roko*, *Rail Roko* and agitations to compel government to agree upon their demands
- VI. Farmers' mobilizations have been by and large open and non-violent, in contrast with characteristic unrest and conflicts associated with peasants movements in feudalistic agrarian systems

However, in the wave of new farmer's movements, interests of poor peasants and laborers are grossly ignored. Ironically, they also become the part of same farmers' movement with which their interests are almost diagonally opposite. Their demands for higher wages are often

conveniently ignored and whenever there is a movement asking for a rise in agricultural wages, it is met with violence from the rich farmers and the landlords.

Their strong lobby has also borne fruits in form of free electricity in states like Punjab, higher MSP than the statutory committees actually recommend and so on. Today such movements have also mobilized support against wider issues like WTO, globalization, retail FDI, MNCs and Contract Farming, GM Seeds and so on.

In recent time a serious crisis has emerged in the field of Indian agriculture in form of starvation deaths and farmers' suicides. While the largest number of starvation deaths are still routinely reported from the backward regions of the country, especially Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and now increasingly from Rajasthan, the trend of suicides generally prompted by heavy indebtedness, crop failures, or inability to find a market for the produce, is noticed even among the well-to-do farmers in the agriculturally developed areas of Punjab, Maharashtra and Karnataka. In Vidharbha region of Maharashtra, there were enormous protests from farmers as the region became notorious for farmer's suicide.

Women's Movement

The women's question arose in modern India as part of the nineteenth century middle class social reform movements. The nature of these movements varied from region to region. They are often termed as middle class reform movements because many of these reformers were from the newly emerging western educated Indian middle class. They were often at once inspired by the democratic ideals of the modern west and by a deep pride in their own democratic traditions of the past.

While Ranade and Ram Mohun Roy belonged to one kind of nineteenth century upper caste and middle class social reformers, Jyotiba Phule came from the class of social reformers who came from a socially excluded caste and his attack was directed against both caste and gender discrimination.

Apart from the early feminist visions there were a large number of women's organizations that arose both at the all India and local levels in the early twentieth century. And then began the participation of women in the national movement itself. As a result, women's rights were part and parcel of the nationalist vision. In 1931, the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress issued a declaration on the Fundamental Rights of Citizenship in India whereby it committed itself to women's equality.

Two decades after Independence, women's issues re-emerged in the 1970s. In the nineteenth century reform movements, the emphasis had been on the backward aspects of tradition like sati, child marriage, or the ill treatment of widows. In the 1970s, the emphasis was on 'modern' issues – the rape of women in police custody, dowry murders, the representation of women in popular media, and the gendered consequences of unequal development.

The law was a major site for reform in the 1980s and after, especially when it was discovered that many laws of concern to women had not been changed since the 19th century.

As we enter the twenty-first century, new sites of gender injustice are emerging. Declining sex ratio, sexual harassment at work place, equal representation in legislatures and other bodies etc are new issues in this century.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT in PRE INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

In India, the feminist force has been recognized since thousands of years ago as *Shakti*. Some of the earliest movements like Bhakti movement saw participation of many women actively.

Women's movement in colonial India had strong links with nationalist movement. The participation of women in India's freedom struggle was significant, especially in Gandhian movements.

First phase of women's movement during colonial period were initiated by the educated men who were influenced by the modern ideas of equality and emancipation. Keshub Chandra and Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others provided this initial impetus. Under Brahmo Samaj, education of women was seen as the major instrument to improve women's position. Keshab Chandra Sen stressed the need for educating women at home and government support was sought for this purpose. An inter-caste marriage was also solemnized under the auspices of the Brahmo Samaj. Efforts of these early reformers resulted in the passing of Anti-Sati Legislation in 1829 and Civil Marriage Act, 1872 which permitted inter-caste marriage and divorce.

Prarthana Samaj in 1869 formed the 'Bombay Widow Reforms Association' which arranged the first widow remarriage in 1869. Two leaders of the Prarthana Samaj, R G Bhandarkar and N G Chandravarkar, later became Vice-chancellors of the first Women's University set up by Karve in 1916 in Bombay.

Similar movements began, within the Islamic community in the late nineteenth century. However, emphasis on *purdah* system and slow spread of education among women delayed the development of a progressive movement to improve the opportunities for Muslim women. People like Begum of Bhopal, Syed Ahmad Khan, Sheikh Abdullah in Aligarh and Karmat Hussain in Lucknow spearheaded a movement to improve women's education. In 1916 Begum of Bhopal formed the 'All-India Muslim Women's Conference'.

Stri Zarthosti Mandal (Parsee Women's Circle) was a Parsee organization which had its primary agenda as educational upliftment of Parsee women.

Second phase of women's movement during colonial period was led by the women themselves. After World War 1, the picture changed significantly and women's organizations became even broader based and had a pan India agenda. Cause of women was also linked to the idea of swaraj. Participation of women in national movement became wider under the leadership of Gandhiji. Sarojini Naidu, Lado Rani Zutshi, Rani Gudiello, Kamala Nehru, Hansa Mehta, Anantikabai Gokhale, Rukmini Lakshmiapaty, Lilavati Munshi, Durgabai Deshmukh, Begum of Bhopal and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya – to name just a few of thousands of women which came in open and participated.

Women's leadership in the nationalist phase however, emerged from a small section of the urban, middle-class, who had their education in English and invariably was in some way linked to movements or organizations in the west.

There were following main issues during that time –

- I. Voting rights and political participation
- II. Reforming of personal laws – As a result of their efforts, Sarda Act was enacted in 1929 this was a major victory on personal law front. Their sustained efforts also led to passage of Hindu Law Code Bills, 1950 which recognized property rights of women
- III. Banning social evils like child marriage, promoting widow re-marriage, education etc

Major organizations that emerged after First World War were –

- I. Women's Indian Association (WIA) – The WIA was established in 1917 in Madras and initially had local membership from Tamil women community and local British women with primary agenda to promote female education. Member of the WIA was open to both Indians and Europeans. The founders of WIA were Annie Besant, Dorothy Jinarajadasa, and Margaret Cousins, and secretaries were Mrs Malati Patwardhan, Mrs Ammu Swaminathan. The WIA competed for women's attention with the self-respect movement and played a key role in pressurizing government for voting rights for women and in fact was first organized effort in this direction.
- II. National Council of Women in India (NCWI) – It was a national branch of the International Council of Women. The members of NCWI were women of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta who have network for their various club and association to the International council of women. NCWI was led by Mehribai Tata from the Parsee family. The organization's activities related to educated women and high-class women in upper caste.
- III. All-India Women's Conference (AIWC) – This was the most significant women's organizations in India in pre-independence period. It was established in 1926. Initially, AIWC was concerned with women education issues, later it involved in larger issues. The most important achievement of their movement was enactment of '*Child Marriage Reform Act 1929*' or Sarda Act.

Other women's organizations that flourished during that period were – Desh Sevika Sangh, Nari Satyagraha Samiti, Mahila Rashtriya Sangh, Ladies Picketing Board, Stri Swarajya Sangh and Swayam etc and they played a key role in organizing the mass boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.

WOMEN in POST INDEPENDENCE ERA

In post-independent India, the women's movement was divided, as the common enemy, foreign rule, was no longer there. Many of the Muslim members went over to Pakistan. Some of the women leaders now formally joined the Indian National Congress and other political parties and held positions of power as ministers, governors and ambassadors. After their participation in nation's independence struggle women again withdrew from public life and the debate on women's issues also faded out from the public arena.

Further, in the post-Independence period constitutional provisions and social legislations for women, planned economic development and social change affected women's movement significantly.

In a democratic setup, women's movement became more organized and even acquired a political shape. With rising participation of women in economic and social spheres, they came to terms with the social reality of discrimination.

Women dissatisfied with the status quo joined struggles for the rural poor and industrial working class such as the Tebhaga movement in Bengal, the Telangana movement in Andhra Pradesh or the Naxalite movement.

Turbulent 1970s saw the real beginning of these movements as they raised issues that were specifically concerned with women alone and not just social issues. United Nations declared 1975-85 as the International Decade of the Woman and in India too, a '*National Committee on the Status of Women*' was set up in 1970s and it came up with a report popularly known as '*Towards Equality Report, 1974*' which became a major landmark for the women's movement. The real beginnings of the women's movement in India, has often been traced back to this report.

Major movements during this period are –

- I. Political Movements – All India Democratic Women Association (AIDWA) affiliated with Communist Party (CPI), and AIWC associated with Congress were formed in 1970s. Many left affiliated organizations and movements came up during the 1970s like Shahada movement, in Dhulia district of Maharashtra was one such movement. In wake of worsening socio-economic conditions during Bangladesh war also many movements were launched. In Bombay, for example, Socialist Mrinal Gore and Communist Ahilya Rangnekar led the movement. It was also during this time that Dalit movement and the feminism got linked. A 'Mahila Samata Sainik Dal' too was formed by some Dalit groups in Maharashtra. The Maoist groups and the dalit organisations gradually provide a new edge to the argument that religion and caste system provide additional legitimacy to the oppression of women. Many disparate events like Shah Bano Case also became political rallying point among other communities as well, on the other hand it also exposed the weaknesses of organizing Muslim women in India.
- II. Non-Governmental Movements – In the late 1970s several women's organizations also emerged which were not affiliated to political parties or to trade unions. They were called 'autonomous women's organizations'. They rejected the 'welfarist' approach adopted by the previous women's organizations, many of which were set up during the pre-Independence period, and adopted 'protest policies' for mobilizing women on specific issues. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) movement in Ahmadabad led by Ela Bhatt, which was a sort of pioneering women's trade union movement that began in 1972, was such a landmark in the history of the contemporary women's movement. Similarly, the Progressive Organization of Women (POW), developed in Hyderabad in the year 1974, worked towards organizing women against gender oppressive structures in society, namely, the sexual division of labor and the culture that rationalized this discrimination.

Apart from these, there were many issue based movements like – anti dowry movement, anti-sati movement (after sati of Roop Kanwar in 1980s), anti-rape movement etc.

Other issues which saw national-level collaborations were the Muslim Women's Bill in 1986, alcoholism, wife-beating, sexual harassment at work place in famous Visakha Case, etc. Women's organizations also got involved in environment crises such as the Bhopal Gas Tragedy of 1985 and Narmada Bachao led by Medha Patkar, Chipko movement in Uttarakhand etc.

ACHIEVEMENTS of WOMEN's MOVEMENT

The result of such movements was that separate ministry was established and provision for reservation in Panchayati Raj institution was made. Debate is also on regarding reservation of women in Legislative bodies.

Several legislative steps were taken to strengthen their position – Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, Prohibition of Indecent Representation of Women Act, National Commission for Women Act, Prevention of Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace 2013 etc.

Their efforts have also led to large scale participation in private sector, Equal Remuneration Act, Maternity Benefits Act etc along with several schemes by government. Government has also introduced 'gender budgeting' to provide financial support to activities related to women in all ministries.

Various schemes have also been launched like – Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana, SABLA, Gender Budgeting etc.

CRITIQUE of WOMEN's MOVEMENT in INDIA

- I. Upper class movement – They have especially been criticized for focusing too much on women already privileged, and neglecting the needs and representation of poorer or lower caste women.
- II. Social problems still persist – many issues like female feticide, patriarchy etc still persist many on the name of tradition.
- III. Low political participation – The limited success that these movements attained was in the field of social reforms. Political reforms are still unrealized.

Backward Classes and Dalit Movements

Untouchability is the most visible and comprehensive form of social discrimination. However, there were a large group of castes that were of low status and were also subjected to varying levels of discrimination short of untouchability. These were generally the service and artisanal castes or the so called *Shudras* who occupied the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy. These groups – which need not be based on caste alone, but are generally identified by caste – were described as the 'socially and educationally backward classes'. The term 'backward communities' was used for the first time in official parlance by the State of Travancore in 1930s to include all educationally and economically backward

sections. Madras province used it in 1930s to refer the castes which were just above untouchables. Thus, the concept was there much before it got recognition in our constitution.

Since caste has entered all the major Indian religions and is not confined to Hinduism alone, members of other religions are also there who belong to the backward classes and share the same traditional occupational identification and similar or worse socio-economic status. For these reasons, the OBCs are a very diverse group.

BACKWARD CLASS MOVEMENTS

Marc Galanter in his book '*Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India, 1984*' observes that 'backward classes' is a very loose concept. Sociologically, these classes consist of a large number of the backward castes which remain above the Scheduled Castes and below the upper castes. These castes consist of intermediate castes — the cultivating castes, artisans and service castes. Like Dalits, they were also victims of caste system and social oppression. Their cause lies in inequality of status and unjustness of caste system. Western education, liberal polity and reformist ideology acted as catalyst in awakening the backward classes to question the supremacy of the upper castes. Leadership was provided from both within the community and outside. Ideology of these movements was also diverse ranging from Sanskritization to anti-Brahminical to revivalist and reformist.

The backward classes emerged as a powerful social, economic and political block during the post-independence period in the countryside as a result of the policies of the state. The principal policies which impacted them included — the land reforms which consisted of the abolition of landlordism, putting ceilings on the size of the landholdings, consolidation of landholdings, and Green Revolution in the selected areas of the country, legal-constitutional measure conferring equal status, welfare schemes for the welfare of the lower backward classes and so on. Besides, the state policies, the changes which occurred from within the society — population growth, breaking down of the Jajmani system also affected them. On account of their numerical strength along with the control on the village land they came to control the village vote banks. All the upper backward classes are relevant examples of this change — Jats, Yadavs, Kurmies, Gujjars, Kappus, Kammas, Reddies, Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Patels, Kolis, Marathas, etc., in different regions of the country. While the intermediary castes came to control the affairs of the village society, the artisans and the service castes joined the ranks of the marginalized groups of the wage laborers, marginal and poor farmers. Due to their large diversity, they are defined differently by different scholars —

- I. Some scholars define backward caste/class as the ones which are not *dwija*.
- II. Others like M S A Rao further differentiate these into three groups —
 - a. Landed class
 - b. Non-landed service class
 - c. Untouchables (SCs as per Indian constitution).
- III. According to another more generally accepted view, these classes consist of a large number of the backward castes which remain above the Scheduled Castes and below

the upper castes. Thus, these castes consist of intermediate castes — the cultivating castes, artisans and service castes.

There were a large group of castes that were not untouchable, but of low status and were also subjected to varying levels of discrimination short of untouchability. These were the service and artisanal castes who occupied the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy. According to Kaka Kalekar Commission, 1952, they are more than 3000 in India and Mandal Commission, 1980, said that they are around 52% of the Indian population. Initially, government of India didn't recognize the caste as the only basis of backwardness and hence rejected the recommendations of first backward class commission which advocated caste as the only basis of backwardness. But, now the most widely accepted notion of backward classes is also synonymous with backward castes as well.

Assertion of backward classes in North India is basically assertion of middle or intermediary castes, i.e., Jats, Yadavs, Gujars, Kurmies, Lodhs, etc. in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, and Haryana.

Backward caste movement represented both 'ritual' as well as 'developmental' issues. Among Dalits these problems were more acute. They were mainly against the disabilities imposed by caste and exploitative nature of caste system.

M S A Rao in his book – '*Social Movements in India, 1984*' discussed three types of backward caste movements on the basis of structural cleavages among different strata –

- I. Brahmins vs Others – Justice Party movement was one such. They were limited to South India as Brahmins in North were generally poor and there were other castes that were dominant. However there were examples in North as well like – Jogi movement in Punjab.
- II. Brahmins vs Lower non-Brahmins – Generally Dalits were outside the purview and Shudras were the main force. Satya Shodhak Samaj movement was one such movement.
- III. Dalit vs All others – they were of various types viz – Sanskritization movements which focused on ritual upliftment, SNDP movement focused on creating a ritual order of its own by discarding the Brahminical traditions and so on.

Apart from this classification, backward class movements can be also classified as pure backward class movements and backward class movements linked with other movements like peasants movement. In pre-independence period, such movements had following significant effects –

- I. Increased participation in other occupations.
- II. Initiation of policy of reservation – first implemented in Madras.
- III. Increased political participation.
- IV. Liberation of backward castes became an issue in freedom struggle.
- V. Efforts finally led to adoption of a constitution which rejected caste altogether.

Post independence backward class movements were totally different from pre-independence period. Many movements like SNDP, Arya Samaj institutionalized themselves. New types of movements emerged –

- I. Although constitution rejected caste, but in practice it continued. They led to various types of reactions. As a result, Sanskritization movement continued, but they came to an end with Mandal Commission recommendations.
- II. OBC Movement – Shudras wanted benefits similar to Dalits, however this also lost legitimacy after Mandal Commission recommendations.
- III. There were mixed movements which also addressed the problems of backward castes also like – Naxalite Movement, women's movement etc.

A large number of backward class associations appeared in the post-independence period. Marc Galanter observed that by 1954, there were 88 organizations in India, which articulated the interests of the backward classes. The most important of these existed in North India. These were UP Backward Classes Federation and Bihar State Backward Classes Federation. These two organizations merged on 26 January 1950 to form All India Backward Classes Federation (AIBCF) by the efforts of Punjab Rao Deshmukh.

It was due to efforts of this section of the OBC leadership that the Janata Party government had appointed the second backward class commission, known as Mandal Commission named after its chairman B P Mandal.

While the intermediate castes among the OBCs or the upper backward have emerged as among the most assertive social group in the country, the other sections of the OBCs also known as the Most Backward Classes (MBCs) remain excluded from the preview of development and empowerment.

NORTHERN BACKWARD CASTE MOVEMENT vs SOUTHERN BACKWARD CASTE MOVEMENT –

Social movements for backward castes were historically stronger and more popular in South and it was Southern India that pioneered initial movements. The Brahmins had monopolized the high castes domination over the low castes in South India and their number in comparison to Brahmins of north India was much smaller. In contrast, the Brahmins were not the only high castes in North India. Their domination over the low castes was shared, thus diluted, by several high castes – Rajputs, Kayasthas or even Vaishyas. In north India the organization like Arya Samaj spread the message among the backward classes that it was the karma not the birth which determined the place of a person in society. While it encouraged the backward classes to Sanskritize themselves by tracing their lineages to the high castes, wearing *janeu* (sacred threads), etc., it also attempted to bring back to Hinduism those Muslims who were supposed to have converted from Hindu religion through the Shuddhi movement. This instead of challenging the hegemony of the high castes or Brahminism revived it and strengthened it. As a result it dampened the chances of strong backward class movement in North India. Christophe Jafferlot has also in his '*India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of Low Castes in North Indian Politics*' attributes the early rise of backward classes in South India and their late rise in North India to the process

of ethnicization and Sanskritization respectively. Through ethnicization, the backward castes of South questioned Brahminic hegemony. It was a revolt against Sanskritization in South. Maharaja of Mysore has as far as in 1921 decided to implement reservation for backward castes. After Independence reservation was well in place by 1960s in South.

Not only in South India, even in West India the backward classes were mobilized much earlier in comparison to north. Jyotiba Phule belonging to backward Mali caste who became a source of inspiration for the latter day social reformers including E V Naicker, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and the non-Brahmin Maratha rulers of Kolhapur Sahuji Maharaj and he set up Satya Shodak Samaj in 1873 in the Bombay Presidency in order to mobilize the low castes including Dalits and non-Brahmins or backward classes. Christophe Jeffrelot considers Phule to be the first social reformer who did not fall into the 'traps of Sanskritization'. He gave Aryan theory which suggested that the high castes Aryan were not the original inhabitants of India; they had come from outside. His Aryan theory inspired several low castes leaders of the early 20th century and the latter period; Mangoo Ram held that the Dalits in Punjab were Ad Dharmis; Achhootanand in UP held that Dalits in UP were Adi-Hindus. The Maratha princes like Maharaja of Baroda and descendent of Shivaji, Maharaja of Kolhapur, Shahu, inspired by the philosophy of Phule challenged Brahmins' domination.

The backward classes in South India questioned the domination of Brahmins in culture, administration and politics. Anti-Brahmin Nadar movement in Madras was one of the earliest such movements. The most effective expression of the Dravidian revolt against the Brahmin domination in south was provided by the Self-Respect Movement led by E V Ramaswami Naicker, alias Periyar, during the 1920s and 1940s. The Self-Respect Movement was based on the premise that the original inhabitants of India were non-Brahmins or the Dravidians, not the Brahmins. The main principle of this movement was *Samadharm* or equality. In order to get their self-respect and the non-Brahmins should replace the dominance of Brahmins in education, culture, politics and administration. The Self-Respect Movement included – boycott of Brahmins in rituals like weddings, condemnation of *Varnashrama dharma*, burning of Manu Smriti and so on. The non-Brahmins added suffix '*Dravida*' and '*Adi*' to their associations.

The mobilization of the backward classes in North has been around two issues — their electoral participation and the reservation. Other issues like their mobilization on the issues like those related to the farmers also get linked to the electoral politics. In north India they have been mobilized by Charan Singh, Socialists including Ram Manohar Lohia, Karpoori Tahkur and different political parties like Samajwadi Party and Rashtriya Janata Dal in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. They linked the social issues of the backward classes with the economic issues of the peasantry. The appointment of Kaka Kalelkar and Mandal Commissions and the implementation of the latter's report were result of the backward class mobilization.

Major differences in the northern backward class movements and southern backward class movements are –

- I. Northern Backward Castes resorted to Sanskritization and asserted their status through new rituals and stories glorifying their history as well as mythology.

- II. In comparison to North India, the backward classes in south India were mobilized much earlier. They not only got reservation in the government jobs but they were also mobilized into the social movement and entered politics in south India much before than the backward classes of North India.
- III. South Indian backward class movement was anti-Brahmin. Southern Backward Castes completely countered Brahmins and asserted themselves as Dravidians and Brahmins as invaders, thus in South Non-Brahmins asserted their superiority and cultural purity. They even called themselves as a separate Tamil Nation and refused to acknowledge Brahmins as a part of this land.
- IV. Post independence, backward caste movement in South also deviated from 'annihilation of caste' line and electoral politics took its place. Many parties like DMK arrived.
- V. In North, Backward Castes had numerical strength as well as resource clout in many areas. With advent of democratic system they leveraged it to mobilize the support and obtained reservation for backward castes. Thus, unlike southern backward castes, they didn't adopt a confrontory stance.
- VI. Backward class movement in North also met with less success as compared to their southern counterparts. One of the reasons was that upper castes in northern states like Bihar and UP reacted more sharply and often tried to overcome such movements.
- VII. Backward Castes in North formed their association which resorted to petition and memorandum to get more rewards for them.

DALIT MOVEMENTS

The Dalits as a social group belong to the 'Avarnas' – the fifth strata in caste hierarchy. They were the most deprived section of society both ritually as well socio-economically. Their sub-human treatment over centuries led to inner revolt in Hindu social organization in form of Dalit movements. They address issues of cultural segregation, political and economic exploitation and the most importantly – a struggle for recognition as fellow human beings. They have been redemptive, reformatory and revolutionary all at the same time.

Before independence, they were also broadly clubbed with backward caste movements, but gained a distinct identity of their own post-independence. At a broader level, they are classified as – Pure Dalit movements, Dalit movements linked with backward class movements and Dalit movements linked with other movements like peasant movements.

The Dalits not only belong to the lower caste category but also belong to the lower class category of the Indian society. They are mainly poor peasants, share-croppers and agricultural laborers in the rural economy. In the urban economy, they basically form the bulk of the laboring population in petty services and occupations.

In pre-independence period, though the Congress talked about the necessity of removing untouchability, it did not articulate any concrete demand or programme to protect the interests of the depressed classes till 1917.

Dalit movements before independence were often combined with backward caste movement and untouchability was common agenda. Satya Shodhak Samaj movement led by Mahatma Jotiba Phule was pioneer Dalit Movement. It was a movement to improve condition of Shudras and Ati-Shudras and it had an anti-Brahminical ideology.

Namshudra Movement of Bengal, Adi-Hindu Movement of Kanpur, SNDP movement were other such example. Their leadership was from within as well as from outside. M C Raja of Depressed Class Foundation in Madras presidency, Saint Ayyankali in Travancore etc were some of the noted leaders. Their ideology also ranged from Sanskritization to anti-Brahminical to reformist. The focus of early Dalit movement in this period had been on the temple entry, restoration of self-respect, removal of civic disabilities and getting reservation for the Dalits in the political and government institutions. Ambedkar was the first to mobilize Dalits at all India level. Many major gains were also made. Guruvayur Satyagrah led to temple entry, Saint Ayyankali launched a movement which led to opening of public places for Dalits, opening of roads and so on.

Prior to Ambedkar there had been attempts to bring about reforms in their condition in some of the Indian states, for example, Phule in Maharashtra. In 1942 Ambedkar formed the All India Scheduled Caste Federation (AISCF). Earlier he formed several organizations, the most important being the Indian Labor Party (ILP). The ILP was an organization of a different kind in the sense that it aimed and attempted to mobilize a broader section of the Indian society and not exclusively the Dalits. He sought to use this organization to appeal to wider audience including the industrial workers and the agricultural laborers. Duncan argues that he formed the ILP probably because he was convinced that a wider support base than the Scheduled Caste was essential and hence he embarked on a more class like strategy

In post-independence period or post-Ambedkar period (since this assertion took place after the death of Ambedkar all these phases belong to the post-Ambedkar Dalit movement) the Dalit movement took the multiple forms – socio-cultural, economic and political. Post-independence period in India has seen assertion of Dalits in India in many forms and phases –

- I. The phase of Republican Party of India and Mahar Movement – The formation of the All India Scheduled Caste Federation (AISCF) was a very significant development in the history of Dalit mobilization in the country though it was not much successful and suffered defeat in the elections of 1946 and again in 1951. These reversals convinced Ambedkar that a separate political party was required which will have a wider electoral strategy. After his death in 1956, the AISCF was dissolved and the Republican Party of India (RPI) was formed in 1957. This party aimed at amelioration of the socio-economic conditions of Dalits and the poorer classes and to enable them to capture political power. The RPI became popular mainly in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra in the 1950s and 1960s. Mahar Movement was anti-Brahminical in its ideology and instead of reforming caste, it advocated rejection of caste. It termed caste system as anti-

democratic and anti-human. Followers of Ambedkar finally opted for Buddhism over Hinduism showing their disregard for caste system.

- II. The phase of Dalit Panther – Influenced by Marxism Ambedkarism and Negro literature a group of Dalit intellectuals founded Dalit Panther in Maharashtra in 1972. It was basically a movement of Dalit intellectuals, which contributed to generating consciousness among Dalits to a significant extent. It attacked the Hindu Caste system through literary activities, debates and discussion in homes, offices and public places.
- III. Phase of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) – Gail Omvedt has noted that the BSP ideology can best be described as vague. She argues that there is no clear ideology in the programme and functioning of the party. The sole thrust is on the breaking of the caste system after acquiring state power. The BSP and Kanshi Ram believed that the Indian society consists of two different groups. The first group consists of the low castes including the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and the religious minorities. In the second category it is the Brahmins, Kayasthas, Banias and Rajputs or the traditional upper castes. BSP has two major problems – one, lack of clear ideology and secondly 'leader centric' party.
- IV. Sanskritization movement largely ceased to exist among Dalits as policies of positive discrimination, reservation and equal status instill a new confidence in them.
- V. New socio-religious movements like Radha Swami Satsang movement, Dera Sachha Sauda etc continue to find major support among Dalits.

Dalit movements have been amorphous in shape, but some elements are common. Satnami Movement of Chamars of MP, Adi Dharma Movement in Punjab, the Mahar Movement in Maharashtra and anti-Brahman movement of South India all had such common elements like a quest for humane treatment.

Gopal Garu, Selvam etc consider Dalit movements as cultural movements because of their quest for a ritual-less, anti-orthodox society. They denounce an un-egalitarian god.

According to Gail Omvedt, Dalit movements also have a class element as most of the Dalits are economically depressed as well. Caste ideology is used only to justify class inequalities.

Fernandes also terms Dalit movements as a form of secular movement as these are influenced by modern ideas and western political ideology.

Dalit Sahitya further stoked the feelings and successfully brought to the fore the deeper social malaise of untouchability and it clearly debunks Chaturvrna literature.

Environmental Movements

Environmental movements have enlarged the vision of economics and politics and have expanded the idea of justice. Environmental problems are also social problems as the extent to which environmental problems affect different groups is a function of social inequality. Social status and power determine the extent to which people can insulate themselves from environmental crises or overcome it. In some cases, their 'solutions' may actually worsen environmental disparities. In Kutch, Gujarat, where water is scarce, richer farmers have invested in deep bore tube-wells to tap groundwater to irrigate their fields

and grow cash crops. When the rains fail, the earthen wells of the poorer villagers run dry and they do not even have water to drink. Similarly, deforestation and use of forests for economic gains by governments and poachers can have grave social impacts upon the lives of those who depend on them for their livelihood. Similarly, rising water levels will hit low lying countries like Bangladesh most which are also the poorest ones. In this sense, environmental crises have their roots in social inequality and environmental movements aim to address the wider question of social inequalities as well.

Environment and ecology have played an important role in shaping the human civilization. Early civilizations were founded on the banks of the major rivers on fertile alluvial plains. All economic activities are closely linked to the environmental phenomenon. We also put various cultural, aesthetic, spiritual, utilitarian and ecological values on environmental resources. A river is not only used for economic activities, it is also worshipped in India. Similarly, forests and mountains are not only source of livelihood for tribals in India, they also revere them as totemic deities and spiritual entities. Many Hindu gods are named after environmental

phenomenon and they are invoked during various rites during birth, marriage and death.

Environmental Movements appeared in the background of misplaced notion of 'development' that prevailed throughout the modern history. It led to unequal benefits and did considerable harm to mother earth. Industries displace agriculturalists from their homes and livelihood and agriculturalists displaced forests on other hand. Soon it became clear that man's victory over nature was an illusion.

Chipko Movement: In India, environmental movements are closely linked with the larger issues of livelihood, inequality, poverty as well. Chipko Movement is such an example which is pioneer of environmental movements in India and started in 1973 when forest officials refused use of forests to villagers, but sold the rights to a private company for manufacturing of sports goods. According to Ramachandra Guha in his book '*Unquiet Woods*', villagers inspired by the leader Chandi Prasad Bhat rallied together to save the oak and rhododendron forests near their villages. When government forest contractors came to cut down the trees, villagers, including large numbers of women, stepped forward to hug the trees to prevent their being felled. Women's active participation in the Chipko agitation was a very novel aspect of the movement. The forest contractors of the region usually doubled up as suppliers of alcohol to men. Women held sustained agitations against the habit of alcoholism and broadened the agenda of the movement to cover other social issues. At stake was the question of villagers' subsistence. All of them relied on the forest to get firewood, fodder and other daily necessities. The villagers demanded that no forest-exploiting contracts should be given to outsiders and local communities should have effective control over natural resources like land, water and forests. This conflict placed the livelihood needs of poor villagers against the government's desire to generate revenues from selling timber. *The economy of subsistence was pitted against the economy of profit.* Cutting down natural forests was a form of environmental destruction that had resulted in devastating floods and landslides in the region. Chipko movement also expressed the resentment of hill villagers against a distant government headquartered in the plains that seemed indifferent and hostile to their concerns. So, concerns about economy, ecology and political representation underlay the Chipko movement. The movement achieved a victory when the government issued a ban on felling of trees in the Himalayan regions for fifteen years, until the green cover was fully restored. Inspired by the Chipko movement the villagers of Western Ghats, in Karnataka started **Appiko** movement in 1983 which also had similar strategy and objectives.

Gadgil and Guha in their '*This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India, 1992*' highlight that though environmental movements may be new, environmental consciousness is a historical fact in India. The nexus of nature and culture was first disturbed in India during colonial rule when forests were heavily exploited and industrialization started. Since early displaced were tribals who also had deep affinity with forests for cultural reasons also, they were perhaps the pioneers and unsung heroes of environmental movement in India.

According to Madhav Gadgil, environmental movements have issues like – forest and land related rights, dams, commercial exploitation of mines, and right over marine resources etc. Various other environmental issues can be enumerated as – air pollution, water pollution, solid waste, resource depletion, soil degradation, desertification, deforestation, genetically modified foods, loss of biodiversity, river pollution, man-animal conflicts, environmental disasters like Uttarakhand floods of 2013 and industrial disasters like Bhopal tragedy, Chernobyl accident and so on. Certain environmental concerns sometimes appear to be universal concerns, not particular to specific social groups. For instance, reducing air pollution or protecting biodiversity seem to be in the public interest.

Environmental movements gained currency in 1970s when New Social Movements were in vogue. At that time growing developmental needs were identified as having adverse impact on environment. In the same decade, UN conference was held in Stockholm and idea of sustainable development gained ground for the first time at international level.

Environmental movements are classified as –

- I. **Pure environmental movements** based on idea of conservation. Its examples are – air pollution movement in Delhi, movement against water pollution in Chennai due to leather industry. They were mainly concentrated in urban areas and mainly organized by NGOs and leadership was provided elite or middle class intelligentsia.
- II. **Combined movements** like Tehri movement led by Sundar Bahugune, Chipko Movement, 1973 led by Chandi Prasad Bhat, Narmada Bachao Andolan, 1988 led by Medha Patkar etc which also included peripheral issues like livelihood, rights of the poor and deprived etc also. Paani Panchayats movement in Ralegan Siddhi in Maharashtra also addressed issue of poverty along with water conservation. Apart from these, activities of the 'waterman' Rajender Singh of Gujarat, Save Chilka Campaign, Tarun Bharat Sangh in Alwar for water conservation are other examples of successful movements.

Environmental movements are also classified on the basis of the strategy employed by them – Gandhian, Marxian, reconstructive which suggest alternative as well. Gadgil and Guha identify four broad strands within the environmental movements in India based on vision, ideology and strategy.

In wake of global warming, ozone depletion, bio-diversity loss and inequitable development, environmental movements have taken a shape of global social movement industry which has tremendously helped in raising awareness and putting pressure on national governments. Such movements have tried to build a consensus between developmental needs and environmental protection. As a result, government in India has also taken many steps from time to time to address the issues raised by such movements. Courts have also acted on PILs to address environmental problems

and right to healthy environment is considered as a part of 'right to life' by the courts. Introduction of CNG vehicles in Delhi was such an instance of judicial activism on environmental issues. Supreme Court has also established 'Green Benches' to address environmental issues. Rajasthan has launched Rain Water harvesting drives. Government has launched a 'National Environmental Policy, 2005' to address many of the issues raised by such movements. 'Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dweller's (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006' has also tried to address the issue of livelihood as well along with issue of conservation.

Ethnicity and Identity Movements

An ethnic group is a group that shares some common physical or socio-cultural characteristics or markers. Concept of ethnicity is purely cultural and is sociologically used to distinguish it from race which is often considered as biological. Ethnic identity can be based out of one or multiple cultural symbols like – language, region, religion, common heritage, history etc. mobilization of the people on the basis of markers, real or imagined, which they share – language, religion, culture, customs, race, etc. into collective is called ethnic mobilization.

Generally, those ethnic groups which are in minority involve themselves in ethnic mobilization. However, in India scholars generally prefer to call such movements with their specific nomenclatures like linguistic mobilization, communal mobilization, Dalit mobilization, caste mobilization, tribal mobilization etc. In Western literature, such distinction is less prominent. In India, only the tribal movements and racial movements are generally kept under the category of ethnic movements. For example, Paul Brass uses ethnic and communal mobilization interchangeably. On the other hand, Dipankar Gupta in his book '*The Context of Ethnicity: The Sikh Identity in a Comparative Perspective, 1997*' differentiates between communalism and ethnicity. He argues that the ethnic mobilization is related to the nation-state – the territory and the sovereignty. And the communal mobilization does not involve the nation-state.

Ethnicity is a relative term. An ethnic group differentiates itself from other groups which also share certain attributes which are different from it. It feels that it has to preserve its identity and interests from the perceived or real threats of other ethnic groups and institutions, and processes associated with them. Ethnic mobilization finds expression in the form of self-determination movements – autonomy movements, cessation, insurgency or ethnic conflicts. Ethnic consciousness and conflicts are pervasive around the world. Pakistan, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia have already been disintegrated on the back of such ethnic movements.

Paul Brass in his '*Ethnicity and State, 1985*' defined three types of ethnic movements/conflicts –

- I. Intra ethnic – different ethnic identity within an umbrella ethnic identity strive for their perceived separate benefits. Shia and Sunni conflict can be viewed in this direction.
- II. Inter ethnic – Ethnic identity of one group is seen as completely different from others. Movement of Assamese is such example.
- III. Ethnic group vs state – A group sees its identity as different from larger state. Naga movement is such an example.

Ethnic movements apart from concern for identity are political, economic and cultural manifestations of ethnic solidarity. They are a result of perceived feeling of marginalization or relative deprivation. Political subjugation and infiltration of '*outsiders*' are the most common causes of ethnic mobilization.

It is not always that deprived ethnic communities are engaged in ethnic movement, but well off communities can also initiate ethnic movements of say separation, regionalism etc. It can be explained by 'relative deprivation' and 'perceived deprivation' theories. For example, according to D L Sheth, in the process of development some minorities have done better than the majority. Those who have done well feel that they could do much better if only their future was not tied with others in the structure of a single state.

In general, common causes for the rise of ethnic movements can be broadly orthogenetic or internal causes and heterogenetic or external cause which can be summed up as –

- I. **Economic factors and regional disparities** – Modernization and industrialization in large, multi-ethnic societies tend to proceed unevenly and often, if not always, tried to benefit some ethnic group or some region of a country more than others.
- II. **Relative deprivation** – Lenin famously held the view that it is the feeling of being exploited rather than the exploitation itself that makes a person revolutionary. According to this theory, it is not just the poorer regions that develop ethno-nationalism. The rich regions may also be ethno-nationalist if they perceive relative deprivation. Indian scholars often cite Punjab insurgency as an example.
- III. **Modernization and political centralization** – In post-colonial societies the early nationalist leadership in its passion for modernization and nation-building, glossed over the ethnic differences which had their roots in the processes of colonial rule, colonial emancipation and national mobilization. Consequently, the post-colonial world order, engineered on the concept of supremacy of the state, anchored on a superimposed nationalism, legitimized by secular or religious ideologies and enforced by an extremely powerful bureaucracy is under great strain.
- IV. **Historical reasons** – The colonial period had brought about a high degree of politico-territorial integration through an efficient, centralized way, coercive machinery of the government. However it also helped cultural and ethnic groups organize themselves politically.
- V. **Competition for scarce resources** – Resources can be economic or political. Development leads to a rise rather than a decline in ethnic mobilization because it provides resources to ethnic groups in the periphery, increasing their bargaining position and organizational capacity for action.
- VI. **Internal colonialism** – It arises out of relationship between members of the dominant or core community within a state and members of the minority or peripheral communities are characterized by exploitation. The internal colonial model also challenges the functionalist prediction of an inevitable decline in the salience of ethnicity with the increase of cultural homogenization of the population in step with industrialization and modernization.
- VII. **Cultural Deprivation** – One of the significant inducements to ethnicity comes from the feeling of insecurity among ethnic minorities of their fear from getting lost in the sea of majority. The apprehensions of minority ethnic groups about loss of their cultural identity arise from two

sources. The first is the dominant majority attempting to impose its own religious or cultural values as that of the whole society. The second arises from the ideology of the modern states to equate the state with the nation. This modern centralized nation-state, even in formal democracies, thinks of regions and local units as its subordinates and agents. Any challenge from them is considered as anti-national and subversive of national unity. In some cases states refuse to recognize even the limited traditional rights of minorities to religion, language and culture. This leads to ethnic rivalry and conflict.

- VIII. **External provocations** – Neighboring countries of India also have vested interests in destabilizing India and have hence supplied arms and ammunition, created false propaganda and have played a role in heightening sub-nationalist jingoism.

Tribals provide the most appropriate example of ethnic movements. They are divided into five groups which primarily raise dual issues related to cultural identities and resources usage –

- I. Cultural revivalist movements as in case of the Adivasi Mahsabha established in Bihar 1938 and various other tribal movements
- II. Agrarian and forest based movements as in case of Rampa Rebellion of Andhra Pradesh
- III. Autonomy movements as in case of Ladakh
- IV. Movement for separate state as in case of Jharkhand
- V. Insurgency and secessionist movements as in case of Naga movement

In case of Tribal Movements, almost all factors, both real and imagined, which the tribal communities share among themselves – culture, customs, language, race, religion (indigenous or otherwise), economic issues, contribute to their mobilization. The most common issues which account for the tribals' ethnic mobilization are: perceived or real threat to their indigenous culture and economy including the natural resources like mineral, forest and modern market opportunities by the outsiders (non-tribals middle classes, businessmen, moneylenders, bureaucrats); their discrimination by the state, especially at the central levels and its representatives (central government employees, army, police, etc). Tribal issues in North East are at times related to the geographical factors and its regional dimensions. Problems of ethnic people in North East are also explained in terms of neglect of the region in a blind pursuit of nation building. They accuse the federation of a step motherly attitude. Bodos of Assam, Khasis of Meghalaya have varying demand ranging from regional autonomy to separate state to secession. Ethnic Movement in Assam are also a reaction towards the influx of outsiders – from Bangladesh, Marwaris, Bengali etc – which has reduced the original inhabitants into minority and has also deprived them of socio-economic benefits. As a process of interaction with the wider mainstream, tribal societies also get more differentiated – i.e., develop class and other divisions within themselves – different bases for the assertion of tribal identity. According to *Virginus Xaxa*, emergence of a middle class within the tribal society – especially in North East – is giving a new direction to the tribal movements by making issues of culture, tradition, livelihood, even control over land and resources, as well as demands for a share in the benefits of the projects of modernity, have become an integral part of the articulation of identity among the tribes.

The demands and goals of ethnic movements differ from situation to situation. These range from simple demands for protection of language or culture to complete autonomy or separation. Within these the nature and language of education, the designation of holidays, the development of cultural programmes and such other policy measures are issues of concern.

Leadership of ethnic movements is from within as notions of strong collective common identity find it hard to accept outside leadership. Ideology of these movements is diverse as is apparent from the examples of North-Eastern states, Dravida movement, Khalistan movement etc.

Ethnic and identity movements when take the forms of movements for regional autonomy, for creation of separate states, demand for secession or insurgency, are also called '*Self Determination Movements*'. The self-determination movements actually question the nation-state building model which was introduced by the Independent India. Although the movements started with the demand based on single marker like – language or culture, they draw support of people who shared more than one attribute in a particular region. Starting with the rejection of Indian constitution by Nagas in North East, it spread in form of Dravidian ethnic movement and demand in the formation of linguistic states with the classic example of creation of Andhra Pradesh. In Tamil Nadu following the legacy of E V Ramaswami Naicker (Periyar) three issues formed the basis of ethnic movement in the first two decades following independence – language, Dravidian culture, and religion.

Ethnic movements with various demands were launched in other parts also. For example – The ethnic movement in Punjab was based upon three types of issues – regional, religious and perceived economic and agitations were launched for a Punjabi Suba. The ethnic movement in Punjab again arose in the 1980s. It challenged the sovereignty of the Indian state the notion of India as a nation-state. It sought to establish a sovereign state of Khalistan, to be based on the tenets of Sikhism. The scholars have explained the ethnic movement of the 1970s and 1980s in Punjab in terms of socio-economic and political factors. Those who explain it in terms of the socio-economic factors follow the Marxian perspective. They argue that the 'Punjab Crisis' occurred in the wake of green revolution; inability of the Sikh farmers to meet the rising cost of investment in agriculture, rising unemployment among the youth and growth of the consumerist culture which gave rise to the feeling of losing Sikh identity etc., contributed to the rise of militancy in Punjab.

Success or failure of ethnic movements depends on political factors. Once one set of demands in ethnic mobilization is accepted, in due course time on other demands the ethnic movements start. Thus, ethnic mobilization is a continuous political process.

POPULATION DYNAMICS

Population of a country is a horoscope of a country. High burden of population can take a toll on resources on one hand; on the other hand, it can also be converted into demographic dividend if judiciously utilized. Some centuries ago, Thomas Malthus gave a bleak future for world in wake of rising population, but recently China has showed that population may not be necessarily a hurdle in development. Population of India pose a big challenge and many demographers term it as root cause of all problems in India. Its high growth rate also poses another challenge, especially in area of planning.

Population Size, Growth, Composition and Distribution

Three determinants of size, growth and distribution of any population are – how many persons are born, how many persons die, and how many persons are added to the population after considering the number of persons leaving the country and the number of persons coming into the country. India's population as per 2011 census stood around 125 crore, making India 2nd most populous country in the world. India will overtake China as the most populous country in 2025. In terms of growth parameters, India still continue to grow at a rate of around 1.9% annually which is still away from replacement level growth rate. Its population has grown more than three times than at independence from 36 crore to more than 125 crore. National Population Policy of 2000 set 2045 as deadline for stabilization of population, which was later shifted to 2065.

Composition of Indian population is as varied as its diversity. In terms of age group, India has a very young population with enormous demographic dividend to reap. Another feature of Indian population is the skewed sex ratio of around 940. Hindus account for around 80% of population followed by 14% Muslim population and rest other communities. 75% of the population is literate. However literacy among various communities also varies.

Census 2011: In last census, i.e. 2011 Census, population growth figures were significant for various reasons. It was for the first time that decadal growth was less than 20% since independence. Further, urban population growth was lower than the rural population growth rate. It was also observed, that literacy and development have inverse co-relation with population growth. As per 2011 census, Bihar observed highest growth rate of 25% among large states and Kerala registered the lowest with 5% growth.

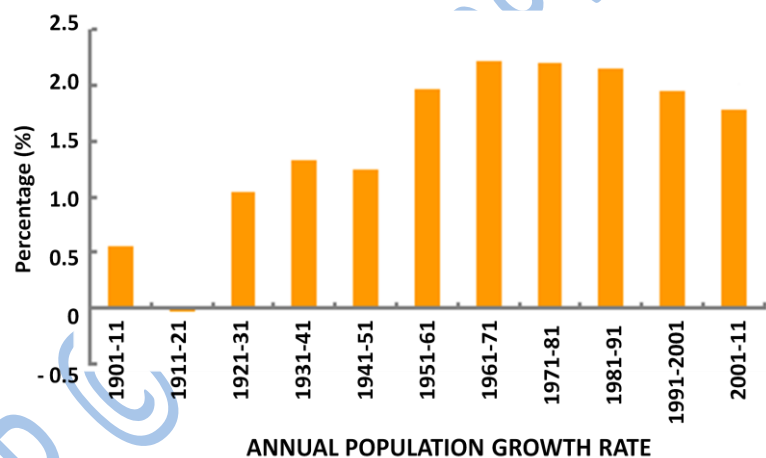
Distribution of population is driven by various factors like – migration, physical geography, urbanization, industrialization and so on. Historically, plain areas around the river basins have been magnets of population settlements. As Colonial trade started, many coastal cities like Mumbai and Kolkata were also developed. Similarly, growth of industry led to growth of new towns like Ludhiana, Gurgaon, Pune and so on. Literacy levels also affect population distribution. States with poor literacy rate observe high birth rate and hence higher population. Most populous state according to 2011 census is Uttar Pradesh followed by Maharashtra and Bihar.

Determinants of population growth can be divided into following broad categories –

- I. **Demographic factors** – Birth rate, mortality rate etc. Demographic transition theory says that growth rate is high when death rate is controlled with advancement in medical sciences, but

birth rate is still unchecked. Similarly, as birth rate is also controlled by means of efforts like family planning etc, it leads to low population growth.

- II. **Economic factors** – It has been noticed by National Population Registrar and Census Office India in 2011 Census that lower the economic status of family, greater the number of children per family. Further, states which are economically weaker are also the leading states in population growth. During 2001-2011, Empowered Action Group states – which are economically backward – have observed a decadal growth rate of more than 20%, while non-EAG states have observed growth rates of less than 15%.
- III. **Educational status** – Educational status is closely linked with fertility rates. Often, less educated families are found to be less acquainted about family planning techniques.
- IV. **Social values** – Several social norms like desirability of male children leads to high birth rates.
- V. **Natural calamities** – Decade of 1911-21 recorded negative growth rate despite high birth rate due to natural calamities like plague and famine.
- VI. **Increase in net migration** – Certain countries like Fiji and Mauritius in 18th and 19th century witnessed high growth rate due to migration from countries like India, Burma etc.
- VII. **Age of Marriage** – Lower age of marriage is also considered an important factor towards increase in birth rates.
- VIII. **Cultural factors** – Certain religious practices prohibit use of contraceptives. For example - Certain *ulemas* in hinterlands of UP had issued *fatwas* calling use of contraceptives as anti-Islamic. Similarly, most of the orthodox Christians don't permit abortion at any stage. Recent incident of death an Indian origin doctor in Canada in 2012 due to such rules is an example. All the religions of the world, except Buddhism, contain injunctions to their followers to breed and multiply.
- IX. **Diseases** – Certain pandemics like AIDS are also causing havoc in African countries and on one hand they are causing the decline of population, on the other hand discouraging people to become more cautious about sexual relations.
- X. **Increases in food production and distribution** – This has reduced the food insecurity problem and mortality due to malnutrition has come down.



- XI. **Infrastructure** – Rapid means of transport and communication have facilitated rapid movement of food-grains from surplus areas to deficit areas. People now don't die due to epidemics, drought or famine.
- XII. **Sanitation** – Better sanitation has lead to fewer diseases being spread through water and contaminated surfaces.

Consequences of population growth –

- I. Malthusian Hypothesis predicts that high population growth rates will eventually lead to such a scarcity of resources that ultimately it will lead enforcement of 'positive checks' by nature in form of starvation and disease.
- II. Carrying Capacity Hypothesis – Rapid exponential growth may surpass carrying capacity of the land and natural resources.
- III. Difficulties encountered in implementation of all national and state developmental programmes and five-year plans. Rapid growth in population is associated with drought, famine or war or political disturbances. As a result, Plans are never successful. Set targets are never achieved. The national, as well as per capita income does not increase by the same rate as planned and envisaged.
- IV. Poverty – The rapid expansion of population size observed since the end of World War II in the world's poorest nations has been a cause of their poverty.
- V. Resource crunch – The world's current and projected population growth calls for an increase in efforts to meet the needs for food, water, health care, technology and education.
- VI. Environmental impact – Denudation of forests had happened to increase the area under agriculture. Pollution of water, land, food materials etc are other emerging challenges associated with population growth.
- VII. Increase in unemployment – It has become difficult to provide employment opportunities to the vast army of unemployed.
- VIII. Difficulty in capital formation – Increase in population has resulted in decrease of savings and capital formation.
- IX. Fragmentation of land below the economic level.

Components of Population Growth – Birth, Mortality and Migration

Demographers have listed three factors as the most important factors/components of demographic change – Birth, Mortality and Migration

BIRTH RATE

One of the most commonly used indicators of birth rates is 'Crude Birth Rate'. It is called 'crude' because of its general character and it doesn't tell us about other demographic parameters like male-female ratio. It is generally expressed in number of live births per 1000. There are also

specific birth rates for a particular age group and gender as well. Birth rates are expressions of fertility of women of a given population.

Birth rate in a society depends upon various factors including cultural, geographical, educational, developmental etc. According to Demographic Transition Theory, birth rate remains high for a nation from its under-developed to developing phase. High birth rate leads to high population and hence higher burden on resources. Birth rate is directly related to fertility of female population. Birth rate stabilizes as people get educated and aware about benefits of family planning. Governments also incentivize birth rate moderation through family planning programs.

In India, while death rate has come down significantly due to improved health facilities and a check on epidemics, famines, plagues and other morbid factors, the birth rate has not registered a sharp fall and it still hovers around 19% as compared to 9% death rate as per 2011 census. This is because the birth rate is a socio-cultural phenomenon that is relatively slow to change. By and large, increased levels of prosperity exert a strong downward pull on the birthrate as is evident in case of states like Kerala and Tamilnadu where birth rate has even come down below the 'replacement levels of fertility'. Once infant mortality rates decline, and there is an overall increase in levels of education and awareness, family size begins to fall. There are very wide variations in the fertility rates across the states of India. Some states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu have managed to bring down their total fertility rates (TFR) to 1.7 while others like Bihar, West Bengal still have high birth rates.

FERTILITY

Fertility is ability to produce offspring. The fertility rate refers to the number of live births per 1000 women in the child-bearing age group, usually taken to be 15 to 49 years. Fertility rate determines the growth or decline in population.

Several factors contribute to the high fertility of Indian women, some of these factors –

- I. Religious factors – Belief in high fertility has been strongly supported by all the major religions of the world, except Buddhism. In one form or the other, they contain injunctions to their followers to breed and multiply. It is religions and social institutions in India, leading to appropriate norms about family size.
- II. Universalization of marriage – Another factor contributing to high fertility is the universality of the institution of marriage. Amongst the Hindus, a man is expected to go through the various stages of his life (Ashramas), performing the duties attached to each stage. Marriage is considered one such duty.
- III. Age of marriage – In India, traditionally, women get married at young age and start childbearing at an early age, and continue to do so till they cross the age at which they are no longer biologically capable of bearing children.
- IV. Social norms and values – As in all traditional societies, in India too, great emphasis is laid on bearing children. A woman, who does not bear children, is looked down upon in

society. In fact, the new daughter-in-law attains her rightful status in the family only after she produces a child, preferably a son.

- V. Preference for sons – The preference for sons is deeply ingrained in the Indian culture. Sons are required for extending the family line and for looking after the parents in their old age and women which have girl children as first or second children, bear more children to have a male child.
- VI. Child labor and other issues – Children in the Indian society have a great economic, social, cultural as well as religious value. Poor family sees large family as conducive for economic production as children also contribute in household works.
- VII. Joint family – Further, there is no economic motivation for restricting the number of children, because the biological parents may not necessarily be called upon to provide for the basic needs of their own children since the extended family is jointly responsible for all the children born into it.
- VIII. Lack of awareness about family planning – In the absence of widespread adoption of methods of conception control, the fertility of Indian women continues to remain high.

Implications of high fertility are visible at family level – at manifest level – and at the level of society as well – i.e. at manifest level. Apart from contributing in a big way to the population problem of the country, high fertility affects the family and, in turn, society in many ways.

- I. Women are tied down to child-bearing and child-rearing for the best years of their productive lives. They are, therefore, denied the opportunity to explore other avenues for self-expression and self-development. This also in turns creates economic disparity between man and woman.
- II. Excessive child-bearing affects the health of women and that of their children. Looking after a large number of children puts a further strain on the slender physical and emotional resources of such women.
- III. The burden of providing for a large family sits heavily on the bread-winner of the family and frustration may lead to resorting to drinking etc.
- IV. The children, often unwanted, unloved and neglected, are left to their own devices to make life bearable. Indulgence in delinquency is sometimes the result. The children in large families often have to start working at a very early age to supplement the meager financial resources of the family.
- V. The girl child is the worst sufferer. She is often not sent to school at all, or is withdrawn from school at an early age to help her mother in carrying out domestic chores and to look after her younger siblings when the mother is at work. Early marriage pushes her into child-bearing, and the vicious cycle continues.
- VI. Poor financial health of family results in poor education of the children and hence poor employment opportunities.

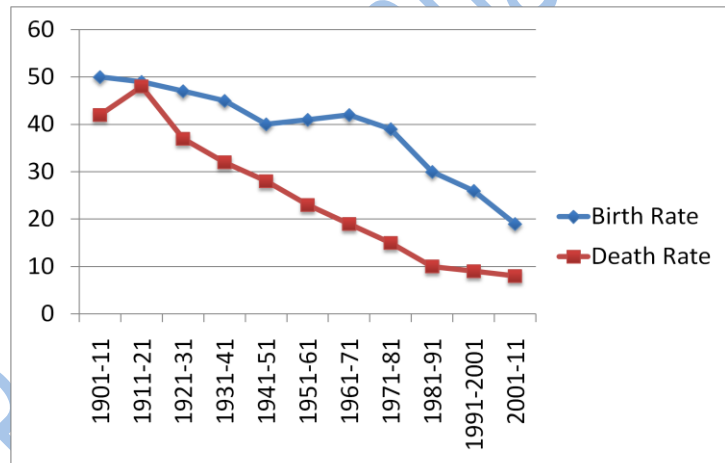
MORTALITY or DEATH RATE

Mortality or death rate is another important component of population growth. There are three basic measures of mortality: the crude death rate, the expectation of life at birth, and the infant

mortality rate (IMR). There is another important indicator of mortality – Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR). The Crude death rate is the ratio of the total registered deaths occurring in a specified calendar year to the total mid-year population of that year, multiplied by 1000. There is an absolute growth in population if mortality is lower than the birth rate. Maternal mortality and infant mortality are more important out of these as they reflect developmental level of society. Mortality rates are higher in under-developed and moderate in developing countries as per Demographic Transition Theory. In India, mortality rates have come down significantly in past 50 years after Independence due to better healthcare.

Some of the major factors affecting mortality rates are –

- I. High IMR and MMR indicate poor health facilities, poor institutional deliveries and apathy of administration etc.
- II. Unequal access to healthcare is another major reason for mortality among the poor.
- III. Cultural religious factors also affect mortality rates. In Muslims of India, instances have been reported in which the *Maulvis* have prohibited administration of oral vaccines to the children.
- IV. Girl children and women in general are also discriminated against boys in terms of access to health.



BIRTH AND DEATH RATE IN INDIA OVER THE YEARS

Up to 1921, the crude death rate in India was quite high (between 40 and 50 per thousand population), the highest being for the decade 1911-21, mainly because of the influenza epidemic in 1918, when more than 15 million persons died. Since 1921, the death rate has been declining. From 1911-21 to 1971-81, that is, in a period of 60 years, the average annual death rate declined from 48.6 per thousand to 14.9 per thousand – a reduction of more than 69 per cent. In 2000, the crude death rate has declined to 8.5 per thousand. Similarly, life expectancy has also improved from 21 years in 1911 to 64 years today.

Improvements in medical cures for deadly diseases like plague, smallpox and cholera, programmes for mass vaccination, and efforts to improve sanitation helped to control epidemics and hence helped in bringing down mortality. Famines, which were also a major and recurring source of increased mortality, are also now a history with increased food production and better storage and transportation. However, diseases like malaria, tuberculosis, diarrhea and dysentery continue to kill people even today, although the numbers are nowhere as high as they used to be in the epidemics of the past.

The decline in the death rate and high birth rate have been the main factor responsible for the rapid growth of population, as the declining death rates have not been accompanied by corresponding declines in the birth rates.

MIGRATION

Everett Lee, a well known demographer, defines migration broadly '*as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence*'. Others like Eisenstadt consider it as a more or less permanent in nature.

Migration is the one of the three components of population change, the other two being mortality and fertility. Migration is a response of humans to economic, social and demographic forces in the environment and like other two components of population is not biological and can be voluntary, for example – brain drain, as well as forced, for example – migration due to calamity, war etc.

Migration also plays an important role in the distribution of the population of any country, and determines the growth of labor force in any area. Migration is thus an important symptom of social change in society.

In India, the migrants are classified into four migration streams, namely –

- I. Rural to rural
- II. Rural to urban
- III. Urban to urban
- IV. Urban to rural

A few more dimension can be added to this classification in form of international migration including – immigration and emigration, long range (for longer time) and short range migration, voluntary and involuntary. Rural to rural migration has formed the dominant migration stream since 1961 till 2011 census. There have been substantial increases in the proportion of rural to urban, and urban to urban migration with the passage of time.

While rural to rural migration is dominated by females due to predominant patrilocal marriages and village exogamy in India, rural to urban migration is dominated by males. Further, rural-urban migration is dominated by migration of young population.

Another important characteristic is that the migrants have a tendency to move to those places where they have contacts and where the previous migrants serve as links for the new migrants, and this chain is thus formed in the process, and is usually called '*chain migration*'. Thus, kinship also plays an important role in migration patterns.

The major reason of voluntary migration is economic. In most of the developing countries, low agricultural income, agricultural unemployment and underemployment are the major factors pushing the migrants towards areas with greater job opportunities. Even the pressure of population resulting in a high man-land ratio has been widely recognized as one of the important causes of poverty and rural outmigration. The most important economic factors that

motivate migration may be termed as '*Push Factors*' and '*Pull Factors*'. Poverty, low productivity, unemployment, exhaustion of natural resources and natural calamities are some of '*Push factors*'. Opportunities for better employment, higher wages, better working conditions and better amenities of life like education, health etc come under the latter type. In context of developing countries like India – there are other factors, according to Ashish Bose, which are termed as '*Push Back Factors*'. As unemployment and marginal employment in cities increases, it acts as a deterrent for rural population to find a place in urban areas and pushes them back.

There can be various other reasons as well. According to R C Chanda in '*A Geography of Population, 1986*', some seek more religious freedom which is offered in a cosmopolitan environment of city. Sometimes there is a tacit government guideline which promotes economic and cultural activity at specific places.

Political factors also play important role. Some states like Maharashtra under parties like Shiv Sena follow an ardent '*sons of the soil*' policy which leads to forced migrations. Even in Calcutta, the Bengali-Marwari conflict will have far reaching implications. And now Assam and Tamil Nadu are other such examples.

In India, little attention has been paid at the policy level to control the pattern of either international or internal migration. At the international level, the country does not have even up to date statistics of the immigrants and the emigrants although most of the international migration is controlled by passports and visa permits, etc. Questions have been raised about the brain drain from India in various forums, but nothing has been done to stop it.

Consequences of migration are social, economic and psychological as well –

- I. Migration from a region characterized by labor surplus helps to increase the average productivity of labor in that region, as this encourages labor-saving devices and/or greater work participation by the remaining family workers.
- II. Migrants also support their families back at home in form of financial assistance. Such financial assistance may strengthen local as well as national economy. India receives annual remittances of around \$70-80 billion from its migrant population.
- III. Migrants when return to their native place may also support their native regions by spread of knowledge and innovation.
- IV. On the other hand, there is a view that migration negatively affects the emigrating region and favors the immigrating region, and that migration would widen the development disparity between the regions, because of the drain of the resourceful persons from the relatively underdeveloped region to the more developed region. This problem is especially acute for rural areas where educated and skilled youth villages to cities and rural areas are left with little skilled and educated youth.
- V. Migration has a demographic dimension too and has a direct impact on age, sex and occupational composition of the sending and receiving regions. Migration of the unmarried males of young working age results in imbalanced sex ratios.
- VI. Migration which results in the absence of the adult males for long periods of time may cause dislocation of the family, and, under such circumstances, women and children

often have to take over more and different types of work and other more important roles in household decision-making. Women back at home are also vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse.

- VII. Migrant workers are also vulnerable to multiple exploitations, poor social security and poor access to facilities like health, education and other civic amenities.
- VIII. Migration also changes the political equations as well. Vote bank politics has led to issuing of voter-ID cards in India to lakhs of illegal migrants and this has created dissent among the local population.
- IX. Migration brings about a cultural change as well. Many 'new' cities like New London (USA), New South Wales (Australia) etc come up as migrant population make the existing cities too small to accommodate them. Cultural intermixing produces composite cultures. Cosmopolitan cities like Mumbai and Bangalore present a heady mix of cultures and people celebrate the festivals of each other, share cultural symbols in form of dresses, eating habits and so on.
- X. There are ethnic dimensions as well. Migration leads to more ethnic and cultural diversity. This sometimes creates friction as well. Ethnic and racial conflicts are such example and Northeast part of India is particularly susceptible to such movements as economic opportunities are scarce which lead to an aggressive fight for scarce resources.
- XI. Recent studies in Kerala have also shown the psychological impacts of migration. Excessive male migration has left female population behind them which often suffers from hysteria, neurosis etc.

Population Policy and Family Planning

While the global population has increased only three fold during the last century, from 2 billion to 6 billion, India's population has increased nearly five times from 238 million to one billion in the same period.

India has had an official population policy for more than a half century. In fact, India was perhaps the first country to explicitly announce such a policy in 1952 when the population policy took the concrete form of the '*National Family Planning Programme*'. The broad objectives of this programme have remained the same – to try to influence the rate and pattern of population growth in socially desirable directions. In the early days, the most important objective was to slow down the rate of population growth through the promotion of various birth control methods, improve public health standards, and increase public awareness about population and health issues. Population policy of India can be seen as evolving through various broad phases as –

- I. The population policy of the First Plan continued unaltered during the Second Plan except that the voluntary sterilization scheme was introduced in 1956 or '*Clinical Approach*' was adopted.
- II. Due to unexpected high population growth rate in 1961 Census the '*Clinical Approach*' of the population policy was replaced by an '*Extension Education Approach*' during the Third Plan. Thus, creation of social climate in favor of small family norms, provision of readily accessible services, adoption of effective family planning methods by all eligible couples, stimulating such social changes as increasing marriage age, education and employment of women, low mortality

rate, higher sex ratio, overall economic development, and continues research and evaluation, became the guiding principles of population policy of this plan.

- III. The Fifth Five Year Plan introduced basic change in the population policy by integrating family planning services with welfare services covered under the minimum needs programme.
- IV. The Family Planning Programme suffered a setback during the years of the National Emergency (1975-76). The National Family Planning Programme was renamed as *the 'National Family Welfare Programme'* after the Emergency, and coercive methods were no longer used. The programme now had a broad-based set of socio-demographic objectives. National Population Policy was further modified and re announced in 1977. In this new policy, what was reinforced was education and health. The latter component of the reformulated policy included the general as well as maternal and child health both. A *Voluntary Family Planning* was also introduced here on.
- V. Current Population Policy was announced in 2000. It has a multidimensional view of population control and it also envisaged a roadmap of converting our large population from a liability to an asset. Thus new population is a broad based one and goes beyond just population control.

National Population Policy, 2000: It has following broad targets –

- I. Reduce IMR to 30.
- II. Reduce maternal mortality rate also to 100.
- III. Improve child, maternal and reproductive health.
- IV. Prevent communicable diseases and other diseases like AIDS
- V. Achieve 100% birth and death registration. Compulsory registration of marriage and pregnancy, along with birth and death.
- VI. It has special focus on health and education strategies like free school education to children up to the age-group of 14, 20 % reduction in the drop outs of children in schools at primary and secondary levels.
- VII. It envisages the target of stable population by 2045 A.D. (which is now further pushed back to 2065).
- VIII. The policy includes freezing of Lok Sabha seats at current level of 543 till 2026.
- IX. Cash incentives for compliance with requirements regarding antenatal checkup, institutional delivery by a trained birth attendant.
- X. Increasing the number of health workers.
- XI. Improve the availability of contraceptives and strengthening the health and family welfare services.
- XII. The medium term objectives of the policy include bringing down the total fertility rate to replacement level by 2010.
- XIII. Under the policy the Government of India has offered an incentive package to model small families. It includes improvement in the facilities for safe abortion, prize to village panchayats and district boards fulfilling the target of model small families in respect of reducing infant mortality rate and improving literacy.

Family welfare programs are another important component of family planning process. Over the years different family welfare programs have been launched to provide for maternity health, child care, awareness etc to complement family planning. Some of them are –

- I. National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) – National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) was launched by in 2005 and its primary focus is on maternal and child health. It aims at improving health of the mother and child to reduce mortality and improve other health indicators.

- II. Janani Suraksha Yojna (JSY) – This has been launched as a part of NRHM. It aims at reducing both maternal and neo-natal death. It promotes institutional delivery (ASHA helps in doing that). It also integrates cash assistance with delivery and post delivery care. This has special focus in the states which have low institutional delivery.
- III. Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) – It focuses both mother and child. The scheme was launched in 1975 for holistic development, immunization, care and nutrition of children below 6 years of age and proper nutritional and health education of pregnant and lactating mothers with 33 projects and 4,891 anganwadi centers (AWCs). It has now been universalized.
- IV. Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) – This was launched in 2009-10 with the objective of providing a safe and secure environment for comprehensive development of children in the country who are in need of care and protection as well as children in conflict with the law. It provides preventive and statutory care and rehabilitation services to any vulnerable child including orphans, HIV infected, drug abused, trafficked or sexually exploited etc.
- V. Universal Immunization Program (UIP) – The UIP targets 2.7 crore infants and 3 crore pregnant women annually and is one of the largest programs in the world.
- VI. Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana (PMSSY) – It aims at correcting the imbalances in availability of affordable/reliable tertiary level healthcare in the country in general and augmenting facilities for quality medical education in the under-served States.
- VII. Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojna (IGMSY) – It is a conditional cash transfer scheme on pilot basis in selected 52 districts during the remaining period of 11th Five Year Plan at a total cost of Rs 1000 crore. Under the scheme, Cash transfers will be made to all pregnant and lactating women as incentives based on fulfillment of specific conditions relating to mother and child health and nutrition.

Emerging Issues: Ageing

Ageing is defined as accumulation of changes in personality. Changes can be biological, social or psychological. With biological ageing, social ageing is also accompanied and the norms, values and roles that are particularly associated with a chronological age also change. Ageing as a phenomenon poses challenges for the individual as well as for society. As a process, it poses challenges at every phase of life from puberty to old-age. Countries like Japan today face enormous pressure as a significant chunk of their population is now approaching old age and dependency ratio is increasing. Ageing brings emotional challenges as well. For example – youth face generation gap, older people face loneliness.

Theories of Ageing –

- I. **Disengagement Theory** – As persons grow old, they disengage from larger society to find meaning of their lives. It is a functionalist theory which argues that disengagement of the elderly people from their current roles also helps in freeing up of these roles for others who can perform them more efficiently. This theory, however stereotypes older people as frail, unproductive and of less importance.
- II. **Age Stratification Theory** – It came as a reaction to functionalist explanation of ageing in 1970s. According to this theory, social structures affect individuals and the wider strata of older people.

- III. **Political-Economy Theory** – This is given by Carroll Estes in her '*Critical Perspectives on Ageing, 1991*' and according to her, political economy defines the roles which are to be given to the aged.
- IV. **Role Theory** – A man performs various roles over lifetime. Even traditional Hindu notion of various phases like – *Brahmcharya, Grihastha, Vanprastha* etc is related to concept of ageing and social roles
- V. **Activity Theory** – More the activity, greater the life satisfaction. Example of Fauja Singh a nonagenarian Sikh who still take active participation in marathons worldwide to raise awareness and promote charity.

The aged are defined differently in different societies. In developed countries they are people more than 65 years old, in developing societies where life expectancy is lower, it includes people above 60. However, sociologically, it is very complex phenomenon involving biological, psychological and sociological change which cannot be attributed to a single arbitrary number.

Treatment meted out to the aged depends much on the cultural and value system of the society. In Japan, China etc older people are traditionally revered and looked upon as storehouse of knowledge. Societies like US, UK are more likely to dismiss them as unproductive.

The growth in the proportion of the aged in the population is directly linked to the phenomenon of demographic transition. Two major causes are – decline in fertility and longevity due to improvement in health facilities. This leads to higher **dependency ratios** – number of dependents (old) to working population in 15-59 age group and some argue that as dependency ratio increases strain on scarce resources also increases.

In the pre-industrial society, the family was also the unit of production and the productive assets are controlled by the elders, which ensured their influence and status despite their declining individual attributes. Also, in their family enterprise the aged can work as long as their condition permits and on task consistent with their diminishing capacity, which ensures gradualness in their aging process. On the other hand, in the modern industrial society, as the family tends to lose its production function, the younger tends to become economically independent of their elders, giving rise to a change in the family structure. Thus, in the new type of family structure in the industrial society, the aged are often left to fend for themselves at a time when their capacity for social adjustment tends to decline.

The women become especially vulnerable in old age. Compared with their male counterparts, the aged women possess a much lower level of education, a much lower degree of participation in gainful employment and own little or no economic assets. In countries like India, they have little economic security as ownership of property is still in patriarchal fashion. Hence, they are almost totally dependent upon their male relatives. They are further handicapped by the fact that the majority of them are without their husbands, their legal supporters.

Developing societies, such as India, which are subjected to economic development and modernization, are experiencing an increasing degree of deterioration in the situation of the aged. In India, although the percentage of the aged in the population is not very high compared with the developed countries, it is

progressively increasing and their absolute number is enormous. But the development of the public support system is still in a nascent stage.

Problems faced by the aged are of various types ranging from material, physical and emotional –

- I. Physical problems – Loss of productive capacity, decline of physical vigor, the loss of cells and functions and the growing susceptibility to disease in organs.
- II. Psychological problems – There is a change in cognitive capacity and self image and often self-image tends to be rather negative.
- III. Emotional problems – Isolation, loss of status, loss of spouse etc. In every sphere of life, as the individual becomes old, his/her/capacity to adjust himself/herself to the society declines.
- IV. Material problems – Loss of income, lack of adequate social security
- V. Ageism i.e. discriminatory and stereotypical behavior with the aged
- VI. Generation gap i.e. there is a gap in way of thinking of the younger generation and the elderly population. Often views of older people are ignored as archaic which may hurt them

Article 41 of the Indian Constitution enjoins the state to make effective provision of public assistance for the benefit of the disadvantaged and weaker sections including the aged. Government has also launched Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme under its National Social Security Program. It has also come up with 'National Policy on Older Persons'. Besides the government, there are a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which offer various kinds of services to the aged. Government of India has passed an enabling legislation – 'Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act 2007' that puts obligations on state as well as individuals and children.

Some critics of the dominant apprehensions about ageing argue that ageing is may not be as big problem as it is presented. In his '*Social Security: The Phoney Crisis, 1999*', Dean Baker argue that ageing is unlikely to have huge impact in economic terms in America and instead much of the pressure on financial systems has come from business lobby. Similarly, British Sociologist Phil Mullan in his '*The Imaginary Time Bomb, 2002*' argued that those who believe the ageing population is a ticking bomb is not true. As health facilities improve and people live longer and healthy, burden of the aged is, in fact, coming down.

Emerging Issues: Sex Ratio

Sex Ratio is defined as ratio of male and female population. The Indian Census has preferred to define the sex ratio as the number of females per 1000 males, though the definition of the sex ratio followed the world over is the number of the males per 100 females. It can be further defined as adult sex ratio and child sex ratio. Sex ratio is one of the key demographic indicators which also reflect the socio-cultural values of a given society also. Poor sex ratio reflects a preference for male child in a patriarchal society. Poor sex ratio creates demographic void and has serious implications for society.

While there has been an appreciable gain in the overall sex ratio of 7 points from 933 in 2001 to 940 in 2011, the decline in child sex ratio (0–6 years) by 13 points from 927 in 2001 to 914 in 2011 is a matter of grave concern. It is also to be noted that child sex ratio has declined across most of the major states in India in last census.

Factors responsible for poor sex ratio in India –

- I. Female feticide or the killing of girl babies in womb due to religious or cultural beliefs, more specifically due to preference of male child
- II. Severe neglect of girl babies in infancy, leading to higher infant death rates
- III. Violence against women which includes dowry deaths, honor killings, sexual violence and so on
- IV. Migration is also emerging as one of the factors as male bread earners are leaving their native places to other places in India and abroad
- V. In a developing country like India, another factor could be added to this list. There is always a possibility that women are under-enumerated because they are not reported as members of the household by the head of the household, when the Census enumerator collects the information

It is also worth noticing that the lowest child sex ratios are found in the most prosperous regions of India. Haryana and Punjab have one of the lowest sex ratios in India. So the problem of selective abortions is not due to poverty or ignorance or lack of resources, it is largely socio-cultural issue. It is also possible that as economically prosperous families decide to have fewer children – often only one or two now – they may also wish to choose the sex of their child. In Haryana, relatively backward regions like Mewat, Fatehabad have better sex-ratio than rest of the state. It is argued that backward areas have relatively poor penetration and access of sex determination tool to the poor families.

Though females are biologically stronger than males, they suffer due to their culturally disadvantaged position. Impact of poor sex ratio on society is multifold, it includes –

- I. Demographic distortion leading to unhealthy social mix
- II. Imported brides and human trafficking of females to deficit areas and such cases have been often reported from Haryana
- III. Increasing incidences of sexual violence
- IV. Increases in instances of polygamy
- V. It also reinforces other social evils like dowry and dowry deaths

Steps by government to check sex detection and improve sex ratio –

- I. PCPNDT Act 2003 has been passed which makes sex determination as illegal.
- II. Special incentives are launched by some states where ratio is poor. For example, in Haryana cash incentives are given for girl child. Education has been made free by Haryana government till graduation. Even UPSC waives off examination fee for female candidates.
- III. Many specific schemes have also been launched by both the central and state governments. Haryana government runs schemes like '*Apni Beti, Apna Dhan*', '*Laadli*' etc. Government of India has also launched '*Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao*' scheme in 2014.
- IV. Technological solutions are also being experimented. A tool called '*Silent Observer*' is used by states like Maharashtra and Haryana governments which is fitted along ultrasound machines to record the observations.

However, these measures, including the PCPNDT Act, have largely proved ineffective in checking the menace of female feticide. Under the PCPNDT Act, not even a single conviction has been done till date. Instead, more dangerous trends are coming to fore. In Haryana, incidences have been reported in 2013

in which portable ultrasound machines were ceased from Sirsa and some other districts. Such illegal machines will make sex detection possible in every nook and corner. A mass awareness campaign to sensitize the people along with a cultural shift in values is required so that females are treated equally in our society and sex ratio can be improved.

Emerging Issues: Child and Infant Mortality

Infant mortality rate is generally taken as death rate of children of age 0-1 year per 1000 children born. In India, it is 47 per 1,000 live births, even after 51% decline in infant mortality rate between 1980 and 2008. It is still short of the target which was set up in UN Millennium Development Goals. In comparison, the Asian average has declined to 30, for OECD it is 5, that for China is 21 and Sri Lanka is 15.

Various factors that affect child and infant mortality are –

- I. Biological factors – They play a dominant role in determining the level of neonatal mortality. These factors are also known as endogenous factors.
- II. Age of mother – It is known that neonatal mortality rates are higher when the mother is below the age of 18 or above 35.
- III. Interval between two children - When the interval between two births is less than one year, there are high chances of mortality. World Population Fund and Indian government recommend a gap of 3-4 years between two children.
- IV. Weight at Birth – The standards laid down by the World Health Organization specify that babies with a birth weight of less than 2,500 grams should be considered as ‘high risk’ babies, needing special care. 24 to 37 per cent of Indian babies have a birth weight below 2,500 grams without the possibility of receiving any special care.
- V. Ante-Natal Care – It is generally concerned with the pregnant woman’s well-being. It is severely lacking in our country for various reasons like patriarchy, traditional values, poverty and so on. An anemic mother gives birth to a low-weight baby with slender chances of survival.
- VI. Hygiene – Proper hygienic conditions and medical care during and after delivery are not ensured, especially in the rural areas. The delivery is generally conducted by an untrained traditional birth attendant – called *dai* – or an elderly relative. Institutional delivery is still very poor.
- VII. Diseases – Common childhood diseases, such as, diphtheria, pertusis (whooping cough), measles and polio as well as tuberculosis contribute substantially to the post-neonatal and child mortality. Diarrhea alone claims 30% children death in India.
- VIII. Poor immunization – Immunization also needs to be strengthened. Government has launched Universal Immunization Program, but its coverage is still not 100%.

Fortunately, the practice of breast-feeding is widespread in our country. This protects the baby from exposure to several infections. Breast-feeding is, however, initiated only after 48 to 72 hours of birth, and is absolutely prohibited during the first 24 hours due to various cultural notions. If the baby is put to the breast soon after birth, it acquires several immunities which are passed on by the mother through colostrums (the first flow of breast milk).

High infant mortality has several social consequences –

- I. High rates of infant and maternal mortality are an unambiguous indicator of backwardness and poverty. Development is accompanied by sharp falls in these rates as medical facilities and levels of education, awareness and prosperity increase.
- II. Because of the high levels of infant and child mortality, a couple may go in for a large number of children in the hope that at least a few would survive to adulthood.
- III. Mortality of children also has an adverse effect on the health of mothers who have to undergo multiple cycles of pregnancy with, often, a precarious health condition. Parents also face psychological trauma.
- IV. Bearing child is also an economic burden for poor women who are members of labor force in un-organized sector as no compensation is paid for the work not done during the pregnancy.

Emerging Issues: Reproductive Health

Reproductive health concerns with issues like ability to reproduce, safe motherhood, prevention from sexually transmitted diseases, hygiene, family planning and so on. It is an important social and demographic indicator which is closely related to maternal mortality, neo-natal mortality and overall health of cohabiting partners.

In India, malnutrition, proper adult education, age at marriage and lack of medical infrastructure are key factors affecting reproductive health. Social beliefs regarding menstruation have also worked against good reproductive health of women. Institutional delivery is still less than 70% and pre-natal and post-natal care is still not up to desirable standards. 40% girls still get married by the age of 18 years and early child bearing affect their reproductive health adversely.

National Population Policy 2000 has a specific focus on reproductive health and it has for the first time acknowledged sexual and reproductive needs of adolescents. Government has also launched various schemes like '*Kishori Shakti Yojna*' for improvement of reproductive health of adolescent girls. Nehru Yuva Kendras also promote awareness about reproductive health and hygiene among youth.

CHALLENGES of SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Crisis of Development – Displacement, Environmental Problems and Sustainability

Development refers to the change in the desired direction. According to Yogendra Singh, '*development refers to the strategy of planned social change which is considered desirable by the members of the society*'. So, the notion of development may differ from society to society. It often leads to increase in scale, efficiency, mutuality and freedom. According to Gunnar Myrdal, rationality is the precondition of the economic and social development in the modern world.

Crisis of development is a paradoxical situation which refers to the ill effects as a result of the development strategy which was adopted. It thus, questions the prevailing notions of development vis-à-vis the emerging challenges, problems and hardships for those who are purported beneficiaries of this developmental process. This paradoxical situation is manifested in form of displacement, loss of livelihood, emotional trauma, migration, environmental damage, inequality and so on.

Current notion of development is largely based on idea of industrialization and economic growth. Development model that India adopted after Independence adopted a trickle down approach. In the zeal of collective welfare, often depressed sections suffered in processes of displacement, migration and so on. Tribal groups and agricultural community was the biggest sufferer. So much so that, according to Fernandes in past 50 years around 3 crore people were displaced and more than 42% of them were tribals. Displacement is *direct* as well as *indirect*. Direct displacement is often in form of eviction due to various reasons and indirect displacement is often in form of migration due to uneven developmental process, lack of livelihood opportunities, discrimination, fragile ecosystem, socio-religious notions etc. Issues related to displacement process include – realistic estimates of affected population, deciding compensation and its mode, timings of displacement and the rehabilitation policy. Rehabilitation and impact analysis are the two biggest factors to be considered while formulating policies for the displaced. Compensations are often ill designed and social consequences are rarely factored in.

Forests, mines etc remained state monopoly even after Independence and tribals were at the receiving end of this whose traditional rights over land and forests were conveniently ignored and their powerless status posed no big threat to developmental plans which led to their large scale displacement.

Major impacts of displacement include –

- I. Displacement has a domino effect and primary displacement also leads to secondary and tertiary displacement as well.
- II. It also results in disruption in kinship relations, gender impacts and loss of livelihood. Family and kinship ties also become fragile as a process of displacement.
- III. Cultural conflict also ensues when displaced people move to other areas.
- IV. Displacement of people engaged in agriculture lead to conversion of people from self-cultivators to non-agricultural wage laborers.
- V. Non-adjustment with new ecology.
- VI. Poverty incidences also increase as livelihood is disrupted.

- VII. Mridula Singh in her study of 1992 has concluded that rehabilitation policies are often blind to rights of women. Often unmarried adult daughters and abandoned women are considered dependent and no separate rehabilitation consideration is given.
- VIII. Tribals and ethnic groups are often at the receiving end. Fernandes in his study of Maharashtra found that in case of displacements due to projects, majority of the affected were tribals and only 15.8% of tribal families were given land.
- IX. Displacement also leads to cultural threat to ethnic groups like tribals which face extreme situations like isolation and assimilation.

However, today situation has changed significantly, especially after 1970s, and developmental issues are scrutinized with a wider view of its impact on locales and wider ecology. Civil Society groups are becoming vociferous supporters of the rights of inhabitants. A prolonged and sustained protest against land acquisition by Korean steel major Posco is one such recent example in which the deal was ultimately cancelled. There is also a new Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation Act 2013 which has for the first time considered the issue of displacement in such an extensive manner. However, still more needs to be done. The displaced people should also be offered to become stakeholders in the projects, rehabilitation should be done before hand and should be included in the cost of the project.

Another issue related with developmental process is of environmental problems and sustainability. In 2013, floods caused major havoc in the regions of Uttarakhand. It was primarily a result of developmental activities in fragile Himalayan ecosystem. Similarly, environmental challenges have been posed by dams construction, coal and nuclear power plants, unstructured urban growth and so on. It has resulted in loss in species diversification, extinction of indigenous species. Environment and ecological issues are now part of developmental agenda of government. Environmental clearances are now mandatory for any developmental project. Offences related to environment and ecology are dealt with seriously and National Green Tribunal and Green Benches in Supreme Court of India which have been recently established. India has also supported international initiatives like Kyoto Protocol, Earth Summit etc in a bid to prepare an agenda for ecological conservation in wake of developmental activities.

Poverty, Deprivation and Inequalities

Poverty is defined as pronounced deprivation in well being and comprises many dimensions. It includes low income, inability to acquire basic goods and services required for survival with dignity. Incidence of poverty and deprivation in India became more rampant after British rule. Indian society was primarily an agrarian society and there were lesser number of social strata. Colonial rule and arrival of market system created number of inequalities which didn't exist earlier. Land tenure system during British rule led to mass impoverishment of peasantry. As a result, at the time of independence, India inherited more than half of its population as impoverished.

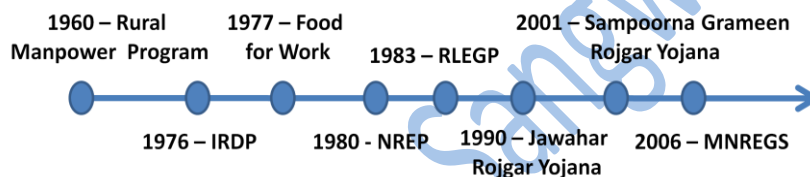
Early studies in poverty were guided by concern for growth and economic development. Income and expenditure were considered to be better measured of poverty which relied on data provided by National Sample Survey (NSS). The Planning Commission, set up soon after independence, played a leading part in initiating, stimulating and organizing the research on poverty. Further, early conception

of poverty was in terms of it being a rural phenomenon and hence, early schemes and programs were rural in focus.

Poverty, deprivation and inequality in India have multiple dimensions and causes. Many cultural factors like caste, untouchability, patriarchy have also contributed to poverty and inequality in Indian society. Unequal position of women is largely attributed to patriarchal system. There are also spatial dimensions of inequality. In India, there is unprecedented gap between urban and rural areas also.

Minimizing poverty, deprivation and inequality has been foremost agenda of India after independence. A multi pronged strategy was used comprising – wage employment, self-employment, area development and land reforms, social benefits approach and so on. Another classification of strategy to fight poverty can be made as

– growth, redistribution, basic needs, direct target programs. Initially a community led approach coupled with a trickle down approach was adopted. Integrated rural



CHRONOLOGY of WAGE EMPLOYMENT SCHEMES in INDIA

development program was also launched. Land reforms, cooperative movements, Panchayati raj system, green revolution etc all aimed at ameliorating inequality. Our constitution also states that minimizing inequality is one of the goals of the state. However, limitations of the approaches were soon apparent and government revamped its effort. 5th Five Year Plan has specific focus on poverty alleviation and called for 'Garibi Hatao'. Recently, more efforts have been put in form of National Rural Livelihood Mission, MNREGA etc to remove poverty in rural areas. Schemes like Swarna Jayanti Sehri Rojgar Yojna, Basic Services for Urban Poor focus on urban areas.

Despite such efforts, poverty and inequality remain a big challenge. Unless structural causes like corruption, caste, gender bias, regional bias etc are not addressed, the problems will remain.

Violence against Women

Violence against women is primarily a result of unequal patriarchal social structure. Woman is pushed at margins in relationships, given lesser rights and is expected to subjugate to whims of male counterparts. Absence of equal rights and financial liberty coupled with gender stereotypical notions leave her vulnerable to multiple violence right from birth to death. This violence sometimes appears as *manifest* in form of – rapes, dowry deaths, feticides, domestic violence and so on. Sometimes it is more indirect and *latent* like – unequal rights, poor nutrition of girl child, inferior education of girls, no share in parental property, low social status, unequal sexual division of labor, discrimination in employment, pornography and misrepresentation of women in the media and so on.

As per 2011 census, there is almost 20% difference between literacy of males and females. As per National Family Health Survey 3, more than 50% of women are anemic. Maternal mortality rate in India is one of the highest in the world and is far from touching the target set by Millennium Development Goals. A study by SEWA in 14 occupations found out that more than 85% of women earn wages that are just equal to poverty line income. It is another well established fact that 'glass ceiling' exists for women in not only public, but private sector as well. Representation of women in legislature is also less than 20% and the Woman Reservation Bill in legislatures is still hanging fire. Thus, instances of latent violence are present in various forms of discriminations and deprivations.

Women in historical perspective – In Rigvedic times, women enjoyed equal status with the men. They received equal education, observed *Brahmcharya* and were even used to undergo *upnayana* ceremony. They used to study Vedas and women like Ghosha, Apala and Vishvara even composed Vedic hymns. Their participation in public life was also equal to men. Child marriage, Sati, polyandry and dowry were unknown. Their position deteriorated in the later Vedic period and birth of daughter became an inauspicious event and girls were denied the right to property. Inter-caste marriages, widow re-marriages became rare and hypergamy became the preferred marriage mode which relegated women a low status. Dowry emerged during Gupta period and impact of Islam also introduced *Jauhar*, *Purdah*, child marriage among some of the new evils.

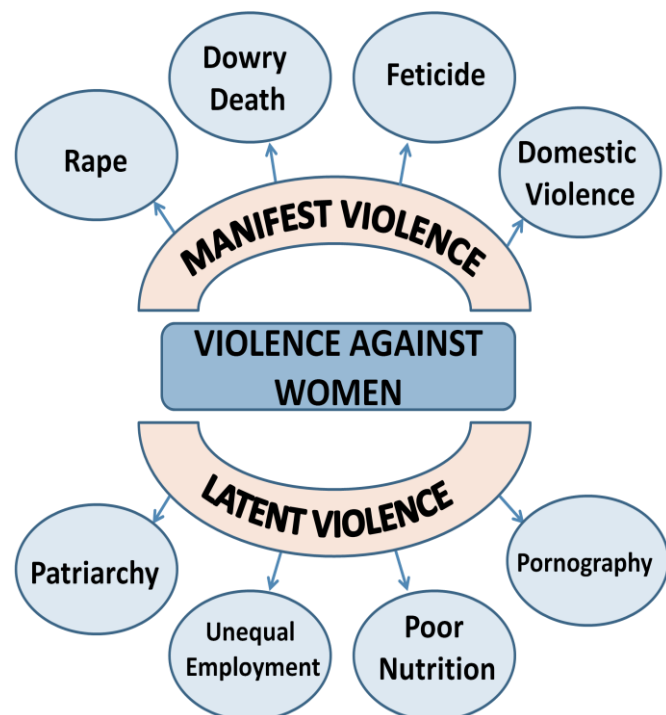
Lotika Sarkar considers that '*anxiety is other name of women in Indian context*'. She is surrounded by anxieties from puberty till death. She undergoes from one form of anxiety to another – anxiety to protect her body, pregnancy related anxiety, post delivery anxiety, anxiety associated with her family and so on.

Utsa Patnaik in her article '*The Economics of Dowry*' indicates that dowry inflicts injury into minds of women compelling her to feel worthless who cannot live without marriage and without support of her husband. While upper class goes for dowry due to affluence, middle class goes for it for status and lower class goes for it for compensation.

Amartya Sen highlights that till 2011, there have been more than 20 crore '*missing women*' due to feticide in India.

According to Uma Chakravorty, despite liberal legislations condition of woman remains un-improved because culture and patriarchal social structures dominate statutory norms in day to day life.

Spending on health and education of women is highly skewed which lays foundation for



lifelong discrimination and backwardness of women. Most of the family planning programs are intended to target women, often creating health complications for them.

Another form of challenge that adds to above concerns is increasing commoditification of women. Woman is depicted as item of desire – a mere marketable object – through thriving pornographic industry and advertisement industry. Pornographic literature, magazines, pictures, hoarding and films are published/printed which are seen as upholding the ‘right to freedom of expression’, in actuality they violate woman’s dignity and right to equality and equal treatment. In turn these create and perpetuate patriarchal images of ‘strong’, ‘aggressive’, ‘violent’, and chauvinistic men on the one hand, and ‘meek’, ‘submissive’, ‘vulnerable’ women as sex objects on the other hand. Pornography and misrepresentation of women in the media – The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986, prohibits indecent representation of women through advertisements or in publications, writings, paintings, figures or in any other manner, and for matters connected or incidental thereto.

To stop this violence, active steps must be taken from all stakeholders in society. Women themselves must be crusaders against it. Various government schemes and laws like – Domestic Violence Act, Anti-Dowry legislations, Protection of Women against Sexual Harassment at Workplace Act etc must be properly implemented. Apart from these deterrent measures, government has also taken up active positive steps for the empowerment of women against violence and discrimination. Such steps include - National Policy for Empowerment of Women 2001, National Commission for Women has also been established, gender budgeting provisions have also been introduced, various schemes like – ICDS, Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojna, Ujjawala, Swadhar Greh, SABLA etc have also been launched. Education should have a component which sensitizes young minds about ill effects of violence against women. Thus, a socio-legal framework covering all stakeholders can only tackle this problem.

Caste Conflicts

Caste as a social institution in India is marked by multiple fault lines and inequalities which lead to a lot of friction. Rebellion from the depressed and the tendency of upper castes to suppress lower ones lead to conflicts. Causes of caste conflict lie in ritual status, untouchability, group hegemony, identity politics, discrimination, feudal mindset, economic exploitation etc.

Caste conflicts emerged only after reformation movement started. Earlier, the conflicts were on ritual grounds only on issues like Temple Entry, usage of common village resources and so on. After Independence, when constitution declared untouchability as an offence, provided equal status to all Indians and even provided positive discrimination for depressed classes, the higher castes exhibited indignation. In a competitive economy, caste ideology was used as a tool of exploitation of the lower castes. Often the ones at receiving end were not well off members of the lower castes, but the one who were the poorest and the weakest among them. According to Ramakrishna Mukharjee, caste riots were observed more frequently in those areas where the caste wise social deprivations are manifestly correlated with the class wise economic deprivations such as in case of Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Andhra etc. When the members of upwardly mobile scheduled castes react to the excesses of upper castes, they are made targets of fury of upper caste members as was recently witnessed in Mirchpur, Hisar district of

Haryana in 2010 when upper caste members set the houses of Dalits on fire and Gohana, also in Haryana, where Dalit youths were killed and more than 50 houses were set on fire in 2005.

Caste conflicts are at two levels –

- I. Manifest level – In form of incidences of violence. It is more acute in rural areas where caste identities are still very strong and ideas of equality have still not got into minds of upper caste members who fear losing of their privileged position. It is a manifestation of feudal mindset of rural caste based society, where any effort of the depressed to challenge the supremacy of upper castes is met with violent response. Many caste senas were formed by the upper caste members like – Ranvir Sena, Diamond Sena etc. Apart from violence, untouchability, segregation and mutual hatred are other symptoms of prevailing conflict.
- II. Latent level – At latent level, conflicts among various caste groups is reflected in behavior of various castes toward each other. This conflict is evident on various occasions like – denial to inter-caste marriages, struggle for reservation, social intercourse etc. Discrimination is worst form of latent conflict. More than 150 types of untouchability have been recorded in Andhra in a study by Prasad.

Further, nature of caste conflicts has also changed over the year. While earlier conflicts were seen as a reaction to the ritual notions, today they are more as a result of more secular causes like – lack of opportunities, development, access, political participation etc. Caste system and caste conflicts are effectively used as tools of economic exploitation and political suppression. According to Arun Sinha, contemporary conflicts are a 'class war' rather than sporadic caste conflicts. They are waged by rich peasant class which belong to middle castes and not from higher Brahmin castes.

However, constitutional and legal framework coupled with rising awareness and a sound judicial system has helped in bringing down the cases of manifest conflicts to a significant level. Political participation, rise of media and modernization of Indian society has gradually blunted the edge of caste and ensuing conflicts to a significant degree.

Ethnic Conflicts

The term 'ethnic' is derived from the Greek word 'ethno' meaning 'nation'. It was originally used to denote primitive tribes or societies that formed a nation on the basis of their simplistic forms of government and economy. The term was put into use to overcome the controversies related with race and ethnicity emerged as a key sociological and political concept only in the early 1970s. Today race is typically associated with perceived (and not actual) biological features and ethnicity has cultural/social notions. It is now employed in a broader sense to signify self-consciousness of a group of people united, or closely related, by shared experience such as language, religious belief, common heritage, caste, race etc. There is nothing innate about ethnicity, it is imbibed in an individual through socialization. Ethnicity is not fixed; it is situationally defined. According to Barun De it is a creative response of the group which is marginalized in society.

Ethnic activity and separation came in a big way in the post colonial, newly emerging nations like Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nigeria etc., but it also affected developed countries as well – the problem of Welsh and the Scots, the Basques in Spain, to name only a few.

The term 'ethnicity' acquired enormous political implications in particular after the disintegration of erstwhile nation-states like former Soviet Union, Pakistan, Yugoslavia and events that followed the bombing of world Trade center in New York on 9/11.

Ethnic conflicts are said to arise between groups that are based on unequal relationship, namely the 'majority group' and the 'minority group'. 'Ethnic cleansing' is the worst form of ethnic conflict in which the dominant ethnic group systematically eliminates or ousts the members of minority ethnic groups. Sri Lanka is accused of going on for such an exercise during war with LTTE. Similarly, Hitler went for ethnic cleansing of Jews during WW2. Genocide of minority Tutsi community by majority Hutu community in Rwanda in 1990s is the most recent examples of mass ethnic conflicts. Back at home in India, conflict between native Assamese and Bangladeshi migrants is such an example. Ethnic conflict may exist at a more subtle and latent level when open conflicts are kept in check and it appears in forms of discriminations, prejudices and feeling of mistrust or antagonism. Ethnic conflicts and ethnic movements are explained by many theoretical strands like – 'relative deprivation theory', 'resource competition theory' etc, some of which are –

- I. Kellas point out that many examples show material and economic interests at stake in ethnic politics and individuals seeking an advantage, usually by playing up their ethnicity to secure scarce resources. So, ethnic fault lines are only a façade behind competition for scarce resources which can be economic or political.
- II. Another theory is 'resource mobilization theory', according to it development leads to a rise rather than a decline in ethnic mobilization because it provides resources to ethnic groups in the periphery, increasing their bargaining position and organizational capacity for action.
- III. According to 'internal colonization' theory, relationship between members of the dominant or core community within a state and members of the minority or peripheral communities are characterized by exploitation. Ethnic groups from North Eastern India often blame government of pursuing a policy of internal colonization.
- IV. 'Cultural deprivation' theory on the other hand argues that one of the significant inducements to ethnicity comes from the feeling of insecurity among ethnic minorities of their fear from getting lost in the sea of majority. Threat of assimilation into majority leads to ethnic movements and conflicts. Intrusion of Bangladeshi into Assam and resulting conflict can be seen in this light.
- V. Another explanation is that ethnic conflicts are result of excessive ethnocentric world view of different communities involved. There are strong notions of 'insiders' vs 'outsiders' or 'us' vs 'them'.

Apart from these reasons, external support in form of arms, money etc is also becoming important in fomenting ethnic conflicts.

According to Punekar the four major premises where ethnicity in India operates are language, region, religion and caste. It may be argued that castes are divided into subcastes, language into dialects, region into sub-regions, religion into sects on ethnic lines. However, ethnic diversity is less obvious at these sub levels when compared to the larger levels of caste, language, religion and region.

Ethnic conflicts are a consequence of organized communal bodies. For the conflict to become a public issue, usually the organized bodies, which are backed by political parties, have to come to the fore.

Major dimensions of ethnic conflict in India are –

- I. Regional and linguistic identities – Soon after Independence the most powerful manifestation of ethnicity in India was the demand for creation of state or province on linguistic basis and there were instances of clashes and latent and manifest conflicts as well. The State Reorganization Committee was formed in 1956 and boundaries of the states were redrawn on the linguistic basis. This forming of linguistic states was a manifestation of ethnic identity. This process reinforced the regional and linguistic identity and ethnicity. Anti-Hindi movement in South and anti-North Indian movement in Maharashtra are examples of such conflicts. In 1980s tension and conflict arose over the issue of language. The government's desire to create a wider national movement in an otherwise segmental ethnic society expedited tensions in several parts of the country. The Government selected Hindi as the national language to create a national community by joining all the members of the different ethnic communities. This attempt at 'unity in diversity' had adverse effect on the Indian population. We have evidences of violence in the South like Tamil Nadu, where severe rioting took place over the Hindi issue. In Assam too, riots broke out in 1972, between the immigrant Bengali Hindus and the local Assamese population.
- II. Religion – Ethnic clashes among various religions, especially among Hindus and Muslims, were witnessed more conspicuously during and after British rule. British policy of 'divide and rule' is one of the causes behind it.
- III. Tamil ethnic conflicts as transnational ethnic conflict – Demand of Tamilians in India for a fair deal for Tamilians in Sri Lanka has given rise to another manifestation of ethnic conflict which they claim as a response to attempt of Sinhalese majority of ethnic cleansing of Tamilians.
- IV. Caste is also seen as a dimension of ethnic identity.

Communalism

Communalism has been described as a sectarian exploitation of social traditions as a medium of political mobilization. Communalism arises when some characteristics of an ethnic identity – it can be race, religion etc and not necessarily religion alone – like religious beliefs are taken and emotionally surcharged and used for satisfaction of some interests. It is a strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to society. In India, basis of allegiance had been predominantly religion, so, in context of India, communalism is chauvinism based on religious identity.

Communalism is about politics, not about religion. A communalist may or may not be a devout person, and devout believers may or may not be communalists. However, all communalists do believe in a political identity based on religion.

One of the characteristic features of communalism is its claim that religious identity overrides everything else. Whether one is poor or rich, whatever one's occupation, caste or political beliefs, it is religion alone that counts.

The interpretation of history is for purposes of mobilization. Further, the protagonists of communalism hold a particular view of history and take care to point out that a community has been identified with common sufferings and goals as a whole. The exclusiveness of the community is stressed vis-à-vis other communities, and it is therefore considered logical to fight for one's rights in a literal way.

COMMUNALISM in INDIA

Clifford Geertz, an American anthropologist in his *'The Interpretation of Cultures, 1972'*, wrote, *'When we speak of communalism in India we refer to religious contrasts, when we speak of it in Malaya we are mainly concerned with racial ones, and in the Congo with tribal ones'*. Thus, when we talk of India we are talking mainly of religion based oppositions.

Communalism creates hatred and hinders social change. It diverts attention from real issues to other emotionally charged issues. It leads to communal riots and conflicts which end up in indiscriminate violence, killings, rapes and plundering.

India has had a history of communal riots from pre-Independence times, often as a result of the divide-and-rule policy adopted by the colonial rulers. But colonial policies alone are not responsible for the growth of communalism in India, as communal conflicts occurred even before them and after them as well.

Communalism in India developed through three stages, each stage providing its own definition of communalism and merging into the next stage –

- I. Communalism developed during the last quarter of the 19th century when this view led to the notion that in India, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians form distinct communities.
- II. Communalism entered a second stage in the beginning of the 20th century, when communalists argue that many of the economic and political interests of the followers of different religions diverge and are sometimes opposite because of their following different religions.
- III. Communalists of the third stage argued that the secular interests of the followers of different religions were not only different, but mutually totally antagonistic. What was good for Hindus was bad for Muslims.

Thus, although there were different religious communities earlier also, communal tensions among them are quite recent ones. Partition of India witnessed one of the biggest communal genocides in the history of humanity in which more than 5,00,000 people lost their lives and millions were displaced. Recent communal outbreaks include communal riots post Operation Bluestar and killing of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984, Bombay riots following demolition of Babri Mosque in 1992, Godhra Riots in 2002 and more recently Muzzafarnagar Riots in 2013. To tackle the issue, National Integration Council has been set up and active steps are taken by government to stem any such incidents beforehand.

Religious Revivalism

Refer Paper – 1

Illiteracy and Disparities in Education

At the time of independence, there were more than 82% people who were illiterate, today, as per 2011 Census, the figure has been reduced to 25%. But this figure is still lower than the global average. Illiteracy in rural areas, among women, among older people and in certain states is still high. Further, being literate doesn't mean being educated in India. Literacy is defined in basic functional terms and is not equivalent to having educational skills.

Historically, education in India has not been all-inclusive in its approach. Even Vedas were prohibited for women and lower castes for a long time. Equality of educational opportunity demands that all pupils be exposed to the same opportunities, same curriculum in similar schools through equal inputs. While equality of opportunity is theoretically realized to some extent by introducing Right to education, equality in results or achievement is more challenging.

Inequalities in education are a reflection of the wider social stratification in the society. It is almost always that those who receive poor education are from poor families. Like strata in society, there are also strata of schools. As pupils gain different education in different schools, there are disparities in education. According to Avijit Pathak in his '*Social Implications of Schooling, 2002*', schooling '*intensifies the existing divide between the elite and the masses*'. Children going to privileged schools learn to be confident while children deprived of that may feel the opposite. Some even don't get education of any kind. According to a report of Pratichi Trust titled '*The Pratichi Education Report, 2002*', educational attainment levels also depend on economic and cultural factors. According to the report, children of SCs and STs don't attend schools during harvest season as they have to help their parent in cultivation of crops. Gender and caste discrimination impinge upon the chances of education and girls are often forced to contribute to household chores and school is a distinct second priority among the poor. Enrollment of girls in higher education is also highly skewed.

The inequalities in the literacy rate are especially important in developing country like India because they tend to reproduce inequality across generations. Illiterate parents are at a severe disadvantage in ensuring that their children are well educated, thus perpetuating existing inequalities.

Disparities in education can be observed along various dimensions –

- I. **Regional disparities** – According to 2011 census, there are still 25% illiterate people in India and this situation is even worse in states like Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan etc. Some states like Kerala have achieved almost universal literacy, others are still struggling.
- II. **Rural-urban disparities** – Quality of education in rural and urban, private and public schools varies greatly. Literacy levels are also lower in villages as compared to urban areas.
- III. **Gender based disparity** – Further, disparity is also reflected in literacy levels along lines of gender. Literacy disparity among male and females is almost 20% as per 2011 census.
- IV. **Disparity on the basis of caste** – Cultural reproduction takes place in school education also. Generally, public schools which are now notorious for substandard education are attended by children from lower castes.

- V. **Ethnicity and education disparities** – Schools are also mired by ethnocentric environment. Stereotypes are promoted often unwittingly. Poor educational attainments of tribal people highlight this point.
- VI. **Imbalance between primary and higher education** – Educational system in developing countries is still under colonial influence and it is generally top heavy with more focus on higher education with a neglected primary education.
- VII. **Education and employability disparity** - While we have been able to overcome illiteracy to some extent, quality education is still elusive. As per NASSCOM-McKinsey report, almost 70% of engineers are un-employable. Similarly, Yashpal committee also rued over sorry state of affairs in higher education.
- VIII. **Dropout rates** – Due to prevailing disparity, dropout rates in government schools are still high.

One of the major causes of this disparity is poverty and deprivation. Prevailing social inequalities lead to unequal access to education. Our patriarchal social structure also deter female child from venturing out. Male-female ratio deteriorates as girl child progresses from lower classes to higher classes. Infrastructure is also a big hurdle. Absence of nearby schools also deters parents from sending their girls to schools. According to NGO Pratham report, absence of toilet facilities in schools is also a big cause for girls' dropout. Further, lack of local content also makes it difficult for students to grasp well.

However, over the years India has also made significant improvements in this direction, especially in direction of gross enrollment. Right to Education is a significant move. 99% of villages now have a primary school within 1 km now after the enactment of Right to Education. National level GER has increased to 96%. All children up to class 8th are provided free books now. Mid Day Meal scheme has also helped towards improving retention and attendance in schools. Government is also going ahead with decentralization of education and institutes of higher education like IITs, IIMs, AIIMS are being opened in tier two cities as well.

To address the issue of disparity and illiteracy, the root causes must be addressed first. Gender bias, poverty, infrastructure etc must be addressed first. Further, education should be pupil friendly. Information technology can be used to make class rooms user friendly and more interactive and it can also help in spreading quality education in even far flung areas. Curricula should be so redesigned as to evoke curiosity, promote inquisitiveness and help pupils explore their potential and interests as the true education is the one which liberates.

OTHER TOPICS

ANTI-ARRACK MOVEMENT 1990s

It was a spontaneous mobilization of women in Andhra demanding a ban on the sale of alcohol in their neighborhoods. Stories of this kind appeared in the Telugu press almost daily during the two months of September and October 1992.

Rural women in remote villages from the State of Andhra Pradesh fought a battle against alcoholism, against mafias and against the government during this period. These agitations shaped what was known as the in the State. They conveyed this anti-arrack movement resolution to the village arrack vendor. However, when the village arrack vendor informed the contractor about this, the contractor sent him a gang of men. Women of the village were adamant and opposed this move. The contractor called in the police but even they had to beat a retreat. A week later, women who prevented the sale of arrack were assaulted by arrack contractor's goondas with iron rods and other lethal weapons. But when the women resisted the assault unitedly, the hired mafia took to their heels. The women later destroyed three jeeps full of arrack.

ARYA SAMAJ

The Arya Samaj was one of the most popular and dynamic reformist and revivalist movements in modern India. Its founder was Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He was an adamant follower, exponent, and practitioner of the Vedas – the unadulterated Truth as handed down from Guru to disciple since the beginning of time. It aimed of purifying Hindu religion of its orthodoxies which had seeped over the time in form of rituals, casteism and so on. It gave call for doing away with rituals and polytheism. It also rejected hereditary caste system and called for a *Varna* system which is based on merit and not birth. It also called for equality of men and women and schools were opened for girls as well.

Swami Dayanada founded Arya Samaj on two basic tenets. They were –

- I. Infallible authority of the Vedas
- II. Monotheism

He has explained these two principles in his book *Satyartha Prakash*. For uniting the Hindus and strengthening the society Swami Dayananda also started three movements – *shuddi*, *sanghatan* and education and geared the Arya Samaj to carry on these movements unceasingly.

Swami Dayananda desired that Hindu society emerges as a moral society. So he preached that the Hindu should observe *dharma* in their life. Dharma is a practice of equitable justice together with that of truthfulness in word, deed and thought and like virtues as embodied in the Vedas.

In its early period, it emerged as a symbol of reform and nationalism. Many nationalists like Lala Lajpat Rai were Arya Smajis. However, its conservative outlook confined to Vedic knowledge limited it to some northern Indian parts only. Its *shuddhi* and *sangathan* call also caused bitterness with other communities.

ASIATIC MODE of PRODUCTION

It was referred by Marx to explain the stagnation of oriental societies. It was a departure from his dialectical materialistic and evolutionary conception. It was characterized by simple production methods, self-sufficient villages, absence of private property, economy based on handicraft and agriculture and absence of autonomous cities. As there was no private property, there was no class struggle based upon antagonism between land lords and peasants. As these societies lacked in the dynamics of class struggle, there was also a little hope of revolution.

BRAHMO SAMAJ

Brahmo Samaj – literally meaning ‘one God society’ – was a quasi-Protestant, theistic movement within Hinduism, founded in Calcutta in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It denounced polytheism, idol worship, and the caste system, karma or rebirth. It was influenced by modern ideas, Vedantic philosophy and even ideas of Christianity and Islam. It discarded Hindu rituals and included some elements from other religions. It emphasized on ideas of modernity and rationality. Its greatest effort was towards emancipation of women, liberation of depressed classes and reformation of Hinduism as a monotheistic religion.

It was the efforts of Raja Ram Mohun Rao that sati were banned by the British Government in 1829. He also stressed education of women.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy first Debendranath Tagore and later Keshab Chandra Sen steered the movement. By efforts of Keshab Chandra Sen Child marriage Act was passed. After initial leadership, Samaj was divided into different branches in middle of 19th century.

CASTE and CLASS or CASTE and CLASS NEXUS

Caste and class resemble each other in certain respects and differ in others. Castes constitute the status groups or communities that can be defined in terms of ascriptive attributes, occupation and style of life. Social honor is closely linked to ritual values in this closed system. Class positions also tend to be associated with social honor; however, they are defined more in terms of ownership or non-ownership of means of production. The classes are much more open and fluid and have scope of individual upward social mobility. In caste system, only an entire segment can move upward, and hence, the mobility is much slower. Despite such differences, it will be too simplistic to assume that they are two binary opposites.

Historically, both ritual and secular status in caste were overlapping as secular benefits appropriated by one class were proportional to the ritual status. However, class dimension had slowly started to emerge in ancient India itself with formation of guilds, banking systems, trade, land ownership etc, but it was overshadowed by caste. Class dimension became apparent only during British rule. According to A R Desai, ‘*caste inheres an underdeveloped, but potentially explosive class character and Indian state is also capitalist in essence and reality*’.

Nexus does not imply a correspondence or symmetry between caste and class. Interdependence, contradictions, symmetry and hegemony of social relations are integral features of this nexus. Andre Beteille notes that ‘*the hierarchies of caste and power in the village overlap to some extent, but also cut across*’. According to Kathleen Gough, there is a caste-class nexus which is highlighted by

interconnections between caste, marriage and kinship on one hand and forces of production and production relations on the other. According to Yogendra Singh, caste and class represent the same structural reality. Although there is considerable divergence between the hierarchy of caste and that of class, the top and bottom segments of the class system are largely subsumed under the caste structure. Classes operate within the framework of castes. Caste conflicts are also class conflicts as the upper and lower classes correspond to the high and low castes respectively. Caste also functions as a class today as they operate as an interest group. Caste associations undertake many economic and political activities of its members. According to John Mencher, caste system is effectively used as a tool of economic exploitation as well.

Caste and class point towards inequality and hierarchy. In both the cases the principle of organization differs. However, the view that caste and class are ideological opposites is not correct. For example, an organization like Jat Sabha is not a simple caste association, but in effect, it is an organization of peasants. Similarly, the Kisan Sabha is not a simple organization of peasants, it is very much an association of castes engaged in agriculture, particularly of Jats in northern India.

Edmund Leach's understanding that co-operation refers to caste, and competition refers to class is naive and unconvincing. Not only families of dominant castes compete with each other to extend patronage to the lower castes for maintaining their dominance, but the lower caste families too compete to seek favors from the families of the dominant castes.

The process of differentiation of communities dislocates class-relations from the caste-structure. If caste and class show a fair degree of overlap at the top and bottom level and in some cases appears almost co-terminus, the picture is quite ambiguous at the intermediate level of caste hierarchy.

Whether there is a transition or not from caste to class, the fact remains that one form of inequality is replaced with another. Thus, differentiation in society in Chaturvarna system is not necessarily related to the reduction of caste inequalities. Differentiation of roles may bring about certain new inequalities which might strengthen the existing ones, and in such a situation, differentiation becomes a double – edged weapon for the lowest groups in a caste system who now bear the brunt of class also apart from ritual discrimination.

CASTE as a CLASS

According to Lundberg, *'A caste is merely a rigid social class into which members are born and from which they can withdraw only with extreme difficulty'*.

Similarly, according to Cooley, *'When a class is somewhat hereditary, we call it a caste'*.

According to McIver, *'When status is wholly predetermined, so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of caste'*.

Some of the differences between the two are –

- I. Closed vs Open structure, castes are ascriptive.

- II. Divine vs Secular – According to McIver, the rigid demarcation of caste couldn't have been maintained for so long lest divine notions were not attached with it. Situation of segregation was rationalized by notions of 'dharma'.
- III. Choice of mates in caste s generally endogenous.
- IV. A feeling of class consciousness is necessary for formation of class, while such subjective disposition is not required for caste.

Caste and class point towards inequality and hierarchy. In both the cases, however, the principle of organization differs. Still there are times when caste manifests features of class and acts like a class hierarchy. However, the view that caste and class are ideologically opposites is not correct.

According to some Marxist scholars, caste system is essentially a class system. It was essentially so in the early formative years. The classes were: *Rajanyas* or the Kshatriyas, the aristocracy, the *Brahmins*, the priests, the *Vaishyas*, the people at large, mainly peasants and traders, and the *Shudras*, the service communities. Many scholars like D P Mukharjee, A R Desai opine that thinking of class merely in economic term is a narrow approach. According to them caste in India is also a form of class.

The data collected by NSS and various sociologists shows that there is a positive relationship between caste and occupational status. The small and marginal farmers and agricultural laborers mainly belong to the low or backward castes and ex-untouchable (scheduled) castes. As class dimension of Indian social structure emerges, erstwhile dominant castes and other castes take similar relative positions in the class structure i.e. the castes which are dominant in caste hierarchy have similar position in caste stratification. So, caste and class though are two separate hierarchies, they often overlap and caste hierarchy also reflect economic hierarchy.

Caste in normative terms is different from what exist on ground. Other examples are like – Caste struggles are today not purely caste, but are class also and vice-versa. As Beteille puts it – '*The hierarchies of caste, class and power overlap to some extent, but also cut across*'.

As economic status becomes more important in an industrial society, caste is slowly losing its relevance, but still proving very sticky on various counts like – marriage, rituals and so on.

CASTE and POLITICS

Theoretically speaking caste and democratic political system stand for opposite value systems. Caste is hierarchical. On the other hand, democratic political system advocates freedom to an individual and equality of status.

Politics notwithstanding the ideals in any society does not function in vacuum. It operates within social milieu. However, in practice, caste and kin seek to establish new identities and strive for enviable positions. Politicians find caste groupings readily available for political mobilization.

British rule provided the founding ground of interaction of the two. It were Justice Party in South and Ambedkar who called for political empowerment of the depressed for emancipation of the depressed. Post independence system of universal franchise, Panchayati raj system further fuelled these dynamics.

Kothari, while analyzing the intrusions of caste into politics and politics into caste, distinguishes three stages in the progression of political modernization after Independence –

- I. In the first stage, he says the struggle for political power was limited to the entrenched and the ascendant castes.
- II. In the second phase, competitions within these castes for power led to factionalism
- III. In the third stage, lower castes have been mobilized and are asserting themselves in the political domain.

In his words *'It is not-politics that gets caste-ridden; it is the caste that gets politicized'*. He has a relatively positive outlook towards caste in politics. According to him, politics has been able to give voice to the powerless and has uplifted them from oblivion.

The study of Nadars of Tamil Nadu is a case in point about the positive role played by politics vis-à-vis caste. Defining the importance of caste in Indian politics, Rudolph and Rudolph in their *'The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India, 1967'* reveal that political clout can be used to change even the status in the caste hierarchy and many rights can be acquired which were once denied to a caste. They took the case of an untouchable community i.e. Shanans of Tamil Nadu and explained how it could change the social status with the help of political mobilization and association and ultimately are now known as 'Nadars'. Caste associations have provided a new vitality to the depressed groups. Similar conclusions were also drawn by Beteille.

Andre Beteille holds that while westernization is taking individuals away from caste identity the role of caste in politics is taking the people towards the caste identity and thereby strengthening it. Thus, political process has a dual effect on caste system.

With the extension of franchise in the post-colonial India, each social group and sub-group got mobilized for a share in the developmental process and competed for positions in the state-bureaucracy. The Indian polity is, thus, *governed both by vertical mobilization by the dominant castes and horizontal alliances in the name of jati and Varna*. The political parties exacerbate the existing cleavages in a developing society like India.

Substantialisation of Caste (Srinivas) and Identity Politics are two important aspects of Caste and Politics in India.

In a first of political activities, Republican Party formed in 1956 by Dalit leaders under Ambedkar. Today caste plays significant role in UP, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. New integration and divisions have occurred as a result.

After independence, caste and politics interaction unfolded in different phases. In the first phase, some caste associations were formed with political objectives to compete in elections. Such caste associations were associated with different leading political parties to see that their caste members get party tickets in elections. These parties initially resisted such pressures because of the counter pressure from the dominant castes that controlled the party.

In the second phase, some of the political parties identify with certain castes for nomination of the party candidates and mobilization in elections. Bharatiya Kranti Dal evolved an alliance of four major peasant

castes of UP in 1969 elections. The alliance was called AJGAR; in India that is, Ahirs, Jats, Gughars and Rajputs. Lok Dal was identified with Jats in Uttar Pradesh in 1977 and 1980 parliamentary elections. Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh was identified with backward castes in general and Yadavas in particular in 1997 state assembly elections. BJP is generally identified with upper castes.

In the third phase since the 1980s we have also seen the emergence of explicitly caste-based political parties. It seemed as though caste solidarities were decisive in winning elections. But the situation soon got very complicated as parties competed with each other in utilizing the same kind of caste calculus.

In fourth phase, more recently, the advent of democracy and decentralized politics in the form of the three-tier Panchayati Raj system saw politics carried down to the grassroots level. Caste became a prominent variable in electoral politics.

However, interaction of caste and politics also has positive fallouts as well. It has led to new government policies like abolition of Zamindari system or untouchability undermines the traditional social order and value system. It shifts location of power in society from one group to another.

Moreover competitive politics like elections encourage several individuals from a group to aspire for political positions. They compete among themselves so the caste members also get divided. In the process caste cohesiveness gets weakened; and new formation takes place. Thus, not only caste influences politics but the political system also influences caste and induces changes in it.

Numerically large castes get representation in decision-making bodies and strength of the traditionally dominant castes get weakened. This explains the rise of middle and backward caste representations in most of the state assemblies.

CASTE and TRIBE

According to one perspective, caste and tribe are seen along a continuum. Srinivas' Sanskritisation model also illustrates how tribal groups enter caste system. Similarly, Ghurye has called tribals as 'Backward Hindus' and he presented a framework for classification of tribes from Hindu perspective. Similarly, F G Bailey gave a tribe caste continuum.

But such a simplistic correlation between caste and tribes is rejected by the modern anthropologists. Alternative view holds that 'tribe' and 'caste' are differing social categories which are mistakenly viewed by earlier sociologists as being part of one larger 'Indian society'. Castes have been treated as one regulated by the hereditary division of labour, hierarchy, principle of purity and pollution, civic and religious disabilities, etc. Tribes on the other hand have been seen as one characterized by the absence of features attributed to the caste.

However, there are some differences in the two –

- I. According to Herbert Risley, the convention of endogamy is not rigidly enforced in tribe whereas such is the case in a caste. Risley has mentioned four processes by which the transformation of tribes into castes is affected.
- II. According to Max Weber, when a tribe loses its territorial significance, it assumes the form of a caste.

- III. Tribal societies have an egalitarian social order. Status of members of tribal group is equal, but in case of caste, it is not.
- IV. Caste is not a political association per se, a tribe is.

Over the years as tribal groups came in close contact with larger Hindu society, they also acquired some of the traits of Hindu society. Study by Mandelbaum in Nilgiri hills shows that Todas have also acquired many caste like attributes. Many of them practiced endogamy and had occupational specialty as well.

CASTE AMONG OTHER RELIGIONS

CASTE SYSTEMS AMONG CHRISTIANS

The caste system among Indian Christians often reflects stratification by sect, location, and the castes of their predecessors. Social practices among certain Indian Christians parallel much of the discrimination faced by lower castes in other religious communities, as well as having features unique to this community. About 70–80 per cent of Indian Christians are Dalit Christian, members of the Dalit or backward classes.

Caste system in Christians is due to two reasons –

- I. Influence of Hinduism and Hindu Caste system – Saint Thomas Christians of Kerala accord to themselves high status as they regard themselves as the erstwhile caste Hindus like Namoodris and Nairs.
- II. Their own internal classification – Christians in Kerala are divided into several communities, including Syrian Christians (upper castes) and Latin Christians. In the pre-independence period, Untouchability was prevalent in the Kerala society and the Syrian Christians also practiced it in order to keep their upper-caste status. The earliest reference to caste among Indian Christians comes from Kerala. Syrian Christian community accords itself high status and operates very much as a caste and is properly regarded as a caste or at least a very caste like group.’

In Goa mass conversions were carried out by Portuguese Latin missionaries from the 16th century onwards. The Hindu converts retained their caste practices. Thus, the original Hindu Brahmins in Goa now became Christian Bamonns and the Kshatriya and Vaishya Vanis became Christian noblemen called Chardos. The Christian clergy became almost exclusively Bamonn. Those Vaishya Vanis who could not get admitted into the Chardo caste became Gauddos, and Shudras became Sudirs. Finally, the Dalits or ‘Untouchables’ who converted to Christianity became Maharas and Chamars.

Indian law does not provide benefits for ‘Dalit Christians’, however Christians have been agitating for the same rights given to Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh Scheduled castes.

CASTE AMONG MUSLIMS

Islam is considered as an egalitarian religion, but there are regional variation due to cultural contact with other cultures and places. Sources indicate that the castes among Muslims developed as the result of close contact with Hindu culture and Hindu converts to Islam. The

converts who still remained within a largely Hindu cultural universe and retained many of its associated beliefs and practices.

Religious, historical and socio-cultural factors have helped define the bounds of endogamous groups for Muslims in India.

- I. In some parts of India, the Muslims are divided as Ashrafs and Ajlafs. Ashrafs claim a superior status derived from their foreign ancestry. The non-Ashrafs are assumed to be converts from Hinduism, and are therefore drawn from the indigenous population. They, in turn, are divided into a number of occupational castes. Historically, The Sayyeds, the Sheikhs, the Mughals and Pathans formed the upper strata and the rulers among the Muslims. Among the first generation converts, the Brahmins became Sayyeds, and the Rajput converts merged with sheikhs, Mughals and pathans. Next came the converts from occupational castes such as the Julaha (weaver), Nai (Barber), Dhuniya (Cotton carder), Kumbhar (potter), Teil (oilmen) and so on. The sayyeds, sheikhs, mughals and pathans comprise Ashraf, a higher order and the converts comprise Ajlaf a lower order. M.N. Srinivas says 'the Muslim Jatis in many respects are combinable to Hindu Jatis having specialized occupations and gradation of status.' In addition to the Ashraf/Ajlaf divide, there is also the Arzal caste among Muslims, who were regarded by anti-Caste activists like as the equivalent of untouchables. The term 'Arzal' stands for 'degraded' and the Arzal castes are further subdivided into Bhanar, Halalkhor, Hijra, Kasbi, Lalbegi, Maugta, Mehtar etc.
- II. In the Bengal region, some Muslims stratify their society according to 'Quoms.'
- III. Caste division among Muslims is not strictly on the basis of ideology of purity and pollution, but there are also various other considerations like – sectarian (Shia or Sunni), ethnic (e.g. Sindhi, Baloch, Punjabi, etc.), and tribal/clan affiliation, religious orientation within the sect (Isnashari, Ismaili, Ahmedi, etc.).

CASTE – CHANGE and CONTINUITY in CASTE

Most far reaching changes in caste system started during British rule. Setting up of modern institutions of law and justice, industries, legislations, reservation etc lead to decline of Jajmani system, caste panchayats and so on. Social movements launched by social reformers saw decline of superior position of Brahmins as well as of untouchability. This was more conspicuous in South India where Self-respect Movement, SNDP etc initiated such change.

Continuity can be seen at manifest and latent level. On one hand youth adopted a liberal attitude, caste refused to die. For example – Recruitment to industrial jobs, whether in the textile mills of Mumbai (then Bombay), the jute mills of Kolkata (then Calcutta), or elsewhere, continued to be organized along caste and kinship-based lines. Major areas of continuity of caste are –

- I. **Marriage and endogamy** – It was in the cultural and domestic spheres that caste has proved strongest. Endogamy, or the practice of marrying within the caste, remained largely unaffected by modernization and change. Inter-caste marriages within the upper castes (e.g.,

Brahmin, bania, rajput) may be more likely now than before; but marriages between an upper caste and backward or scheduled caste person remain rare even today. Even matrimonial websites promote caste marriage and most of the marriage portals have caste specific domain names like – Jatmatrimony.com, punjabimatrimony.com and so on.

- II. **Ritual Sense** – Harold Gould in his study of the rickshawallahs of Lucknow, '*Lucknow Rickshawallas: The Social Organization of an Occupational Category, 1974*' observed that the rickshaw-pullers whom he studied belonged to different castes. While working they interacted with each other without observing any caste restrictions. However, when these rickshaw pullers went back to their homes in the evening they observed all the ritual practices of their caste. So ritual notions have not died yet, but they are retreating to private sphere from public sphere. Thus, while workplace might have become secular, private lives are still religious. However, ritual sphere has now contracted to personal field only.
- III. **Economic and occupational sphere** – The ideology of caste prescribed specific occupations for specific caste groups, which had a specific place in the social hierarchy. As new economic measures like ownership of land and market forces were introduced, caste also underwent change. Earlier upper caste Hindus also occupied top positions in changed economic scene. According to F G Bailey in his study of Bisipura village of Orissa, though economic relations have changed due to change in ownership after marketisation of land, caste still remains a force to reckon with in defining political and economical relations. According to Rajni Kothari Brahmin sections responded first to English education and therefore, benefited from political and administrative power. The same pattern is visible in the commercial sector too. The great business houses like Birlas, Dalmias, etc., belonged to the traditional commercial castes. In banking the castes like the Chettiars of South established themselves in the modern systems of banking and commerce which was an extension of their traditional occupation. Today also, many low key jobs like manual scavenging are performed by lower castes. Repeated studies have shown that there is poor representation of the depressed castes in higher posts in government.
- IV. **Political sphere** – At the village level caste panchayats and caste councils functioned as the local governing bodies and provided a self-sufficient image to the Indian village. Khap Panchayats in Western UP and Haryana still hold significant power. Casteism, Substantialisation of caste (Srinivas), identity politics are gaining strength. According to M N Srinivas the role played by caste in politics is in close approximation to that of the pressure group. Andre Beteille holds that while westernization is taking individuals away from caste identity the role of caste in politics is taking the people towards the caste identity and thereby strengthening it. This is evident, for example, in the case of the political mobilization of caste groups in Madhopur, U.P. In this village, the ranks of Noniyas, the salt-makers and Chamars, the leather-makers joined hands in opposing the locally dominant upper caste Thakurs.
- V. **Casteism** – Caste is now used for vested interests. Instead of being used in the ritual sphere. It has become a tool of political mobilization. Vested interest groups are now using it as a tool for self-promotion. In its consequences, it has played a negative role in progressive democratic

polity as it is creating new fault-lines. Newly acquired freedom, media resources are used to reinforce caste identity.

- VI. **Caste associations** – They now act as pressure groups and have transformed themselves as agents of economic activity.
- VII. **Reservation** – After independence positive discrimination policy is pursued and it has created a consciousness among castes. Castes are now uniting long economic lines. After independence, an economic basis has been provided to the castes. The policies of reservation and other forms of protective discrimination instituted by the state in response to political pressure serve as their lifelines. But using this lifeline tends to make their caste the all-important and often the only aspect of their identity that the world recognizes.

Change in caste and factors that have led to change can be enumerated as –

- I. **Urbanization** – Urbanization and the conditions of inclusive living in the cities made it difficult for the caste-segregated patterns of social interaction to survive.
- II. **Complex division of labor** – Modern industry created all kinds of new jobs for which there were no caste rules. Traditional caste based services are no longer there and there is free choice for everyone. Money economy has weakened Jajmani system. In his studies, Beteille shows that how Adi-Dravidians undermined authority of Brahmins in Tanjore village.
- III. **Ritual Sphere** – During the last few decades, as a result of the forces of modernization, the ideology of caste has become less pervasive in an individual's day to day life. Caste rituals have become increasingly a personal affair, rather than public due to changed circumstances of living, forces of industrialization, and urbanization. Concept of purity and pollution has significantly declined.
- IV. **Economic sphere** – Because of land reforms like, Permanent Settlement, introduced during the British rule, land came into the market and thus ceased to be tied to caste. Market economy also broke Jajmani system which was economic arena of caste. The breakdown of the traditional economic system and the emergence of lower caste groups in economic rivalry rather than cooperation undermined the Brahman dominance found in Tanjore, Tamil Nadu. Similar observations have been made by F G Bailey in his study of Bisipara village of Orissa.
- V. **Geographical and occupational mobility** – In his study '*Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village, 1971*', Andre Beteille wrote that earlier (i.e. in pre-British period) education was a virtual monopoly of the Brahmins who dominated this area. But at the time of his study, the educational system had become far more open, both in principle and in practice. Many non-Brahmin and even untouchable boys attended the schools at Sripuram. According to Beteille, in the towns and cities white-collar jobs were relatively caste-free. Non-Brahmans from Sripuram could work as clerks or accountants in offices at Thiruvaiyur and Tanjore along with the Brahmins. Within the village land had come into the market since, due to several factors, some of the Brahmins had to sell their land. This enabled the, non-Brahmans and even a few Adi-Dravidas (lower castes) to buy it. Thus, as land came

into the market, the productive organization of the village tended to become free from the structure of caste. In a very recent study, Hira Singh highlights in his '*Recasting Caste, 2014*' that India people who live in other countries have almost lost their caste identities and some even drop their caste names.

- VI. **Occupation system** – Traditional occupation based classification basis is slowly losing its significance. Now even a Brahmin can be seen operating a salon shop.
- VII. **New achievement based democratic values** – Society is evolving from ascription to achievement based one, so caste is gradually disappearing. Srinivas in his study of Mysore found out that over the period of time attitude of villagers is changing and they attach less and less importance to the ritual status as democratic and modern values started to show their impact.
- VIII. **Political sphere** – It is widely held that civil and penal codes introduced by the British over the sub-continent of India in 1860 took away the power exercised by caste Panchayats. The new political order is universal in constitution and in principle rejects the demands of caste. Every adult now has universal franchise. According to Rudolph and Rudolph caste has in its transformed state, helped the Indian masses (of which nearly 70 percent live in the villages) make a success of representative democracy. Untouchability has also been banned by Article 17 of the constitution.
- IX. **Caste associations** – They today act as interest groups and according to Rajni Kothari, they promote the social, material and general welfare of their community.
- X. **Social movements** – Social movements and campaigns against evils of caste system has led to its considerable change in South India. Arya Samaj, SNDP Yogam, Self Respect Movement, Satyashodhak Samaj etc made a considerable dent in caste.
- XI. Sanskritisation, Modernization and Westernization also lead to change in cultural sphere.

In case of upper castes, caste as an identity is less prominent as successive generations in prosperity tend to attribute their well being to their education, occupation etc and caste tends to become invisible. It is also said, more caste is weakening, more it is becoming stronger. While in ritual sense, it may be becoming weaker; in secular sphere it is also becoming stronger when it comes to garner the caste associated interests like reservation, political gains. For example, both SP and BSP claim to be face of backward castes, yet they stand in opposition rather than uniting with each other as the basis of their mobilization is not ritual/sacred, but power.

CASTE – CULTURAL and STRUCTURAL VIEW

Cultural aspects refer to ideology, value, norms and beliefs associated with the caste, while structural aspects include – pattern of relationships between individual and groups and it involves economic division of labor, power relations, cooperation and conflict.

Cultural and structural views are also subdivided into two subtypes – universalistic and particularistic views. Universalistic view of caste views it as just another form of stratification, while particularistic view look at it as a peculiar feature of Hindu social organization.

Louis Dumont belonged to cultural-particularistic view as he viewed Homo-Hierarchicus as typical of Indian society and its basis is ritual distinction between pure and impure. Ghurye belonged to cultural-universalistic view as he believed that caste is based on ritual notions, but is just another form of stratification.

Structural-universalistic view is held by Marxists and functionalists. A R Desai views caste system as legitimization of unequal economic relations. Marxists highlight that since wealth, land and resources are also in the hands of upper castes only, caste is just a mask to hide this inequality. Oscar Lewis too terms caste system as political-economic dominance and dependence. Most of the other scholars have subscribed to structural-particularistic view of caste.

CASTE – FUSION and FISSION

Fusion and fission among various *jatis* a historical process.

Fission is generally seen as a process of claiming separate identity by a group of Jatis almost of same ritual hierarchical position. This happens when one of them has progressed better than the others in terms of education, economy etc. Such a group tries to move away from its earlier identity and claim a new/higher position in local hierarchy.

Fusion is generally a process by which a group of Jatis having same ritual status or possessing the same traditional occupation claim the same identity – often a new one which may provide for collective social or political advantage.

The two processes thus indicate social mobility in caste system. Fission can be explained by Sanskritisation, fusion is always a means to a social mobilization and action. Fusion is often associated with Jatis of artisans and peasant communities and rarely the upper castes.

CASTE – ORIGIN THEORIES

According to D N Majumdar, origin of caste system is vague and uncertain. According to him – *‘There are today as many theories regarding the origin of the caste system as there are writers on the subject’*. Census of India done in 1931 made references of five theories with regards to the origin of caste. Various general theories of origin of caste are –

- I. ‘The divine origin of caste’ is one of those theories. Most of the religious authorities, Shashtra’s and puranas have advocated the divine origin of the caste system. So, the general feeling among the Hindus is that it has been established by the order of God or at least by his wishes, and so it should be religiously followed. As per the *‘Purushasukta’* in Rig Veda, the people belong to four main castes (Varnas) constituting the four body parts of the purusha (the creator). The Brahmin was his (purusha’s) mouth, the Rajanya (kshatriya) was his arms, the Vaishyas was this thigh; and the Shudra sprang from his feet. Manu, whose pronouncement is

cited as an authority, also supported this view. Similarly, in the Bhagwad Gita it is stated that the four fold division of castes was created by god according to appointment of qualities and duties.

- II. 'Karma and transmigration theory' – One's status in life is determined by one's action (karma) in past incarnations. Thus even the most wretched man with his, most degrading occupation remains satisfied with the belief that the miseries of his present life, are the result of his sins in his previous life, and if he submissively performs his caste duties in this life he will be born in a higher caste in the next life. Karma Theory thus acts as a justification to the division of labor.
 - III. Occupational theory – Occupational theory propounded by Nesfield advocates occupation as the lone factor for the development of this system. According to him, before this system priesthood was not the exclusive monopoly of Brahmins. But later on when hymns and rituals became more complex, a section of people got themselves specialized and became the Brahmins. Similarly other occupations came to be identified with other groups and over the time they became hereditary.
 - IV. Tribes and religious theory – It argues that from very early times, there has been a gradual and silent change from tribes to caste. This change has taken place in a number of ways, and it is believed that most of the lower or exterior castes of today were formerly tribes. Risley has mentioned four processes by which the transformation of tribes into castes is affected.
 - V. Racial theory – According to the 'Racial theory' propounded by Herbert Risley in his book *'The People of India'* racial differences and endogamous marriages lead to the origin of the caste system. According to him, caste system developed after emigration of Indo Aryans from Persia where the society was divided into four classes—priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans and this, they maintained even after coming here. They differed from the non-Aryans in culture and racial traits. So, in order to maintain their superior status they started practicing hypergamy and imposed restriction on 'Pratiloma' marriages. MacIver also leans towards the theory of the racial origin of caste structures.
 - VI. The color question in the formation of caste has also been considered. The color question at the root of the Varna system is apparent from the word *Varna*, which means color. The class, which retained utmost purity of color by avoiding intermixture normally, gained precedence in the social scale. Karve, however does not accept the view that the original meaning of Varna was 'color'. She argues that in the early scanned literature and in grammatical works *Varna* meant 'class'. Karve continues that *'at a later time the word varna to mean 'color' and the fourfold division of the ancients was then taken to be based on physical feature, namely color'*.
 - VII. Slater in his book, 'Dravidian Elements in Indian Culture' emphasizes the fact that caste is actually stronger in southern than in northern India and suggests that caste arose in India before the Aryan invasion as a result of occupations becoming hereditary and marriages being arranged by parents within the society of the common craft because sexual maturity developed early and trade secrets were thus preserved.
 - VIII. Ambedkar in his Broken Men theory suggests that Shudras were the defeated people in war.
- It is generally agreed, in its earliest phase, in the later Vedic period roughly between 900—500 BC, the caste system was really a Varna system and consisted of only four major divisions. However, the 'caste

system' stood for different things in different time periods, so that it is misleading to think of the same system continuing for three thousand years. These divisions were not very elaborate or very rigid, and they were not determined by birth. Movement across the categories seems to have been not only possible but quite common. It is only in the post-Vedic period that caste became the rigid institution that is familiar to us from well known definitions.

CIVIC RELIGION or CIVIL RELIGION

According to Nisbet, civic religion is defined as '*the religious or quasi-religious regard for certain civic values and traditions found recurrently in the history of the political states*'. The concept was initially put forward by Robert Bellah in his '*New Religious Consciousness and the Crisis in Modernity, 1976*'. In Civil religion we find a fusion of the political and the religious elements.

This regard for the civic values and traditions of the political state is expressed through special festivals, rituals, creeds and dogmas which honor great personages and events of the past. These persons, such as freedom fighters and social and political reformers and eminent Presidents like Abraham Lincoln are some of these who have played a major role in the socio-political history of their society. The same is true about the events of great significance to the state and society.

We can give the example of the celebration of our Independence Day on 15th August when our Prime Minister unfurls the National Flag every year on the historical Red Fort in Delhi. This celebration is marked by a semi-religious fervor. It serves to heighten the sense of national and political identity of the Indian citizens. Collective effervescence is high during such events and like religion, they also bind people together.

The concept of civil religion is not a new phenomenon. It has been present in many societies from ancient Greece and Rome to the middle ages and during the Renaissance in Western Europe. The ancient sacred kingship of the Mediterranean world had elements of civil religion, such as, the worship of the King or Emperor as a God.

COMPARITIVE METHOD in SOCIOLOGY

In order to tackle the problems of society effectively and to make fruitful discoveries, Sociology has to employ precise and well-tested methods of investigation.

The comparative method is one such method. This method is as old as Aristotle for it is known that he had made use of this method in his study of political systems.

This Method was later used by E B Tylor, Durkheim, Weber, Edmund Leach etc.

Durkheim set out clearly the significance of this method in his '*The Rules of Sociological Method*'. Unlike Natural sciences, it is not possible to establish causal relationship in case of social facts and indirect experimentation is necessary which involves comparative method as one of the tools.

Durkheim in his work '*Division of Labor in Society*' by comparison he tested his hypothesis that an increase in the division of labor is accompanied by a change in the nature of social integration or solidarity.

Further, Durkheim in his study of 'Suicide' aimed to discover the social causes of suicide by relating the rates of suicide in different social groups to characteristics of the groups. He showed that 'the suicide rates varied inversely with the degree of social cohesion and with the degree of stability of moral norms'.

Weber used Comparative Method to formulate his famous Theory of Religion and Rise of Capitalism. He compared the religious values of different countries and societies to arrive at a causal explanation.

Emile Durkheim argued in 'The Rules of Sociological Method (1895)' that all sociological research was in fact comparative since social phenomenon are always held to be typical, representative or unique, all of which imply some sort of comparison.

CULTURAL LAG

This idea was developed by W F Ogburn in response of economic determinism in which social, cultural and political phenomena change in direct and immediate response to changes in economic base of the society. He notes that changes in culture were not congruent with economic change. For example – economic changes influencing division of labor in family has not affected the patriarchal ideology in similar way. Thus, cultural lag refers to the phenomenon of cultural change being slower than material changes. Traditional organizations and values take time in adjusting to the new material conditions.

In a more general sense, cultural lag exists when two or more social variables which were in some form of agreement or mutual adjustment becomes dissociated and maladjusted by their differential rates of change.

McIver and Page has, however, criticized the notion of cultural lag as it is vague and fails to explain which aspects of culture lag behind. It is also argued that with communication becoming increasingly fast, the process has been actually reversed and material changes are now slower than non-material changes.

DALIT CONSCIOUSNESS

It is the consciousness of Dalits of their own identity as human beings, equally equipped with physical and mental capacities as other human beings and are entitled to enjoy all human rights without any infringement or handicap. It is a feeling of self pride and a desire for a new social order based upon ideals of equality, fraternity and liberty. It is also the realization of strength that lies in their numbers. So it means two things –

- I. Unite the Dalits by referring to their identity and self-pride and celebrate the unique culture (different from Brahminical culture) of Dalits and rejection of Brahmin centric interpretations of about them. Thus, rejection of Brahminical ideology also means rejection of ideology of hierarchy and untouchability too. They now proudly identify themselves as 'Dalit' and reject notion of 'untouchability'.
- II. Fight cohesively as a single unit against the system of caste irrespective of region, language etc.

Dalit Sociologists like Harold Gould, reject religion/caste or class as a basis of Dalit movements, rather it is a common identity which unites them. Inspiration has also been taken from Civil Rights Movement of Blacks and in this context, sociologist also claim that situation of Dalits is more akin to an oppressed race.

Emergence of Dalit can be seen as a historical process and can be broadly divided into four phases –

- I. Ancient Times – During these times, caste evolved in form of rigid hierarchies and various notions of purity and impurity were attached. It also became an ascriptive thing. Dalit Consciousness was missing during those times as caste was either legitimized by the state itself or strong notions of rituals forbid questioning of such anomalies in social structure.
- II. Medieval – Consciousness slowly emerged with Bhakti Movement
- III. British – It was during this period that Dalit Consciousness actually started to emerge. Westernization and Secularization affected traditional social structures also. Many enlightened social reformers took the issues of untouchability. Religious and Social Reforms movement like SNDP, Satya Shodhak Samaj etc tried to breed this consciousness. Jyotiba Phule addressed the untouchables as 'Dalits' and he discarded mainstream Hindu gods and glorified the tradition of Shudras. Western Educated leaders like Ambedkar further tried to dispel the notions of untouchability and inequality and he emerged as the torchbearer of emerging Dalit Consciousness.
- IV. Post Independence – Rise of Democratic and welfare state abolished all forms of social disabilities. Further, it also encouraged participation of the depressed class in all spheres of life. Dalit movements also led to political participation and it further mobilized Dalits and strengthened their consciousness. Dalit literature or '*Dalit Sahitya*' after independence played a big role in rise of Dalit Consciousness. It strongly condemned the Chaturvarna system and caste hierarchy which it considers as responsible for crushing the creativity and very existence of lower castes. Dalit writers are insistent on using their own imageries and expressions rooted in their own experiences and perceptions. Many felt that the high-flown social imageries of mainstream society would hide the truth rather than reveal it. Dalit literature gives a call for social and cultural revolt. Constitutional and Legal Changes like Civil Liberty Rights 1955, Article 17 etc also provided a secure space for rise of such consciousness without fear of being suppressed.

However among Dalits only a handful has benefitted from the emerging consciousness and they have failed to unite. Those who have risen along the ladder, according to Ambedkar, are failing to take their downtrodden brethren along with them.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION THEORY

This theory was developed from the ideas of Warren Thompson, an American demographer who linked demographic trends to industrialization. It was later refined by demographers in form of Demographic Transition Theory.

It is based on the idea that there are important transitions in a society's birth and death rates which have a profound impact on their overall population. Societies pass through various stages as they pass

through stages of industrial development. In stage one, both birth and death rates are high and hence population growth is not much. In stage two, which began in most of Europe and the United States in early part of 19th century, death rates fell, but fertility remained high leading to high population growth. In stage three, birth rates also falls and population growth slows down as in case of mature industrial economies. In stage four, both birth rate and death rates are under control and population stabilizes or shows minor declines as in case of the most post-industrial societies.

DEPENDENCY RATIO

The dependency ratio is a measure comparing the portion of a population which is composed of dependents i.e. elderly people who are too old to work, and children who are too young to work, with the portion that is in the working age group, generally defined as 15 to 60 years. The dependency ratio is equal to the population below 15 or above 60, divided by population in the 15-60 age group; the ratio is usually expressed as a percentage.

A rising dependency ratio is a cause for worry in countries that are facing an ageing population, since it becomes difficult for a relatively smaller proportion of working-age people to carry the burden of providing for a relatively larger proportion of dependents. On the other hand, a falling dependency ratio can be a source of economic growth and prosperity due to the larger proportion of workers relative to non-workers. This is sometimes referred to as the 'demographic dividend', or benefit flowing from the changing age structure and rising population in the working group.

DOMINANT CASTE

The concept of dominant caste has been used for the first time in sociological literature by M N Srinivas in his essay '*Social System of a Mysore Village*', which was written after his study of village Rampura. In the Mysore village he described the peasant Okhalinga composed of nearly half of the population and Okhalinga were the biggest land owner.

The term dominant caste is used to refer to a caste which '*wields economic or political power and occupies a fairly high position in the hierarchy.*' These castes are accorded high status and position in all the fields of social life. The people of other castes look at them as their 'reference group' and try to imitate their behavior, ritual pattern, custom and ideology.

In this way, the dominant caste of a particular locality plays an important role in the 'process of cultural transmission' in that area.

According to him emergence of dominant caste due to modernizing influence is attributed to following factors –

- I. Economic and political factors are equally important – Landed elite in Northern states like Punjab are more powerful than Brahmins
- II. Numerical strength also play an important role
- III. A fairly high place in Local Hierarchy also determines dominant nature – Peasants/Okkalinga in Mysore Village of Rampura are dominant. He further says that, chances of a caste to dominate become higher if it is not placed too low in ritual hierarchy.
- IV. Ritual purity

- V. Education – In his later writings he also attributes Western/Non-traditional education as also one of the factors determining dominance

Thus, he gave importance to politico-economic factors also apart from cultural factors. The dominant caste also wields economic and political power over the other caste groups. It also enjoys a high ritual status in the local caste hierarchy. The dominant caste may not be ritually high but enjoy high status because of wealth, political power and numerical strength. The presence of educated persons and high occupation rate also play an important role in deciding its dominance over other caste groupings.

Importance of Concept –

- I. Dominant castes play important role in resolving disputes and not only dominant castes, but non-dominant castes also approach them
- II. Study of dominant caste is necessary to understand power equations in a village society
- III. According to him this concept is central to understanding all aspects of village society be they – Sanskritisation, settlement of disputes, hierarchy in multi-caste village, patronage, power etc. Thus it is a multi-dimensional concept

It has following inferences –

- I. Brahmins – ritually at top – may not be dominant caste
- II. This concept is a relative one – one caste dominant in one context and geography may not be so at other times

Concept of dominant caste is criticized on various grounds –

- I. T K Oommen however questions Srinivas' conclusions. According to him there can be alternate scenarios as well. For example, a numerically stronger caste may be historically depressed. A numerically weaker class may hold most of the land and so on.
- II. According to Dumont and Pocock, he used the analogy of dominant caste from African Society and his definition gives importance to population which may not be the deciding factor.
- III. According to S C Dube, it's not caste as a whole, but there are some 'Dominant Individuals' who dominate.

DOWRY

Dowry system was not a part of Hindu marriage system during Vedic period and became a part of marriage only during post-Vedic period in medieval period and perhaps started among the nobility like Rajputs. With time, the phenomenon also spread among the lower castes as a process of Sanskritization. Rules of marriage like anuloma/hypergamy, clan exogamy etc were misinterpreted and misused for maintenance of this system. Dowry is not a gift or a return gift or a reciprocal gesture, but it is given a meaning as such. Even the girl is considered as a gift or *Daan* in form of *Kanyadaan*. In north India it is called *Dahej*, in South India it is called *Streedhanam*. Dowry is not considered as a Daan now, but a Haq or right of the family of groom.

With increasing education and prosperity, the incidence is not coming down, but has increased. It has assumed a role of symbol of prestige both for the dowry giver and dowry taker. It is seen as a matter of

pride by giving more dowry than one's peers, kin and neighbors. '*Big Fat Punjabi Weddings*' have become a notorious symbol of it.

The problem is a part of larger patriarchal structure in which status of women is reduced a great deal. Dowry is not practiced in matrilineal societies like Nayers of Kerala.

Dowry became such an evil that it assumed the proportions of enormous financial hardship for the parents of the daughter. It led to many other evils like female feticide and infanticide. Legislation to curb dowry was enacted as early as in 1961, but it proved highly ineffective and as a result, an amended legislation was passed with stricter provisions. What we need to do today is launch an aggressive campaign of mass awareness and curb the evils associated with patriarchy. Providing equality of status and equality of opportunity is the first step towards curbing this menace.

FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS

In society, men are unaware of the exploitative situation that exists. This is because the law, polity, religion etc all work towards making men believe that the present situation is just and appropriate.

Contradiction within the economic infrastructure is compounded by the contradiction between man's consciousness and objective reality. This situation is the situation of 'false consciousness' as man fails to see the objective reality and the contradiction in the economic structure. Man accepts the state of existing things as natural. In fact, not only proletariat, ruling class also has a false consciousness. Ruling class assumes that their particular interests are those of whole society. False consciousness is due to relationship of dominance and subordination in economic infrastructure which is replicated in all aspects of life. Ruling class ideology overwhelms all members of the society and it proclaims the essential rightness, normality and inevitability of status quo.

Due to this false consciousness, men fail to identify the real nature of things around them. For example – men fail to identify that religion is merely a creation of dominant groups to numb their pain.

FAMILY and CASTE

Relation of family and caste can be analyzed in terms of existence of joint or nuclear family in a particular caste groups.

A M Shah in his '*Household Dimension of Family, 1973*' in his study of Gujarat concludes that 'shahukar' castes which include Brahmins, Rajputs etc. have higher degree of joint households. His explanation lies in the fact that these castes have undergone higher degree of Sanskritisation and hence strictly adhere to Sanskrit values which also include high premium on joint family.

However, Morrison in his empirical study of Badlapur didn't find any consistent pattern among the families he studied.

While, to some degree it is true that joint family was a norm predominantly among higher castes, today it is necessarily not true. Further, it were the higher castes which first came into contact with Western

Ideas and moved to urban areas first and in process giving birth to nucleated families among higher castes.

GEMEINSCHAFT and GESELLSCHAFT

Ferdinand Tonnies, a noted German sociologist, in his '*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, 1887*' while examining different kinds of societies found that there were two kinds of social groups based on two types of wills namely – '*essential will*' which characterize the lives of common people like peasants, artisans and '*arbitrary will*' which characterizes activities of business people, scientists, political groups etc. These two groups were called Gemeinschaft based on communal bonds and Gesellschaft based on associational bonds respectively which approximately correspond to community and society/association.

He found that in small homogeneous societies members interacted with one another on face to face, informal basis. In these groups tradition dictated social behavior. Tonnies called this kind of society a Gemeinschaft, which. When translated means broadly '*a communal, or traditional society*'. Gemeinschaft society is small both in size and its population. It is isolated from other groups and hence there is little chance of change happening in it and hence marked by great homogeneity. There is little disorganisation, conflict and friction. Family occupies a central role in the social structure of a folk society. Religion in such societies pervades all other aspects of the life.

In comparison, Gesellschaft or societies that are large and heterogeneous, such as the modern industrial societies, relationships among members are impersonal, formal, functional and specialized. According to Tonnies these societies have often contractual relationships which are on the basis of clear cut, legal contracts rather than being governed by traditions. Tonnies calls these societies Gesellschaft, or 'associational societies'. These, unlike Gemeinschaft, are marked by high degree of stratification and conflict as well. This mass society is marked by the limited role of religion and social activities are larger secular in nature.

GLOBALISATION, LIBERALISATION, AND RURAL SOCIETY

The policy of liberalization that India has been following since the late 1980s had a very significant impact on agriculture and rural society. The policy also entails participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO), which aims to bring about a more free international trading system and requires the opening up of Indian markets to imports. After decades of state support and protected markets, Indian farmers have been exposed to competition from the global market.

These are indicators of the process of globalization of agriculture, or the incorporation of agriculture into the larger global market – a process that has had direct effects on farmers and rural society. For instance, in some regions such as Punjab and Karnataka, farmers enter into contracts with multinational companies. While contract farming appears to provide financial security to farmers, it can also lead to greater insecurity as farmers become dependent on these companies for their livelihoods. In addition, contract farming caters primarily to the production of elite items, and because it usually requires high doses of fertilizers and pesticides, it is often not ecologically sustainable.

Another more widespread aspect of the globalization of agriculture is the entry of multinationals into this sector as sellers of agricultural inputs such as seeds, pesticides, and fertilizers. Over the last decade or so, the government has scaled down its agricultural development programmes, and 'agricultural extension' agents have been replaced in the villages by agents of seed, fertilizer, and pesticide companies. This has led to the increased dependence of farmers on expensive fertilizers and pesticides, which have reduced their profits, put many farmers into debt, and also created an ecological crisis in rural areas.

In line of principles of market economy, state has emphasized on reduction of subsidies to farmers while even marginal farmers are becoming addicted to expensive agricultural input. This has reduced margins and increased agricultural risks. Such distress is compounded by the changing culture in rural areas in which increased incomes are required for marriages, dowries, and to sustain new activities and expenses such as education and medical care.

The pattern of farmers' suicides points to the significant crisis that the rural areas are experiencing. Agriculture for many is becoming untenable, and state support for agriculture has declined substantially.

More recently, issue of GM crops, terminator seeds, bio-piracy etc has also created larger controversies both in terms of usage and misuse of indigenous knowledge and ecological implications.

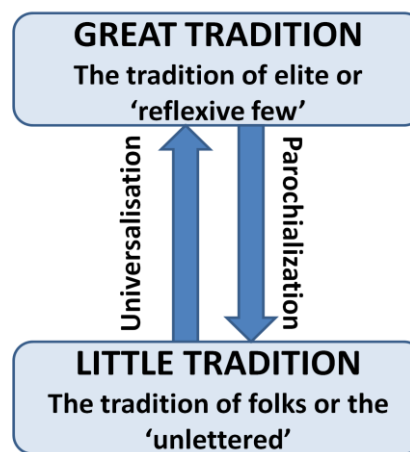
GREAT TRADITION and LITTLE TRADITION

This is a conceptual framework that was first used by Robert Redfield in his study of Mexican communities to conceptualize social change in Indian context it was used by Milton Singer and McKim Marriott in his *Village India: Studies in the Little Community, 1955*. Little tradition and great tradition explain change through concept of tradition and its social organization as in case of societies with profound historical past, change can be analyzed at two social organization levels – little and great tradition.

Social structure of such civilizations operates at two levels – first that of folks or unlettered peasants which is called 'little tradition'; secondly of elite or 'reflexive few' called 'great tradition'. While the Little Tradition is often localized, Great Tradition has a tendency to spread out. There is however a constant interaction between the two. Studies of festivals in India will show how Sanskritic rites (Great Tradition) are often added to non-Sanskritic rites (Little Tradition) without replacing them.

It is based on an evolutionary perspective that civilizations or structures of tradition grow in two stages – 'orthogenetic' or indigenous evolution which is due to internal creative urges and 'heterogenetic' evolution or contact with other civilization. Generally, 'change' starts through orthogenetic process and the 'transformation' occurs due to heterogenetic processes.

However, Milton Singer asserts that due to its deep indigenous culture, there is a continuity between that little and great tradition and there are many shared cultural values. Further, little and great traditions in India not only interact, but are also



interdependent and modernizing forces are not only accepted, but they get absorbed in tradition. Continuity between the two is seen through kinship, caste, values, festivals and so on.

Similarly, McKim Marriott in his study of Kishangarhi village in North India finds that structure of village culture and its organization has elements of both little and great tradition. Some elements of little tradition are sent upward which he terms as '*universalisation*' and some elements of great tradition are passed downwards which he terms as '*parochialisation*'. These two processes help in maintaining the unity of society according to McKim Marriott. Thus, his conception of social change is wider than Srinivas' concept of Sanskritization as it deals with reverse process as well which may be termed as de-Sanskritisation.

However, according to Yogendra Singh, the concept explains only cultural change and not structural change. Yogendra Singh also criticizes the approach of using the words like 'little' for the folk traditions and hence attaching a biased notion of inferiority.

According to S C Dube, the dichotomy between a binary 'little' and 'great' simply doesn't reflect the all aspects of Indian tradition. He gave a concept of '*multiple traditions*' instead and according to him, there is a hierarchy of tradition that exists and according to him there are six such traditions – classical tradition, emergent national tradition, regional tradition, local tradition, western tradition and subcultural traditions.

IDEOGRAPHIC APPROACH vs NOMOTHETIC APPROACH

Nomothetic is based on what Kant described as a tendency to generalize, and is typical for the natural sciences. It describes the effort to derive laws that explain objective phenomena in general. It applies research-supported general formulations to particular cases and uses deductive reasoning.

Idiographic is based on what Kant described as a tendency to specify, and is typical for the humanities as they deal with human beings who have consciousness. It describes the effort to understand the meaning of contingent, unique, and often subjective phenomena. A common method to study these unique characteristics is an (auto) biography, i.e. a narrative that recounts the unique sequence of events that made the person who she is. It uses inductive reasoning.

Ideographic and nomothetic methods represent two different approaches to understanding social life. An ideographic method focuses on individual cases or events. Ethnographers, for example, observe the minute details of everyday life to construct an overall portrait. A nomothetic method, on the other hand, focuses on general statements that account for larger social patterns that form the context of single events or individual behavior and experience.

For example, when dealing with the problem of how people choose a job, idiographic explanation would be to list all possible reasons why a given person (or group) chooses a given job, while nomothetic explanation would try to find factors that determine why job applicants in general choose a given job.

INCEST TABOO

It is a principle which disallows establishment of sexual relationship with close primary kin like – father, mother, sister, brother, son, daughter etc. In a more nuanced sense it is an exogamous principle which is

almost universally followed. Degree of prohibition varies. In some groups, parallel cousin marriages are allowed.

Levi Strauss explains incest taboo as a way of creating wider social networks and relations. Others argued that it is biologically ingrained in humans.

INFORMAL BUREAUCRACY

This concept was put forward by Peter Blau and Alvin Gouldner in wake of over-formalized structure of Weberian bureaucracy. According to them Weberian bureaucracy is only a theoretical construct and in reality, a more workable proposition exists in form of informal bureaucratic structures.

In his study of federal law enforcement agency in Washington, Peter Blau in his '*The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, 1963*' argues that the presence of both the formal and informal structures in the organization may together enhance performance of organization. Presence of formal structures alone may even hinder the achievement of organizational goals.

Similarly, Alvin Gouldner in his study of Gypsum plants in US proved that formal organizations don't work with equal efficiency in all situations. Some organizations work more efficiently in informal environment. They found that work in Gypsum mines was hampered when formal organizational rules were implemented.

Similarly, Burns and Stalker implied in their study of 20 industries in Scotland and England and they found that certain industries like electronics industry which change very quickly are unsuitable for formal bureaucratic structure.

INVISIBLE RELIGION

Contrary to popular belief that secularization has led to the decline of significance of religion Thomas Luckman in his '*The Invisible Religion, 1967*', argues that religion is still very much alive though receded from public sphere. Religion is practiced more in person, than in public. According to him underlying the individualism of the modern society are ingredients of the belief in the sacred which is fundamental to their comprehension of the world. He calls it invisible religion.

According to him human beings are essentially religious in nature and new religious belief is a result of rising individualism.

IRON CAGE OF RATIONALITY – WEBER'S VIEW OF FUTURE

The rationalization of economy, polity, cultures and day-to-day existence has important implications.

Rationalization leads to disenchantment of the world. Because science seems to have answers for almost everything, human beings lose their reverence and awe for the world. Rationalization of day-to-day life traps human beings into routines. Everything becomes rule and rationality driven leaving little scope for human creativity.

Life becomes mechanical, predictable and systematic and hence dull. This can have the effect of making human beings less creative and reluctant to break routines and schedules. Humans become slaves of very rationality which they thought will help them organize their lives in a more efficient ways. They will also become so addicted to it that they will not be able to break the mould of rationality and rationality will virtually become an iron cage – un-escapable, unbreakable.

ISOLATED NUCLEAR FAMILY

Talcott Parsons in his '*The Social Structure of Family, 1959*' study of American families concluded that isolated nuclear family is family of modern industrial societies. It is structurally isolated as it doesn't form a part of a wider system of kinship relations. Though there are relations with the kin groups, but they are more of matter of choice than binding obligations. He sees his theory of isolated nuclear family as an extension of his wider evolutionary theory of societies. As society goes through process of structural differentiation, new specialized institutions come up which perform many of the erstwhile functions of family.

Parsons further argues that there is a functional relationship between the isolated nuclear family and the economic system in industrial societies. Isolated nuclear family evolves to meet the needs of new economic system as it requires a geographically mobile family. It ceases to be an economic unit of production as production shifts to industries.

In modern industrialized societies, status is achieved and not ascribed. Isolated nuclear family is the best form of family structure for a society based on achieved status as individuals are now judged on 'universalistic values'.

Parsons also goes on to define the roles of members in this isolated nuclear family. According to him, husbands or fathers play instrumental roles of bread earning and wives or mothers play affectional role and rear children. Thus, according to him, though status outside the family is achieved one, it is ascribed one within family.

Due to structural isolation, conjugal bond between husband and wife is strengthened. Although many functions are now performed by specialized institutions, stabilization of personalities and some other basic irreducible functions are still performed by the family.

There are many who contend that conclusions of Parsons are simplistic and far from reality. Feminists argue that his branding of roles for male and female is prejudiced. Others like William Goode argue that growth of nuclear family is not due to industrialization, but is a result of ideology of nuclear family itself. The degree of independence it affords and the premium that we put on it in modern Western societies has led to growth of nuclear families. There are many areas in the world where industrial penetration is poor, but high degree of nuclearization is happening. It explains the ideological impact of the very notion of nuclear family.

Eugene Litwak argues that 'isolated nuclear family' is not a proper term to define the industrial family and instead, 'modified extended family' should be used which is a coalition of nuclear families in a state

of partial dependency i.e. nuclear families still exchange significant services with each other and are not structurally isolated.

JAJMANI SYSTEM

Indian Society is structured on caste patterns and the economic and professional relationship between various castes in this set up is called Jajmani system. Jajmani system was the backbone of rural economy and social order. It is a pre-established division of labor among the castes sanctioned by religious and social traditions. It was a system in which there were some patron castes and there were some service castes which used to render their services in lieu of cash and kind and thus, the relation was in mutual reciprocatory terms. Land owning classes often occupy a privileged position in Jajmani system.

Professions and services in villages are determined by the caste and have come fixed by long traditions. Under Jajmani system the family or families entitled to certain services from certain persons are called *Jajman* and the persons rendering those services are called *Kameen* of the Jajman.

Though Jajmani system is found all over India, the terms used for Jajman and kameen are different. The first detailed study of Jajmani tradition in India was made by William H. Wiser in his books '*The Indian Jajmani System*'.

In modern times currency notes are fast replacing all other media of exchange even in villages and spread of contractual relations has replaced this system.

The chief characteristics of Jajmani system are the following -

- I. Relationship under Jajmani is permanent – It ensures the availability of certain essential services to farmers. Thus a village is able to function as a relatively self-sufficient unit it is on account of this system that if any Kameen leaves a village he provides for his substitute. We also come across examples where Jajmani rights are sold. However, generally Jajmani rights are not sold and these are not even exchanged or transferred, because a kameen does not like to leave a particular village to go to some other village. Thus the system of Jajmani ensures that no one moves away from the village in which he was born so that there may be no disruption of services available in a village. Thus, a permanent structure of economic order and relationship among various classes in the villages is provided for and its continuance ensured by Jajmani system.
- II. Jajmani is hereditary – Second major feature of Jajmani system is its being hereditary. If someone has no son but only a daughter Jajmani rights pass on to the husband of the daughter.
- III. Goods against services – Another important characteristics of Jajmani system is that instead of receiving cash payment against his services, the kameen is generally paid in kind, that is, he receive grains like wheat, rice etc, thus, under Jajmani system the relation between Jajmani and kameen is not that of employer and employee, as the case under the capitalist system. In fact, in return for the services of kameen, Jajman is anxious about the needs and welfare of the kameen and furnishes him goods he needs most. So, the relationship between Jajman and kameen is not purely economic but is a human relationship. Accordingly, Jajman takes full responsibility for the welfare of kameen and kameen serves Jajman with devotion and dedication.

- IV. Peace and contentment – According to W H Wiser a significant feature of Jajmani system is the peace and contentment which it provides to villagers. The Kameens of a Jajman feel a sense of security.
- V. Difference in the scope of work – Under Jajmani system the range of activity of different Kameens is not uniform. It is not necessary that a certain Kameen should work only for a single family or even a single village. If the nature of his work or activity is such that he can effectively cater to the needs of two or three villages there is no provision in Jajmani system against such an arrangement.

Jajmani relations formed the basis of traditional rural economy and provided stability and self-sufficiency to village economy. An organized division of labor provided for solidarity in village. According to Wiser, it was functional for all members of the village. It provided security of livelihood to many classes and provided for assured supply of labor to landed class.

However, an alternative Marxist view holds Jajmani system as exploitative. Lower castes cannot wage a struggle against dominant castes as they are landless, resourceless and powerless. They succumb to all injustice, just for their survival. They accept whatever was given by the Jajman.

Another consequence of Jajmani system was that it rendered Indian agriculture stagnant as due to its localized and self-sufficient nature, it discouraged migration, commercialization and capitalization of Indian agriculture.

KISAN SABHA MOVEMENT

It is a collective name for a number of sabhas formed by farmers during national movement. Bihar Kisan Sabha was first such Sabha formed under the leadership of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. U P Kisan Sabha (1918) was founded by Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narayan Dwivedi with support from Madan Mohan Malviya. The Civil Disobedience Movement and the rise of the left parties produced a new generation of political workers who devoted themselves to the organization of peasants and workers.

KIBBUTZ

It is a particular social organization which is found in Israel. 4% of Israeli population lives in Kibbutzs. It is basically a socialistic communal unit in which capital and property are collectively owned by its members. Even family is managed in an unconventional manner as children in Kibbutzs are responsibility of all. Children live in communal dormitories separated from their parents and are taken care of by caretakers. Kibbutzs are alternative to the classical notions of family and even challenge the universal existence of family.

Kibbutzism ideology has many positive features like – it emphasizes sexual equality and rejects traditional Western parental role, especially role of mother.

LEGISLATION, MARRIAGE and FAMILY

Many of the beliefs, values, ideals and rules of marriage laid down by the Hindu Shastras have lost their original meaning and purpose and deformed into some evils and defects. Attempts were made by some of the social reformers to remove these defects and correct the system. During the British rule and also after independence legislations were passed in order to bring about desirable modifications in the Hindu marriage system.

The laws enacted in India relate to – age at marriage, field of mate selection, number of spouses in marriage, dowry to be given and taken, breaking of marriage and remarriage. The most important legislations relating to these aspects of marriage passed from time to time could be –

- I. The Prevention of Sati Act, 1829 – It made the burning or burying alive of widows culpable homicide.
- II. The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 – It aimed to ameliorate the deplorable condition of the Hindu widows. A leading social reformer of the day, Pandit Ishwara Chandra Vidya Sagar brought pressure on the British Government to make legal provision for widow marriages.
- III. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 – or Sharda Act – The Act restrains the marriage of a child. According to this Act, marriage of boys under 18 and girls under 14 years of age was an offence. The Act was amended in 1978 which further raised the age for boys to 21 years and for girls to 18 years.
- IV. Special Marriage Act, 1954 – This legislation treated Hindu marriage as a 'civil marriage' and provided legal permission for inter caste, inter-religious and even 'registered' marriages.
- V. The Hindu Marriage Act and other laws, 1955 – This Act along with three other Acts which came into force from May 18, 1955 brought revolutionary changes not only in the marital relations but also in various other social aspects. It banned polygamy in Hindus, women now had the right of divorce laid down in law and were also provided share in property. This Act applies to the whole of India, except Jammu and Kashmir. The word 'Hindu' in the Act includes Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists and the Scheduled Castes.
- VI. The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 – This Act got amended in 1986 and thereafter its rules have become still more stringent.
- VII. Domestic Violence Act, 2005 – This law aimed at curbing the evils associated with patriarchal structure and bringing the issue of domestic violence to justice.

These have led to change in patriarchal system at many levels. On one hand, family is becoming an egalitarian social institution. On the other hand, disintegration incidents are increasing. In US every 3rd marriage ends up in divorce and in India too incidences of violence are increasing.

MALTHUSIAN HYPOTHESIS

Malthus's theory of population growth – outlined in his '*Essay on the Principle of Population, 1798*' – was a rather pessimistic one. He argued that human populations tend to grow at a much faster rate than the rate at which the means of human subsistence (especially food, but also clothing and other agriculture-based products) can grow. Therefore humanity is condemned to live in poverty forever

because the growth of agricultural production will always be overtaken by population growth. While population rises in geometric progression (i.e., like 2, 4, 8, 16, 32 etc.), agricultural production can only grow in arithmetic progression (i.e., like 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 etc.). Because population growth always outstrips growth in production of subsistence resources, the only way to increase prosperity is by controlling the growth of population. Unfortunately, humanity has only a limited ability to voluntarily reduce the growth of its population (through 'preventive checks' such as postponing marriage or practicing sexual abstinence or celibacy).

Malthus believed therefore that in such a situation, 'positive checks' to population growth – in the form of famines and diseases – were inevitable because they were nature's way of dealing with the imbalance between food supply and increasing population. To avoid such positive checks, he suggested that people should control the frequency of their sexual intercourse.

It was also challenged by theorists who claimed that economic growth could outstrip population growth.

MILLENARIAN MOVEMENT

It refers to a class of movements – generally religious ones – which often originate in times of turmoil and rapid change involving disruption of traditional norms. Situations of plague, famine, drought used to create such conditions in past. They are also found in urban areas which are expanding rapidly and where traditional norms are undermined.

They promise redemption or sudden transformation of the world and soon. Their ideology is derived from the religious beliefs or scriptures which hail arrival of a savior. In Christianity it is believed that Christ will descend on earth from heaven and will rule for thousand years. Similarly, Hindus believe that Vishnu will re-incarnate as savior in form of Kalki in Kaliyug to end the evil order. Many other religions also have similar beliefs.

As a result of prophetic events, adherents of such movements start to organize themselves in organizations to prepare themselves for prophetic changes. Millenarian movements prophesy a merger of the world of supernatural and the world of men in a new order free from pain, death, sin and all human imperfections. Such movements have occurred in many areas of the world and in all levels of society, but they are more common among the deprived group.

Ghost Dance Religion of Tetons of Sioux, Cargo Cult of South Pacific Islanders etc are examples of Millenarian movements. In India, Birsā Munda led tribal movement is an example. In colonial nations, such movements occurred frequently as they promised liberation from suffering.

According to David Aberle, 'A sense of blockage, of the insufficiency of ordinary action is the source of more supernaturally based millenarian movements'.

Marxian view of religion as a response to exploitation and oppression also helps to explain such movements. According to Engels, such movements are an indication of awakening of proletarian self-consciousness and they are an attempt of the proletariat to change the unjust order.

MODERNISATION

Modernization means to adopt modern ways, to have a modern spirit and character based on rationalism and scientific thinking. The term modernization has a long history. From the 19th century the term began to be associated with positive and desirable values. In the early years, modernization referred to improvement in technology and production processes. Increasingly, however, the term had a wider usage.

As opposite to Westernization, which is a value loaded terms and also encompasses value, Modernization is concerned with rationality and scientific temper and way of life. Westernization is a broader term and modernization can be considered its subset.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph in their '*The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India, 1967*' –

- I. Modernity assumes that local ties and parochial perspectives give way to universal commitments and cosmopolitan attitudes
- II. That the truths of utility, calculation, and science take precedence over those of the emotions, the sacred, and the non-rational
- III. That the individual rather than the group be the primary unit of society and politics
- IV. That the associations in which men live and work be based on choice not birth
- V. That mastery rather than fatalism orient their attitude toward the material and human environment
- VI. That identity be chosen and achieved, not ascribed and affirmed
- VII. That work be separated from family, residence, and community in bureaucratic organization'

Modernization in India started mainly with the Western contact, especially through the establishment of the British rule. This contact brought about many far reaching changes in culture and social structure of Indian society. Not all these changes could be called modernizing. The basic direction of this contact was towards modernisation, but in the process, good number of traditional institutions got strengthened.

Modernization never encompassed the micro-structures of Indian society such as—family, caste, kin group and village community. But at the macro-level, the components of modernization such as a universalistic legal system, expansion of Western form of education, urbanization and industrialization, spread of new means of communication and transport and social reforms — led the way in the transformation of Indian society. After Independence, modernization process in India has undergone a basic change from its colonial pattern. Discontinuity in modernization between macro-structures and micro-structures slowly disappeared. Introduction of adult franchise and federal parliamentary form of political structure have carried new political values to all the sections of the population.

NEW AGE MOVEMENTS

They are a form of religious movements which started in 1960s and 70s. They are a part of New Religious Movements and they are 'world-affirming' in their ideology. They don't reject the dominant religions and world completely, but focus on ways of self-realization of individuals. Scientology, Zen

meditation, Pagan teachings etc fall under this category. Followers of new age movement seek out and develop alternative ways of life in order to cope with the challenges of modernity. They encourage individuals to move beyond the traditional values and live their lives actively and reflexively.

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

They are a broad range of religious and spiritual groups, cults and sects that have merged alongside mainstream religion. They range from spiritual self realization movements to self-help groups like ISKCON.

PRIMARY and SECONDARY GROUPS

Primary group is used to refer to a small group of people connected by intimate and face-to-face association and co-operation. The members of primary groups have a sense of belonging. C H Cooley an American sociologist introduced the concept of primary group in his book *Social Organization*. He described the primary groups as those which are characterized by intimate face to face relations, close association and cooperation. Participation in primary group leads to the union of individuals in a common whole. This wholeness involves the sympathy and mutual identification for which the proper expression. The best examples of primary groups are family, the play group of children and the neighborhood or community of a group of elders.

The primary groups are person-oriented, whereas the secondary groups are goal oriented. Schools, government offices, hospitals, students' associations etc. are examples of secondary groups.

Secondary groups are characterized by indirect, impersonal, contractual and non-inclusive relations. Relations are indirect because secondary groups are bigger in size and members may not stay together. Relations are contractual in the sense they are oriented towards certain interests.

Secondary groups are relatively larger in size. City, nation, political parties, trade unions and corporations, international associations are bigger in size. They may have thousands and lakhs of members. There may not be any limit to the membership in the case of some secondary groups.

Membership in the case of secondary groups is mainly voluntary. Individuals are at liberty to join or to go away from the groups. However there are some secondary groups like the state whose membership is almost involuntary.

PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

It is a set of qualitative techniques used to measure attitude. To avoid the problem of social desirability, various indirect measures of attitudes have been used. Either people are unaware of what is being measured (which has ethical problems) or they are unable consciously to affect what is being measured.

A projective test involves presenting a person with an ambiguous (i.e. unclear) or incomplete stimulus (e.g. picture or words). The stimulus requires interpretation from the person and the person's attitude is inferred from their interpretation of the ambiguous or incomplete stimulus.

Examples of projective techniques include -

- I. Rorschach Inkblot Test – In this a ambiguous figure like an inkblot is given to subjects to interpret it
- II. Thematic Apperception Test (or TAT) – Here a person is presented with an ambiguous picture which they have to interpret.
- III. Draw a Person Task – Figure drawings are projective diagnostic techniques in which an individual is instructed to draw a person, an object, or a situation so that cognitive, interpersonal, or psychological functioning can be assessed. The test can be used to evaluate children and adolescents for a variety of purposes

Problems with projective techniques –

- I. Objectivity - The major criticism of indirect methods is their lack of objectivity. Such methods are unscientific and do not objectively measure attitudes in the same way as a Likert scale.
- II. Ethical Issues - There is also the ethical problem of deception as often the person does not know that their attitude is actually being studied when using indirect methods.

REFLEXIVITY

This is an approach of qualitative research. Sociologist tries to take an outsider's perspective on her/his own work —she/he tries to look at herself/himself and her/his research through the eyes of others. This technique is called 'self-reflexivity', or sometimes just 'reflexivity'.

The sociologist constantly subjects her own attitudes and opinions to self examination. S/he tries to consciously adopt the point of view of others, especially those who are the subjects of her research.

One of the practical aspects of reflexivity is the importance of carefully documenting whatever one is doing. This ensures that others can retrace the steps we have taken to arrive at a particular conclusion, and see for themselves if we are right. It also helps us to check and re-check our own thinking or line of argument.

Even how much self-reflexive the sociologist tries to be, there is always the possibility of unconscious bias. To deal with this possibility, sociologists explicitly mention those features of their own social background that might be relevant as a possible source of bias on the topic being researched. This alerts readers to the possibility of bias and allows them to mentally 'compensate' for it when reading the research study.

RELIGION, MAGIC and SCIENCE

In his book '*Magic, Science and Religion*', Malinowski put forwarded his ideas about religion, magic and science and refuted the earlier explanations offered by Tylor and Frazer. His ideas about religion are generalized from his observation of Trobriand Islanders.

Magic and Religion, according to Malinowski have some similarities as well. Both magic and religion belong to the area of sacred and are born and function amidst emotional tension. Both phenomena provide an escape from emotional stress, which cannot be wished away on the basis of the primitive people's range of rational knowledge.

Differences

Looking at the differences between religion and magic, we find the following areas of differences.

- I. Magical acts are a means to an end, which must follow them. Religious acts are end in themselves, performed in self-fulfillment.
- II. On difference between religion and magic, Malinowski says that a prima facie distinction between magic and religion is that magical rites have a clear-cut aim and refer to their results in terms of subsequent events. In religious ceremonies there is no forethought of an outcome in terms of a specific purpose and event. He gives the example of initiation ceremonies of youths (which involve various rites, painful ceremonies etc) to explain the nature of religious behaviour and its function among the primitives.
- III. Malinowski describes magic as a range of practical acts, which are carried out to achieve a desired result. Like science, magic has a specific aim related with human needs and instincts. Both are governed by a system of rules, which determine how a certain act can be effectively performed. Malinowski concludes that he would agree with James Frazer and call magic a pseudo-science.
- IV. Science, as reflected in the primitive knowledge of tribals, is related with the general experience of everyday life. It is based on observation and reason over their interaction with nature. Magic, is on the other hand, founded in particular experience of tense emotional states. In these states not the observation of nature but of one's own self or rather of impotency is crucial. It is the drama of emotions upon the human organism.
- V. Malinowski says that science belongs to the domain of the profane while magic comprises half of the domain of the sacred.
- VI. The magical belief concerns one's simple faith in one's power to bring about certain results on the basis of a particular spell. Religion concerns, on the other hand, with a whole range of supernatural powers.
- VII. Magical art is handed down, from generation to generation, from one magician to another, mostly in direct filiation (i.e. from father to son). Thus, it is confined to the specialists. In religion everyone takes an active part, for example every member of the community has to go through initiation.
- VIII. In magic we have both positive and negative types.

RURAL ELITE

Traditionally rural elite were ritually pure castes and due to lack of mobility, they also retained their position invariably across the regions. Traditional rural elites were specialists in their respective fields – cultural, political or economic. In intellectual sphere, Brahmins dominated, in field of power, Kshatriyas dominated economic elites were mainly Vaishyas and Kshatriyas. So, Brahmins were at top followed by Kshatriyas. Among Brahmins also there were sub-hierarchies. For example – Dwivedi, Trivedi, Chaturvedi was indicative of their respective Sanskrit tradition and knowledge of Vedas. Thus, elite were never a unified group even in past as men of power always had asymmetrical relations. Similarly, Rajputs dominated in Central and Western India and Vaishyas were economic elite and they too were not unified.

In comparison to traditional elite, today there is some degree of congruence in some aspects of elite culture. For example – there are chances that political elite today is also economic elite and vice versa.

With spread of education, technology, legal interventions and reforms, communication, transport, democracy, PRIs, introduction of adult franchise, abolition of Zamindari, social reforms etc, a new breed of rural elite has emerged. New rural elite have been studied by Srinivas, Beteille and Desai at national level, while empirical studies have been done at village level by Iqbal Narain, Oscar Lewis etc.

According to Beteille, change in land ownership, spread of education and dispersal of political power has led to breakage of Brahminical hegemony and as a result their grip over power is loosening and new elites are emerging. Beteille had come to the conclusion that in a way changes in the distribution of power was the most radical change in the traditional social structure. He said that the traditional elites of Sripuram, comprising the Brahman landowners, had lost its grip over the village and the new leaders of the village depend for power on many factors in addition to caste.

Desai, B B Misra and others consider new rural elite as a product of process of modernization. According to B B Misra, 'new middle class' is a product of secondary and higher education and not industrialization per se.

Contemporary presence of Rural Elite has been studied from predominantly 3 points of view –

- I. 'Dominance of particular castes or groups' by Srinivas, Kothari etc. Srinivas studied dominance in terms of numerical strength, land ownership and political power as key factors. According to him dominance is a group phenomenon. He explains group mobility by concept of Sanskritisation.
- II. 'Dominance of Individuals' by S C Dube. According to Dube, it is the individual families which dominate and not the whole caste groups. According to him such elite exploit not only 'non-dominant caste' groups, but also members of their own caste. There can be areas in which groups as a whole dominate – for example electoral politics – and there can be other areas in which individuals dominate – for example economic status.
- III. 'Levels or degree of dominance' by Gardner. Gardner's view is important in terms of volatility and mobility in dominance hierarchy.

K L Sharma on the other hand observes that there is no single group that dominates all areas – economic, caste hierarchy, social status etc. Thus, rural elite group is an amorphous group. According to him this group has formed in post independence era and has little cultural basis. Consolidation of position has been main cause. Similar conclusion is drawn by T K Oommen according to him, power is dispersed and there are multiple hierarchies.

SANSKRITISATION

The term Sanskritisation was coined by M N Srinivas. It may be defined as *'the process by which a 'low' caste or tribe or other group takes over the customs, ritual, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a 'twice-born (dwija) caste'*. It is an endogenous source of social change.

The term Sanskritisation was coined and used by M N Srinivas to describe the process of cultural and social mobility in the traditional social structure of Indian society. Sanskritisation refers to a process that

pertains to '*cultural social mobility*' that existed even before the onset of colonialism while Secularization, Westernization and Modernization in India started only after arrival of the British.

The impact of Sanskritisation is many-sided. Its influence can be seen in language, literature, ideology, music, dance, drama, style of life and ritual. The process hastened after arrival of British as means of communication hastened it and its impact was felt in even remotest corners of villages.

In his study among the Coorgs of erstwhile State of Mysore, he found that lower castes, in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy, adopted some Brahminic customs and gave up some of their own which were considered to be impure by the higher castes. For instance, they gave up meat-eating, consumption of liquor, offering of animal sacrifice to their deities. They imitated the Brahmins in matters of dress, food and rituals. By doing this, within a generation or so they could claim higher positions in the social order.

In other words, they thought the higher castes should accept them as their equals and would treat them with honor and dignity. To denote this process of social mobility Srinivas had first used the term '*Brahminisation*'.

Sanskritisation is a much broader concept than Brahminisation. In many cases these higher castes were not Brahmins; they were Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and higher Shudras in various regions of the country. Thus '*de-Sanskritisation*' and even '*Tribalisation*' are similar concepts when the non-Brahmins and Tribes respectively are the dominant groups.

Features of Sanskritisation –

- a. Sanskritisation of a group has usually the effect of improving its position in the '*local caste hierarchy*' i.e. it doesn't lead to change in the macro *Varna* framework. It normally presupposes either an improvement in the position of the group concerned or a higher group self consciousness resulting from its contact with a source of the '*Great Tradition*' of Hinduism such as a pilgrim centre or a monastery or a proselytizing sect. Sanskritisation is thus an endogenous and localized version of social change.
- b. Sanskritisation suggests a process whereby people want to improve their status through adoption of names and customs of culturally high-placed groups. The '*reference model*' is usually financially better off.
- c. It is primarily a process that takes place mainly within the Hindu space though Srinivas argued that it was visible even in sects and religious groups outside Hinduism. Studies of different areas, however, show that it operated differently in different parts of the country.
- d. In those areas where a highly Sanskritised caste was dominant, the culture of the entire region underwent a certain amount of Sanskritisation. In regions where the non-Sanskritic castes were dominant, it was their influence that was stronger. This can be termed the process of '*de-Sanskritisation*'. There were other regional variations too. In Punjab culturally Sanskritic influence was never very strong.
- e. Srinivas argued that, since Sanskritisation improves position of a group only in the local caste hierarchy, it doesn't necessarily leads to any structural change.

Yogendra Singh says that Sanskritisation is a culturally specific case of the universal motivation toward '*anticipatory socialization*' of the culture of the higher group in the hope of gaining its status in future. Yogendra Singh writes that there are two levels of meaning which are implicit in Sanskritisation –

- a. Historical specific – In historical specific sense, Sanskritisation refers to those processes in Indian history which led to changes in various castes. It is indicative an indigenous source of social change in the broad historical spectrum of India.
- b. Contextual specific - In contextual specific sense, Sanskritisation denotes contemporaneous processes of cultural imitation of upper castes by lower castes or sub-castes in different parts of India. It also implies that Sanskritisation is not a uniform phenomenon.

The impact and significance of Sanskritisation is many-sided –

- a. It facilitated socio-cultural mobility in Indian society.
- b. It can also be viewed as a mental construct to understand social change in India.
- c. Its influence can be seen in language, literature, ideology, music, dance, drama, style of life and ritual.

Criticism of Sanskritisation –

- I. D N Majumdar says that there are many signs of reverse process i.e. de-Sanskritisation. Many upper castes are forsaking their lifestyle as well. Kashmiri Pundits, Brahmins in Haryana and Punjab are such examples.
- II. It has been criticized for exaggerating social mobility or the scope of 'lower castes' to move up the social ladder. For it leads to no structural change but only positional change of some individuals. In other words inequality continues to persist though some individuals may be able to improve their positions within the unequal structure.
- III. It has been pointed out that the ideology of Sanskritisation accepts the ways of the 'upper caste' as superior and that of the 'lower caste' as inferior. Therefore, the desire to imitate the 'upper caste' is seen as natural and desirable.
- IV. Sanskritisation seems to justify a model that rests on inequality and exclusion. It appears to suggest that to believe in pollution and purity of groups of people is justifiable or all right. Therefore, to be able to look down on some groups just as the 'upper castes' looked down on the 'lower castes', is a mark of privilege.
- V. Sanskritisation led to seepage of evils of dominant castes into the lower castes. Dowry is an example.
- VI. It is also accused of ignoring the 'non-Sanskritic traditions'. As some elements of non-Sanskritic tradition might also become part of Sanskritic tradition in a locality.
- VII. Further, Sanskritization was not a uniform phenomenon and didn't explain the all cultural changes. In North India, especially Punjab, it was Islamic tradition that provided basis for cultural imitation.

- VIII. According to Harold Gould, Sanskritisation is a camouflage for latent inter-caste and inter-class competition for economic and social power and it is not the culture, but the socio-economic deprivations that drive such imitations.
- IX. The effect of such a trend is that the key characteristics of Dalit culture and society are eroded. For example the very worth of labor which 'lower castes' do is degraded and rendered 'shameful'.
- X. Further, Srinivas took Sanskritisation to mean some kind of Brahminisation, other investigators have shown that Sanskritisation could be based upon Kshatriya, Vaishya or even a Shudra model. Sanskritisation is thus only an illustration of universal 'reference group' process.

Sanskritisation as a process of Social Change in contemporary Indian society has lost much of its relevance after reservation policy, rise of Dalit Consciousness, Westernization replacing Sanskritisation and democratic polity. Erstwhile depressed classes are now recognizing their numerical strength and are using politics and socio-economic process to assert their own identity rather than imitating *Dwijas*.

SATYASHODHAK SAMAJ

Jyotirao Phule or Mahatma Jyotiba Phule formed 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' (Society of Seekers of Truth) in 1873. The main objectives of the organization were to liberate the Shudras and Ati Shudras and to prevent their 'exploitation' by the upper caste like Brahmins. He advocated the worship of Raja Bali as opposed to Brahminic god Lord Rama. It also encouraged Maharaja of Kohlapur to launch a non-Brahmin movement.

He demanded representation of all classes of the Hindus in all the local bodies, in services and institutions and also established a primary school for the so-called untouchables in Poona. He also established a school for girls and a home for widows. Tracing the evolution of the Non-Brahmin movement in Western India from 1873 to 1930 the Satya Sodhak Samaj has been described by Gail Omvedt as '*a cultural revolt in a colonial society*'. The Satya Shodhak movement attacked the Brahmin priests who insisted on acting as intermediaries between God and devotees. They believed that there was no need for any intermediary in matters of religion and refused to recognize the traditional role of the Brahmins as custodians of Hindu religion or interpreters of scriptures.

They also opposed the stranglehold of the bureaucracy dominated by the Brahmins in their times. Phule often complained that the Brahmin bureaucrats were responsible for misleading the white rulers and hence they should be replaced by non-Brahmins who would be better informed about and more sympathetic to the peasants in rural areas. They totally rejected the Vedic tradition and the Aryan heritage. He regarded the Aryans as conquerors and destroyers of the indigenous non-Aryan culture. He launched a vigorous attack on the Vedas. He made fun of the puranas and ridiculed those who believed in the absurd stories narrated by their Brahmin authors.

The Satya Shodhak movement continued to emphasize the role of education in facilitating social change. Phule campaigned against the increasing habit of drinking liquor and urged the Poona Municipal Council not to permit the opening of liquor shops. He tried to persuade people to give up drinking and spend their money on buying books.

SEMITIC TRADITION of RELIGION

In the Semitic tradition, religious experience is viewed as revealed and a commandment from God sent through a divinely chosen mediatory between man and God therefore the Semitic tradition tends to be monolithic. This helps in the organization and spread of this type of religion. But, it sometimes comes in conflict with the political authority and other religions. Christianity and Islam are such religions.

SNDP MOVEMENT

The Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP), literally the society for the propagation of moral teaching originated among the Izhavas or Ezhavas (toddy-tappers) of Kerala in 1903. Toddy-tapping was considered to be a defiling occupation and Izhavas were regarded as unapproachable in the traditional caste hierarchy. They suffered from many disabilities, both civic and ritual, they were not allowed to worship in the temples of caste Hindus or to bathe in the tanks of caste Hindus, they could neither wear any footwear nor build pukka houses. Shri Narayana Guru who was founder of this movement was born in 1856 in the Izhava community, which had a status far below that of the Nambudiris or caste Brahmins. He laid out the ideology of the movement in form of SNDP Yogam which took several issues including the right of admission of the public schools, recruitment to public employment, entry into temples and political representation. He fearlessly criticized and campaigned against the rigors of the caste system, the Brahmin hegemony and the numerous social disabilities of the Ezhavas and other lower castes. Soon Shri Narayana Guru became the rallying point for the Ezhavas and Thiyyas to unite and organize.

Within a short period, the Guru and Yogam drew towards them a band of dedicated workers, including the poet Kumaran Asan, whose efforts constitute an eloquent testimony to what a community, submitted to centuries of tyranny, can do and achieve through unity. Temples were constructed by SNDP. It was responsible for a thorough transformation on the style of life involving new religious beliefs, ritual and outlook. It provided an ideology of withdrawal and self-organization that raised the self-respect, honor and worth of individuals. SNDP established a parallel source of legitimacy with its institutions of temples, priests, monks and monasteries.

SELF RESPECT MOVEMENT

The Self-Respect Movement was a movement against Brahminical order with the aim of achieving a society where backward castes have equal human rights, and encouraging backward castes to have self-respect in the context of a caste based society that considered them to be a lower end of the hierarchy.

It was founded in 1925 by Periyar E V Ramasamy (also known as Periyar) in Tamil Nadu, India. The movement was extremely influential not just in Tamil Nadu, but also overseas in countries with large Tamil populations, such as Malaysia and Singapore.

Periyar declared that the Self-Respect Movement alone could be the genuine freedom movement, and political freedom would not be fruitful without individual self-respect. Periyar observed that political freedom as conceived by nationalists, not excluding even Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, did not cover individual self-respect.

The movement is also interpreted as an effort to break Brahminical hegemony and giving due respect to Dravidian identity. Periyar supported cause of down trodden, organized temple entry, marriages without priest, and burned copies of Manusmritis etc. One of the major sociological changes introduced through the self-respect movement was the self-respect marriage system, whereby marriages were conducted without being officiated by a Brahmin priest. Periyar had regarded the then conventional marriages were mere financial arrangements and often caused great debt through dowry. Self-Respect movement encouraged inter-caste marriages, replacing arranged marriages by love marriages that are not constrained by caste.

A number of political parties in Tamil Nadu, such as Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) owe their origins to the Self-respect Movement.

The main objectives of this movement were inculcation and dissemination of knowledge of political education. Right to lead life with dignity and self-respect and do away with the exploitative system based on superstitions and beliefs. Abolition of the evil social practices and protection of women rights, establishment and maintenance of homes for orphans and widow and opening of educational institutions for them etc were other major activities.

But movement was by no means was a mass movement. The opposition to Brahmin dominance did not come from the low and the oppressed castes but from the leaders of the powerful rural dominant castes such as Reddy and Kammas in Andhra, Vokkaligas and Lingayats in Karnataka etc. These were high caste groups with a social position next to the Brahmins.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Concept was originally given by James Coleman, it describes the sum total of relations that exist between individuals – both within families and outside family in community and outside community as well. Social knowledge and connections also help people to accomplish their goals and extend influence. Like physical capital it is also an asset as it helps individuals to grow in their lives and have better opportunities in terms of employment, education etc. Social capital is higher where community bonds are stronger. As per estimates, developing countries are endowed with higher social capital as compared to developed countries.

TEBHAGA MOVEMENT

It was a struggle of sharecroppers in Bengal in North Bihar and it was a militant campaign initiated in Bengal with support of the 'Kisan Sabha' (peasants' front of Communist Party of India) in 1946. The demand of the Tebhaga (sharing by thirds) movement was to reduce the share given to landlords to one third from existing half.

In many areas, the agitations turned violent, and landlords fled villages leaving parts of the countryside in the hands of Kisan Sabha. As a response to the agitations, the then Muslim League ministry in the province launched the Bargadari Act, which provided that the share of the harvest given to the landlords would be limited to one third of the total.

VERSTEHEN

Weber felt that sociologists had an advantage over natural scientists. That advantage resided in the sociologist's ability to *understand* social phenomena, whereas the natural scientist could not gain a similar understanding of the behavior of natural objects.

Verstehen is a methodology used by Weber which approximately means 'understanding'. For Weber, *Verstehen* was a rational procedure of study. He categorically rejected the idea that *Verstehen* involved simply intuition, sympathetic participation, or empathy. To him, *Verstehen* involved doing systematic and rigorous research rather than simply getting a 'feeling' for a text or social phenomenon.

Though Weber claimed Verstehen as both a scientific method and an interpretative tool, he didn't show how it can be used as such.

WESTERNIZATION

M N Srinivas defines Westernization as '*the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels... technology, institutions, ideology and values*'. Like Sanskritisation, Westernization also depicts cultural change in India and not structural change. However, Yogendra Singh contends that it also led to structural changes as many new phenomenon/institutions like middle class, bureaucracy etc emerged during this process.

There were different kinds of Westernization.

- I. Primary Westernization refers to the emergence of a westernized sub-cultural pattern through a minority section of Indians who first came in contact with Western culture. This included the sub culture of Indian intellectuals who not only adopted many cognitive patterns, or ways of thinking, and styles of life, but supported its expansion. Many of the early 19th century reformers were of this kind. There were, therefore, small sections of people who adopted western life styles or were affected by western ways of thinking. In the initial stages it remained limited to a small section of elites and limited to a few cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Chennai.
- II. Secondary Westernization refers to the process in which a section of population came into direct contact with the primary beneficiaries.
- III. Tertiary Westernization refers to the general spread of Western cultural traits, such as the use of new technology, dress, food, and changes in the habits and styles of people in general.

Westernization does involve the imitation of external forms of culture. It does not necessarily mean that people adopt modern values of democracy and equality. People can be very western in their clothes and appearances but may not have democratic and egalitarian values that are part of modern attitudes. So, Srinivas prefers the term Westernization to modernization. He contends that modernization presupposes rationality of goals which in the ultimate analysis could not be taken for granted, since human ends are based on value preferences and rationality could only be predicated of the means not of the ends of social action. By Westernization he means primarily the British impact. Westernization is more value-loaded than the term modernization. It is positive as well as negative.

According to Yegendra Singh, it started a process of cultural modernization as Western impact brought a new great tradition of modernization. It led to growth of a universalistic legal superstructure, expansion of education, industrialization and urbanization, increased communication, growth of nationalism and politicization of society and so on.

Impact of westernization can be seen in multiple spheres. Emphasis on humanitarianism and rationalism is a part of Westernization which led to a series of institutional and social reforms in India. Establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in the country are all byproducts of westernization. Other effects were –

- I. Ritual Sphere – impact of rationalization was profound on Hindu society and many elaborated rituals were given in favor of more rational ideas.
- II. Belief System – One finds that a Brahmin was supposed to marry his girl before puberty and if he failed to find a boy before that age, it believed that he had committed a sin. But today under the influence of Westernization one will not get his girl married before the age of 18.
- III. Social Reforms – Widow marriage which was not thought of earlier is now becoming common and today a Brahmin even thinks it absurd to shave the head of a widow.
- IV. Art and Architecture – Apart from ways of life and thinking the west influenced Indian art and literature. Artists like Ravi Varma, Abanindranath Tagore, Chandu Menon and Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya were all grappling with the colonial encounter.
- V. Education – Education is another area. Erstwhile gurukul system and guru-shishya tradition paled in front of Western education. In fact Brahmins and other higher castes were first to take advantage of this. Predominant ICS officers in Madras province were Caste Brahmins.
- VI. Economic System – Traditional economic institutions like Jajmani, Guild system weakened.
- VII. Communication System – According to Srinivas, The development of communications carried Sanskritisation to areas previously the accessible, and spread of literacy carried it to groups very low in the caste hierarchy. Thus Westernization has considerably helped in the spread of Sanskritisation.
- VIII. Rise of nationalism – Westernization was responsible for the rise of nationalism and launching of freedom movement.
- IX. Social Mobility – Westernization created scope for greater spatial mobility and societal contact.

In course of time, Westernization helped Indians to launch resistance and freedom movements against the British. The very values that the British used to exploit Indians, were used to turn the tide of time against them.

Critics argue that Westernization had so many negative effects as compared to a few positive effects. It led to a process of cultural and cognitive colonialism.

Though we usually refer to the colonial impact to discuss westernization, often we find new forms of westernization in the contemporary period.

WESTERNIZATION vs SANSKRITIZATION

- I. As a Prelude to Sanskritisation – Srinivas considers Westernization as a prelude to Sanskritisation. He is of the view that the Brahmins and other higher castes people got into

white collar jobs because of their Sanskritic tradition. Srinivas thinks that in Indian situation people attempt to be westernized so as to Sanskritise their culture and lifestyle.

- II. As a Promoter of Sanskritisation – According to Srinivas, the increase in westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritisation; both go on simultaneously and to some extent, increase in Westernization accelerates the process of Sanskritisation. For instance, postal facilities, railways, buses and newspaper media which are tools of western impact on India render more organized religious pilgrimages, meetings, caste solidarities etc. are possible now than in the past.
- III. Opposing Sanskritisation – In some cases Westernization helped in spread of Sanskritisation, in others it contradicted. For example – Eating habits of Westerners were against the Sanskritic ideals.
- IV. Srinivas suggested that while 'lower castes' sought to be Sanskritised, 'upper castes' sought to be Westernised. However, this was not generalized. Srinivas concedes that to describe the social changes occurring in modern India in terms of Sanskritisation and Westernization is to describe it primarily in cultural and not in structural terms.

WORLD ACCOMODATING, WORLD AFFIRMING and WORLD REJECTING MOVEMENTS

Religious movements can be seen on three broad planes –

- I. World Accommodating Movement is a religious movement that emphasizes the importance of inner religious life and spiritual life over worldly concerns, but doesn't reject them completely.
- II. World Affirming religious Movement is a religious movement which seeks to enhance its followers' ability to succeed in the outside world by helping them to unlock their human potential.
- III. World Rejecting Movement is a religious movement which is exclusive in nature, highly critical of the outside world, and demanding of its members.

One effect of the expansion of the world-system is the commoditization of things, including human labor.

However, like Marxist theories, it also puts emphasis on only economic dimension. It ignores the gains in terms of technology and human resource exchange that happens in a free world trade and the fact that today countries are sovereign to resist unwanted gestures of developed countries.

DEFINITIONS

Affines – All those kin which are related to a person by virtue of marriage are called as affines.

Age Structure – The age structure of the population refers to the proportion of persons in different age groups relative to the total population. The age structure changes in response to change in levels of development and the average life expectancy. Initially, poor medical facilities, prevalence of disease and other factors make for a relatively short life span. Moreover, high infant and maternal mortality rates also have an impact on the age structure. With development, quality of life improves and with it the life expectancy also improves. This changes the age structure: relatively smaller proportions of the population are found in the younger age groups and larger proportions in the older age groups.

Ageism – It is the discrimination or prejudice against a person on the basis of age.

Assimilation – It refers to the acceptance of a minority group by a dominant group in which the group takes on the values and norms of dominant culture.

Capitalism – It is an ideology and system of production based on market exchange, private ownership and profit making.

Chicago School – It was the earliest school of American sociology and was influenced by George Simmel and Weberian interactivist perspective and flourished during 1920s-40s. Robert Park, Louis Wirth, Cooley, Mead etc were some of major sociologists associated with it and it proved home of Symbolic Interaction perspective. Their studies on urban life are especially famous.

Clan – A clan is like a large extended family with its members sharing certain duties and obligations. For example – clans have a rule of exogamy – members may not marry within a clan. Clan members have a duty to aid and assist each other. Khap or *gotra* can be considered as a clan.

Cognates – They are all the people who are related by 'blood' in any way to an individual are known as cognates.

Confucianism – It is not a religion per se, but a philosophy. Confucius was a contemporary of Buddha and was not a religious prophet, but was a teacher. He is not seen by his followers as a god, but wisest of all the wise men.

Conurbation – It is a cluster of towns or cities in an unbroken urban environment.

Counter Culture or **Youth Rebellion** – 'Counter cultures' among youth or 'Youth rebellion' are protests against or refusal to conform to prevalent social norms. The content of these protests may involve anything from hairstyles and clothing fashions to language or lifestyle. More standard or conventional forms of contestation include elections — which are a form of political competition. Contestations also include dissent or protest against laws or lawful authorities. Open and democratic societies allow this kind of dissent to different degrees. There are both explicit and implicit boundaries defined for such dissent; crossing these boundaries invites some form of reaction from society, usually from the law enforcement authorities.

Culture – Culture is the common understanding, which is learnt and developed through social interaction with others in society. A common understanding within a group demarcates it from others

and gives it an identity. But cultures are never finished products. They are always changing and evolving. The founder of the 'functional school' of anthropology, Bronislaw Malinowski defines it as, '*Culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical process, ideas, habits and values*'. It has both tangible and intangible dimensions. Taylor defines it as, '*Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, morals, laws, customs and any other habits and capabilities acquired as members of society*'. Three dimensions of culture have been distinguished – Cognitive, Normative and Material.

Critical School – It is also known as Frankfurt School or Neo Marxist School with members like Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse and most recently Jurgen Habermas. It was established in 1920s-30s in a bid to revise Marxist thoughts in a cultural perspective as they thought that Marx had not given enough attention to influence of culture in modern capitalist societies.

Discrimination – If prejudice describes attitudes and opinions, discrimination refers to actual behavior towards another group or individual. Discrimination can be seen in practices that disqualify members of one group from opportunities open to others, as when a person is refused a job because of their gender or religion.

Enlightenment – A period in 18th century Europe when philosophers rejected the supremacy of religious doctrines, established reason as the means to truth, and the human being as the sole bearer of reason.

Environmental Justice – It is notion that all people have a right of healthy environment.

Estate – It is a system of social stratification which was prevalent in Europe under which social inequalities were sanctioned by the law in form of 4 estates.

Eugenics – It is a method of improving human breed by selective reproduction.

Ethnocentrism – Ethnocentrism is the application of one's own cultural values in evaluating the behavior and beliefs of people from other cultures. This means that the cultural values projected as the standard or norm are considered superior to that of the beliefs and values of other cultures. It is only when cultures come into contact with one another that the question of ethnocentrism arises.

Gentrification – The term used to describe the conversion of a low class (urban) neighborhood into a middle or upper class neighborhood. It is a process of urban renewal in which the older, decaying housings are refurbished when affluent people move into this area.

Hyperreality – It is a concept given by Jean Baudrillard. Due to spread of communication and our increasing dependency of it, the reality for us is the one which is created by the TV, Internet, Radio etc. For us, the way various events are presented by communication media forms the actual event and it may be different from the actual event itself.

Impression Management – It is a way of managing or controlling the impressions others have of them by choosing what to conceal and what to reveal when they meet other people.

Industrialization – Industrialization refers to the emergence of machine production, based on the use of inanimate power resources like steam or electricity.

Life Chances – All those material advantages which improve the quality of life of the recipient — this may include not only economic advantages of wealth and income, but also benefits such as health, job security and recreation.

Lineage – A lineage is a unilineal descent group that can demonstrate their common descent from a known apical ancestor.

Managerial Capitalism – It refers to capitalist enterprises run by managerial executives rather than owners.

Metropolitan Area – A 'metropolitan area' includes more than one city, or a continuous urban settlement many times the size of a single city.

Mobilization – Mobilization is to organize people for a particular action. When we talk about Mobilization in the context of disadvantaged groups, we are referring to such a way of organizing of people, as would have positive impact on the lives of people, for whom the action is initiated.

Modernity – It refers to the period following mid 18th century European Enlightenment which is characterized by the combination of secularization, rationalization, democratization, individualization and rise of scientific thinking.

Phratry – A phratry is a descent group composed of two or more clans each of whose apical ancestors (most recent common ancestor) are descended from a further common ancestor.

Post Industrial Society – A society which is based on information and not on material resources.

Replacement Level of Fertility – 'Replacement level', is the rate of growth required for new generations to replace the older ones that are dying out. It is around 2.1 in India.

Serendipity – Serendipity means a 'happy accident' or 'pleasant surprise'; specifically, the accident of finding something good or useful while not specifically searching for it. It was Merton who popularized this concept.

Social Justice – The essence of justice is fairness. Social Justice is giving all the groups, especially marginalized groups, their share in development, progress, opportunities and ensures them a minimum standard of living. The Constitution is not just a ready reference of do's and don'ts for social justice. It has the potential for the meaning of social justice to be extended. For instance, the Directive Principle provides that social justice be achieved.

Social Self – It is the identity conferred upon an individual by the reaction of others. A person becomes self-conscious when he becomes aware of this social identity.

Social Structure – Social structure refers to patterns of regular and repetitive interaction between individuals or groups. For example, consider a school structure. In a school certain ways of behaving are repeated over the years and become institutions. For instance admission procedures, codes of conduct, annual functions, daily assemblies and in some cases even school anthems.

Socialization – This is the process by which we learn to become members of society in which we live. Socialization can be defined as the process whereby the infant gradually becomes a self-aware,

knowledgeable person, skilled in the ways of the culture into which s/he is born. Socialization is a life-long process. It is a process by which all of us acquire culture and transmit to the next generation. It can be either –

- I. Primary Socialization – Primary socialization occurs within the family and other intimate groups during childhood.
- II. Secondary Socialization – Secondary socialization occurs during later childhood and adolescence when we come under the influence of adults and peers outside the household. School is one of the important social institution of Secondary Socialization.

Sociology – It is the study of human groups and societies, giving particular emphasis to the analysis of the industrialized world (Giddens)

Status and **Role** – A status is simply a position in society or in a group. It refers to the social position with defined rights and duties assigned to these positions. For example, mother occupies a status, which has many norms of conduct as well as certain responsibilities and prerogatives. A role is the dynamic or the behavioral aspect of status. Status is occupied, but roles are played. A status is an institutionalized role. *Role conflict* is the incompatibility among roles corresponding to one or more status. It occurs when contrary expectations arise from two or more roles. An example is that of middle class working woman who has to juggle her role as mother and wife at home and that of a professional at work. *Role stereotyping* is a process of reinforcing some specific role for some member of the society. For example men and women are often socialized in stereotypical roles, as breadwinner and homemaker respectively.

Structuration – It is a concept introduced by Anthony Giddens which tries to resolve the question of primacy of social structure and social action. It is a two way process by which we shape our social world through our individual actions, but are ourselves shaped by the society.

Syncretism – A cultural phenomenon characterized by the inter-mingling or mixing of different religions or traditions. A hybrid of two distinct religious or cultural traditions.

Technology – It is application of knowledge for productive activities.

Theory – It is a set of ideas which explains something.

Triangulation – Use of multiple research methods as a way of producing more reliable empirical data than is available from any single method.

Underclass – It is the segment of population located at the very bottom of the class structure which is characterized by multiple disadvantages and deprivations. Marx called this group as lumpen proletariat.

*“Arise, awake, and stop not till
the goal is reached”*



For any suggestions or feedbacks or errors (with page number and topic), please drop a mail to –
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